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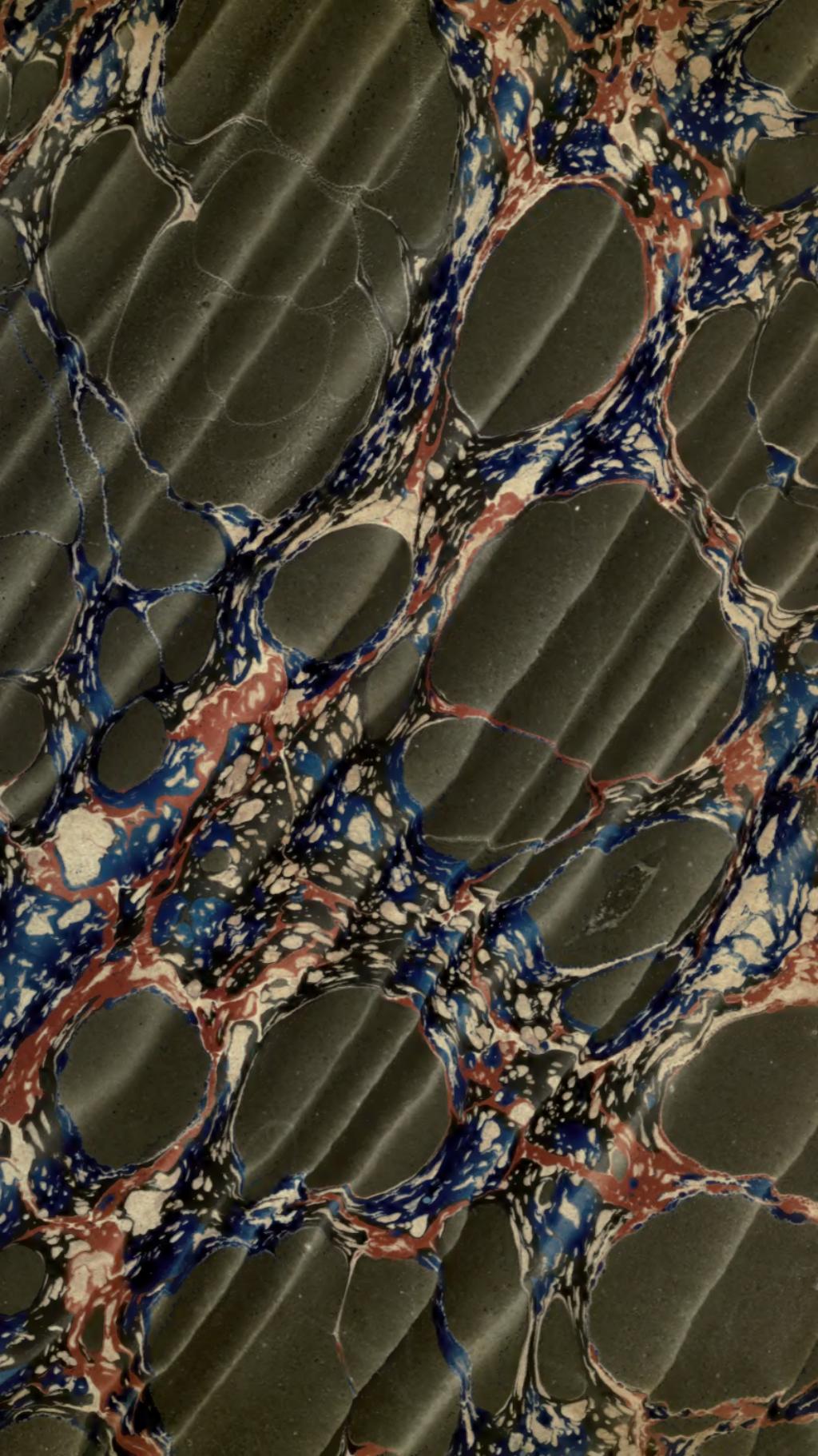
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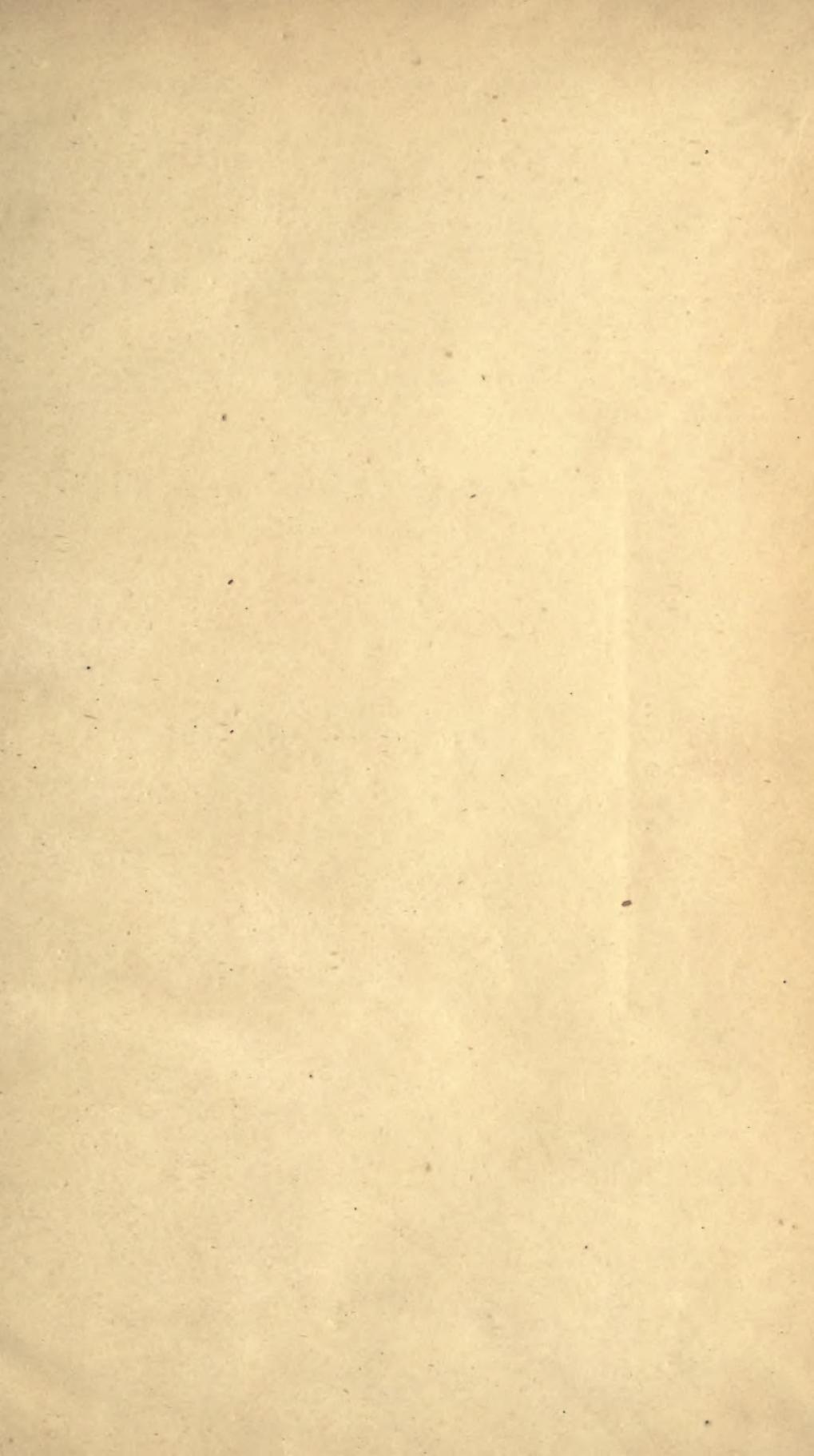




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DUBLIN REVIEW.

VOL. XXIV.

MARCH AND JUNE 1812.

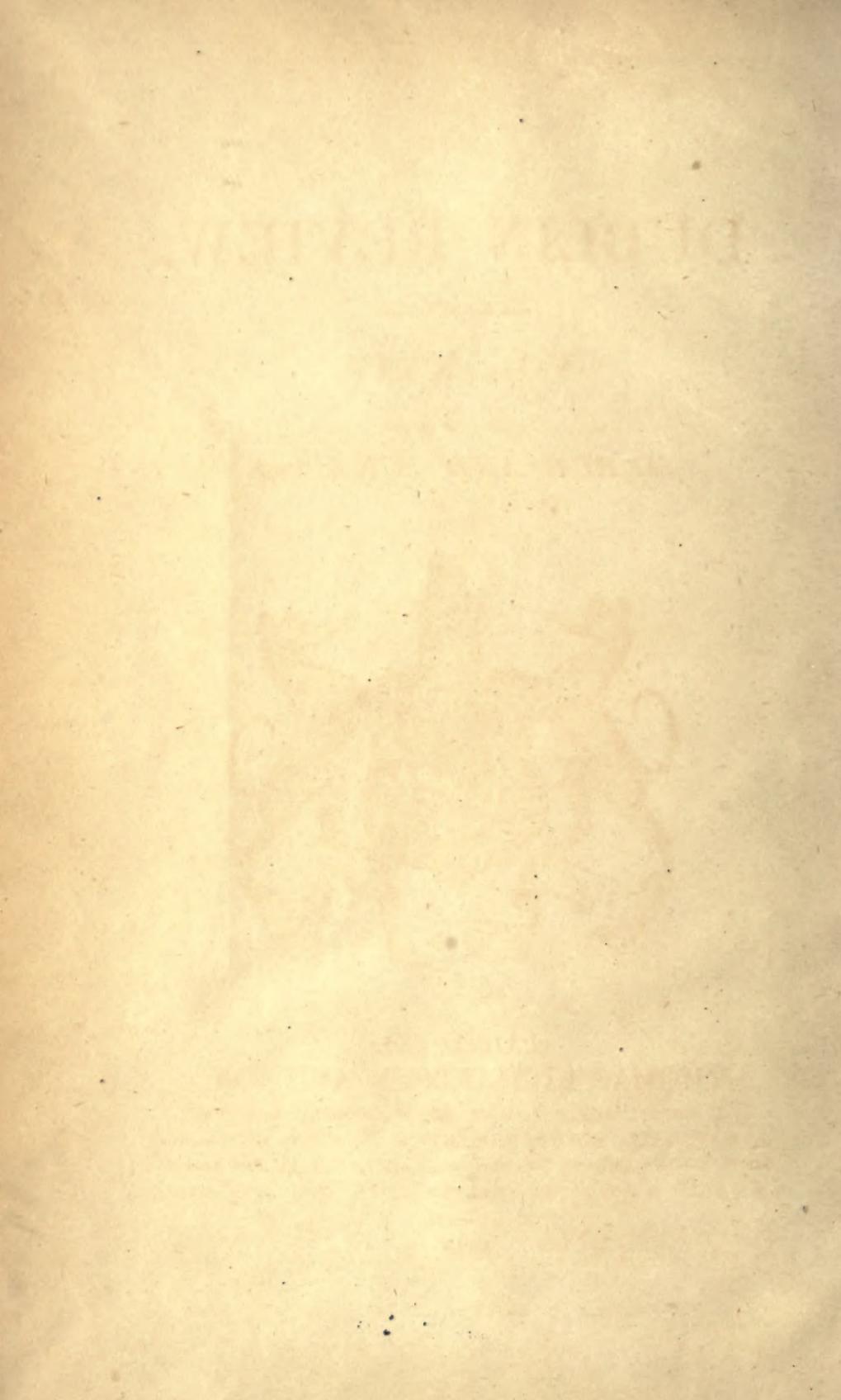


CONDUCTED  
BY THOMAS HATCHARD, ESQ.

AND PUBLISHED FOR THE AUTHOR,  
BY THOMAS HATCHARD, NO. 1, CHURCH-STREET,

LONDON: AND AT THE SPANISH GATE, NO. 10, COVENT-GARDEN,

BY J. DODS, AND S. T. SPOTTISWOODE, PRINTERS.



THE  
**DUBLIN REVIEW.**

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VOL. XXIV.

PUBLISHED IN  
*MARCH AND JUNE, 1848.*



LONDON:  
THOMAS RICHARDSON AND SON,  
172, FLEET STREET; 9, CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN; AND DERBY.  
J. MARSHALL, EDINBURGH—HUGH MARGERY, GLASGOW.  
NEW YORK: EDWARD DUNIGAN AND BROTHER, 151, FULTON STREET.  
A PARIS: 9, RUE DU COQ, NEAR THE LOUVRE, STASSIN AND XAVIER.

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1848.

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THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MARCH, 1848.

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- 5.—*Devotions commemorative of the Most Adorable Passion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* Translated from Catholic sources, with an Appendix containing the Office of Tenebræ, from the Roman Breviary, &c. London, Burns, 1842.

THE first named of these volumes, is perhaps the most beautiful of the many beautiful contributions in the cause of liturgical typography, for which we are indebted to the Mechlin press. The specimen before us, is indeed as exquisite a book as can be imagined; in type so clear and exact, ornamented with fine rubrics, and the complete musical notation of the parts to be sung. It is also, what is far better than being externally beautiful, thoroughly accurate. The second on the list is a translation of the same offices, which we owe to the pious zeal of the central district, and the active enterprise of the Derby press. As to the volume which comes next in order, its character is so well established, as to exempt it from all dependance upon criticism of ours, whatever aid it may give us, and

that aid will not be small, in the way of illustration and comment upon the proposed subject. The fourth in the above list of volumes, being of a devotional and in no wise of a ritual character, does not fall directly within the scope of the present article; but we may be permitted to bear our humble testimony to the great beauty of the short discourses it contains upon our blessed Lord's words on the cross. "Devotions," which come last in the series, labour under the peculiarity, we hardly like to call it disadvantage, of having been drawn up by members of the Anglican establishment, some of whom have since become Catholics, and others have not. Thus it certainly gains as a witness, what it may lack as an authority. Whatever its other defects, that of falling short in loyalty to the Catholic Church, is one which at any rate cannot fairly be imputed to it. To say that it is beautiful, as it undoubtedly is, involves no praise but that of judgment in the selection, for it is taken entirely "from Catholic," i. e. from Roman "sources." The verse translations have the merit at least of great faithfulness, as the reader is enabled to observe, from the originals being put side by side with them. They are likewise in better English than is always found in our devotional books; and these, if secured without injury to the spirit, are no inconsiderable advantages. The translation from the Breviary is, we understand, but the fragment of a great work existing in manuscript, and of which it certainly raises a high idea. We believe that nothing but the vast expense of the undertaking, would have prevented the publication of the whole. It seems a great pity that so much labour should be thrown away, especially when we consider how desirable it is to open the treasures of the Breviary to English eyes. Judging from the specimen in the "Devotions on the Passion," nothing would be required in order to secure the sanction of authority to the translation, except the substitution of some other version of the Psalms for the Anglican, which would of course be inadmissible.

To come back to the holy Office books themselves: what a magnificent idea of the Church is that which their very external form suggests! Each of them, original and translation, consists of a thickish and closely-printed volume, somewhat less, perhaps, and yet hardly so, than the Anglican Book of Common Prayer; and what does this well-stored repository contain, and what does it leave out?

It comprehends the offices of one single week alone; it is but an extract, and comparatively a short one, from the Missal and Breviary—a specimen, and no more than a specimen, however choice a one, of their ample, various, and inappreciable contents. And this single jewel of that priceless coronet requires, we must repeat it, a receptacle to enclose it hardly less in bulk than that into which the “fathers of the Reformation” contrived to pack Breviary, Missal, Ritual, Pontifical, and all. But what is, perhaps, even yet more entirely beyond the reach of excuse, than their heartless spoliations, is this, that their descendants, in the full light of such a fact, can bring themselves to charge with forgetfulness of her Lord and Saviour, that very Catholic Church which addresses to Him, during the one week of His Passion alone, an amount of public devotion scarcely less in quantity (to omit other points of comparison) than that, which, in the most orthodox and religious of the Protestant communions, is comprised in the ritual of the church for the whole year.

At the risk of seeming needlessly polemical, and that too in the outset of an article which does not pretend to controversy, we must dwell for a brief space upon the consideration to which we have just adverted. As a *fact*, (and in that light only), it is very remarkable, that, in the various and complicated offices which engross the devotion of the Church between Palm Sunday and Easter, the name of our Blessed Lady hardly occurs at all. This remark holds good even of the rites on Holy Saturday, a day especially sacred to her honour in the loving remembrances of the faithful. Now we are as far as possible from acknowledging (the very conception appears to us as preposterous in reason as it is heartless in sentiment) that the honour of our Lord is either furthered by the pretermission, or compromised by the prominence, of that which for His sake as for her own, is due to His Blessed Mother. Facts of the nature of that now mentioned, have no claim to be pressed into the service of controversy, either way; they are with as little reason, and perhaps sometimes with not much less irreverence, adduced in the way of evidence on the one side, as they are urged in the way of objection on the other. The bare notion, that the Church can possibly intend, whether by positive or by negative acts, to dishonour that Blessed Redeemer, whose adorable Passion she commemorates, appropriates, and applies, on

myriads of altars many times in every day, through whom she offers every prayer, save those which are directly addressed to Himself, whose Divine Presence habitually illustrates and hallows her material temples, and whose most sacred Name her children breathe not but with sentiments of awe and tokens of reverence which no other idea awakens, and no other action could justify, is such an one as it requires all a Catholic's imagination to suppose possible, and certainly taxes his utmost powers of forbearance to hear gravely imputed. Poorly indeed must they realize the character of our Blessed Lord's Intercessory Office, who suppose that such, His Office, can possibly be infringed, or in its real character even shared, by any one, even the most exalted of His creatures! Our happy privilege, as members of the Church, it is to know and feel our Lord so unapproachable in greatness, so invulnerable in prerogative, that we can *afford* to bestow on His Saints, and preeminently, of course, upon His Blessed Mother, an amount of veneration and love, which by a Protestant, would be felt as derogatory to him; nay, which *would* be thus derogatory, according to the views of our Lord which prevail, to a frightful extent, in all communions external to the Church, the Anglican certainly not excepted. In fact, very far from regarding the popular objections to the devout service of Mary as any special proof of a keen sensitiveness to the honour of her divine Son, we are altogether on the side of those who discern in them the not obscure tokens of a real, however latent, and often, we trust, unconscious, semi-arianism. Let such as have a zeal for the Athanasian faith take good heed to themselves, how they join in a cry which, though it may begin, as all anti-christian movements have begun, in alluring accents and with magnificent promises, will issue, if we are not much mistaken, in an attack on the creed of the fourth century, not less than of the nineteenth.\*

So much in the way of explanation, where we point to

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\* It was not foreseen when these words were written, that they would speedily receive so remarkable an illustration in the late discussions respecting Dr. Hampden, whose theological principles have been put forward by his friends as a safeguard against the "spread of popery." The Catholic Church can desire no more unanswerable testimony to the care with which she has guarded the Faith of St. Athanasius.

the silence of the Church in Holy Week on the subject of our blessed Lady, as a significant and expressive fact. We insist not on it as an argument any way. We trust that we are too loyal sons of holy Church, to set forth any of her provisions, (the least of which is so unspeakably above the reach of human criticism,) as though we could bring her actual into seeming comparison with her possible appointments, and pronounce that what she has in fact ordained is even better (far less of course that it can by possibility be less good) than some other conceivable alternative! But of objectors, whose very province is comparison and criticism, we may reasonably claim, upon their own principles, that if they must criticise the Church at all, they will criticise her *as a whole*, take one part of her system along with another; compare rite with rite and office with office, the Missal with the Breviary, and one portion of the Breviary with another portion; take the public and most fully authorised provisions of the Church as a comment upon her actual practice, and the practice in one place as restoring the equipoise which may seem to have been disturbed by the practice in another; judge, in short, *equitably* of a system so vast in extent and so complex in structure, designed not for one people but for many, and, for as much as it is after all a "treasure in earthen vessels," liable in its operation, and far more of course in its external aspect, to be affected to a certain extent, by the weakness and even sinfulness, of those who may from time to time administer it. It is not, surely, too much to ask that the Catholic Church should be tried according to the rules which obtain in all similar cases. What sort of ground, for instance, will men leave themselves in the battle with the atheist, or the deist, if they once sanction the principle, that works claiming to be of God may be judged piecemeal, instead of being surveyed in their integrity and connexion? It may be true, indeed, that the exquisite symmetry of the Catholic system can be estimated only from within; must be felt and cannot be explained, and thus will never be understood till its controversial uses are superseded by a blissful experience. This we believe; and surely any conviction is a gain which drives us from controversy upon prayer. And if this be so, it is but another feature of resemblance between Catholicism and Christianity itself. On both subjects alike it is probable that no small amount of time and temper have been

expended between disputants, who should have remembered that the strongest of convictions are also, as a general rule, the least communicable.

After these few prefatory suggestions, we dismiss, and that very gladly, a train of thought which may possibly be so far misunderstood as to be taken in the light of an apology. Our present object is a far different one from that of attempting to satisfy by explanations the Protestant objector; an endeavour which is rarely attended with any good success, and such as can never be even adventured without more or less danger of compromising the dignity of the Church. It is, we are convinced, by steadily witnessing to her own characteristic doctrines and principles, that the Catholic Church will make her way in this unhappy land; and not by concessions, disclaimers, and apologies. Let her pursue her own heavenly way, not, God forbid it! with haughtiness of bearing, and indifference to the reasonable scruples of any man, yet without the hope, and therefore without the attempt, to appease the thousand idle and contradictory clamours of the day. To objections which she knows to be the fruit of ignorance, or the watchword of party, or the remnant of hereditary prejudice, let her calmly reply in words commended by no light authority, "Venite et videte."

We write, certainly not without a regard to the information of inquirers still outside the Church, but yet more immediately for Catholics; in order that ourselves, and all whom Divine Providence has blessed with His marvellous light, may appreciate with more and more of heartfelt thankfulness His great and inestimable gift; may explore with more and more of loving and adoring wonder the rich pastures of our inheritance; and "surround Sion and encompass her, tell all her towers, set our hearts on her strength, distribute her houses,"—that, if haply the present "generation" shall give too little heed to the glorious recital, it may gain a hearing at least in "another."\*

It is with the same intention, that we have on a former occasion † attempted, however defectively, to analyze por-

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\* Ps. xlviij. 13, 14.

† See article on the "Devotional Use of the Breviary," in No. xlii.

tions of the Breviary ; and we now propose to extend the same devotional inquiries to that which is, as a fact, the most celebrated of all our solemn rites,—the Office of Holy Week. The treasures of the Breviary are comparatively hidden from all but the clergy ; the magnificent rites of the Pontifical are but now beginning to emerge from their seclusion on the shelves of the antiquary, and to stand forth in visible life before the eyes of Catholic England. But the “ceremonies of Holy Week”—who is there in educated circles that can creditably plead ignorance of these? Indeed, in one point of view, they are but too well known and too freely canvassed. Travelled gentlemen can now-a-days talk fluently of the “Tenebræ ;” pensive ladies can be sentimental about the “Miserere ;” though what precise notions either the one or the other class attaches to the terms with which they so freely take liberties, is a question which it would be difficult to resolve, and in most cases discourteous to press. The accomplished author of the ‘Lectures on Holy Week,’ at any rate, does not give us a high idea of the extent of knowledge prevailing on the subject of these ceremonies among the crowds of English who annually frequent them :

“ Those who, in the language of the day, *lay themselves out* for seeing everything, as though it were a show (for some have even been known to go the indecent length of taking refreshments into the chapel), will very soon be wearied. The experience of every year proves that, on the first evening of the Tenebræ Office, confusion and inconvenience ensue from the eagerness of hundreds to enter the chapel ; but by the third day, when the Office is much shorter, the Lamentations more exquisite, and the Miserere in general the best, it is left to the occupation of a few, whom better feelings than mere curiosity inspire with perseverance. In the same manner, the Office of Thursday morning is generally thronged to excess ; while that of Friday is comparatively deserted.”—Dr. Wiseman’s Lectures, pp. 12, 13.

It is with no hope of rendering the subject intelligible to critics of the kind here intended, that we enter upon a brief account of the offices of this solemn season. The archæological and artistic branch we thankfully resign to the accomplished author of the “Lectures,” who has brought to bear upon it an amount of elegant learning and felicitous description which entitle his lordship, if he will bear with us in saying so, to a high rank in the department of æsthetical literature. To those

who, like ourselves, are accustomed to look up to Dr. Wiseman in the character of a learned and able controversialist, it is matter of no small wonder, and, we say it with great truth, of no mean edification, to find him making time, amid the laborious duties of a college, for those abundant researches into the wholly disparate subject of the elegant arts, the fruits of which are so apparent in the volume before us. Would that we could always see that subject, as in the present instance, entirely subordinated to the claims of religion and of the Church! We could say of Dr. Wiseman in these lectures, as has been said of others, “*Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit;*” but that we prefer giving him a still higher praise, the praise of touching nothing which he has not sifted.

The commemoration which the Church makes of the Passion of our blessed Lord, though popularly supposed to begin from Palm Sunday, dates, in fact, from the Sunday previous. Indeed, we may say, that by the precious addition which the calendar has lately received of the Offices for the Fridays in Lent, it is now in a manner distributed throughout the whole penitential season. The Sunday fortnight before Easter, is called in the Church Passion Sunday, and the week which begins with it, Passion Week. Significant changes in the Divine Office, denote that the Church on Passion Sunday and afterwards, has deepened her mourning attire. When the Mass is “of the season,” the psalm “*Judica*” is omitted, on account, probably, of the festal tones which it includes. The *Gloria Patri* is dropped in the *Introit*, and after the psalm *Lavabo*. The *Preface* on all days of the season, is that “of the Cross.” Similar changes occur in the divine office. The *Invitatory* is more solemn and arresting; the *Gloria Patri* is suspended at its close and in the *responsories*, and detached portions of the magnificent and touching hymn, “*Pange Lingua*,” together with its no less majestic companion, “*Vexilla Regis*,” remind the Church that her Lord is preparing for the combat. Our holy mother is careful too, to impress the same lesson through the medium of the eyes. From the eve of Passion Sunday, as the rubric directs, “*cooperiuntur cruces et imagines.*” Each gracious symbol, each moving representation, is shrouded in the veil of ecclesiastical mourning; image and picture disappear from the sight, and even the sacred figure of the Crucified no longer aids the contem-

plation by its sweet and solemn remembrances. Perhaps it is that the Church withdraws the image of the crucifixion in Passion-tide, as she hides the Gloria in Excelsis in Advent, in order to throw out its prototype in stronger relief on the day, (if we may so express it,) of institution. The various portions of the divine office partake of the idea with which the Church now seeks to familiarize the minds of her children. There is (so to say) a tone of growing *uneasiness* in her language, as if the days of her widowhood were at hand. This is very observable in the responsories at matins. “They are increased that trouble me; arise, O Lord, and save me, O my God. Let not mine enemy say, I have prevailed against Him.....How long shall mine enemy triumph over me? They that trouble me will rejoice if I should be moved, but I will hope in Thy mercy.....Thou art my God, depart not from me, for trouble is hard at hand, &c. Who shall give water to my head and a fountain of tears to mine eyes, and I will bewail day and night? For my near brother has supplanted me, and every friend hath fraudulently assailed me. Let their day be dark and slippery, and the angel of the Lord pursuing them.” Thus beautifully does the Gospel reflect her light upon the words of the earlier Testament, and among the rest, upon those sentiments of the book of Psalms, which infidels, and, alas, some who should know better, have dared to call vindictive and “unchristian.”

The Antiphons are in the same mournful, and as it were, anxious strain. “Look, O Lord, on mine affliction, for mine enemy is elated.” “In tribulation I called on the Lord, and He heard me in the breadth.” “Thou, O Lord, hast judged the cause of my soul; Thou art the defender of my life, O Lord my God!” There is even a distant sound of Good Friday: “My people, what have I done to thee, wherein have I grieved thee? answer Me.” “They have rendered Me evil for good; they have digged a pit for my soul.”

The office during Passion Week is of the same character. The gospels bear, all of them, more or less direct reference to the sufferings of our Lord; the lections are comments on the Gospels, the short responses at the Little Hours are ejaculations for help and deliverance taken from the Psalms, as if uttered in the person of our Redeemer. And thus we are brought to Palm Sunday, which, as to its office, does not materially differ from the Sunday before,

but which is characterised by certain ceremonies of its own ; and with these the rites of the Holy Week may be considered more immediately to begin.

Each of the great days in Holy Week has, if we may use the expression without danger of irreverence or affectation, a certain “sentiment” of its own ; and that belonging to Palm Sunday is not one of the least peculiar. It is a strange blending of joy and sadness, of feasting and mourning. Palm Sunday is in truth a kind of valedictory festival, when we feel as in doing honour to some friend on the eve of his departure for a distant country ; words of pleasantness and peace are on the lips, but the heart is breaking with anguish, and the mind is thronged with strange unutterable forebodings. The office of this Sunday differs from that of the preceding in two respects : first, in the procession of palms, and secondly, in the solemn chanting of the Passion of our Redeemer. The service opens with a complete *επινίκιον* ; a song of exulting congratulation and triumph. “Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. O King of Israel ! Hosanna in the highest.” These words, the same with which our Lord was greeted on His last visit to Jerusalem, are chanted by the choirs in almost a joyful strain. Then follows a collect, epistle, and gospel ; in both the former of which there are words of promise about the Resurrection, as if the Church would sustain herself by hope during the approaching conflict ; the gospel is, of course, the narrative of the procession from Bethphage to Jerusalem. This ended, the blessing of the palms is begun. It opens with a collect, which, in symbolical language, familiar with the Fathers, represents the palms as emblematic of good works, wherewith the children of the Church desire to meet Christ, that, at length, they may come to his joy. This Collect, and the Preface following it, are sung “in the ferial tone,” which involves less variation of notes than that peculiar to Festivals, and thus harmonizes with the mournful character of the circumstances under which it is used, whether penitential seasons, or the obsequies of the faithful departed. The Mechlin Holy-Week Book supplies the beautiful plain chant of the Sanctus, to which this Preface is introductory. Nothing can be more simple, sublime, and tender ; it is such a song as we may imagine conveying the ceaseless, but equable, adoration of angels. Next follow

some of those beautiful rites of loving reverence which the Church employs at her benediction of created things ; “The celebrant puts incense in the thurible, then sprinkles the branches thrice with holy water, saying the antiphon, ‘Asperges,’ without chant. He also incenses them thrice.” And then the Palms, thus duly separated from common use, are distributed among the clergy in order, and afterwards among the rest of the faithful ; each one kissing the hand of the celebrant, and the branch as he receives it. While the distribution is going on, the chorus sings to a plaintive chant, the following antiphons : “The children of the Hebrews, bearing branches of olive trees, went forth to meet our Lord, crying out and saying, Hosanna in the highest. The children of the Hebrews spread their garments in the ways, and cried out saying, Hosanna to the Son of David ! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.” And these antiphons are resumed and repeated as long as the distribution of the Palms goes on. Then the Church prays that “we may follow the innocence of these children, and acquire their merit.”

The distribution over, the Procession begins after the usual invitation of the Deacon. “Procedamus in pace. R. In nomine Domini.” First come the choir, chanting the prescribed pieces ; next the clergy in reverse order, the higher in dignity being placed, as usual, nearest the celebrant, and all bearing the branches, which should be, if possible, those of the real palm.

A Catholic Procession, whether we look to its actual accompaniments, or to its emblematic significancy, is perhaps as beautiful and elevating a sight as this world ever presents, even in its regenerate aspect,—for, to compare one of our solemnities with any mere earthly pageant, would be simply incongruous. How many “household” truths are symbolized in a Procession ! The Church is its starting-place, the Church its goal, signifying to us that in her we begin and in her must end. It moves, and so do we ; and high in front of it is reared the Image of the Crucified, to denote that in the Church, unlike the world, we move under His banner, and, as it were, in His train. And if He be on our side, whom shall we fear ? “Nam et si ambulavero in medio umbræ mortis, non timebo mala, quoniam Tu mecum es. Virga Tua, et baculus Tuus, ipsa me consolata sunt.” And, as such images represent to us that life is a journey,

so may they also remind us that Christian virtue is a progress, in which he that halts is distanced and discomfited. Moreover, our way, if Christ be with us, is a way of pleasantness; wherefore we sing as we walk; for not His mercies alone (which we rather celebrate in the choir and in the sanctuary) are matter of rejoicing, but even His very laws and ordinances, which we rather bear in mind as we walk, “cantabiles mihi erant justifications Tuæ in loco peregrinationis meæ.” Howbeit, since we even rejoice “quasi tristes,” therefore our processional chant is not jubilant, but plaintive even to sadness.

Neither should our solemn processions, one should think, be uninteresting and unimposing to the world. For hence might it learn, did it not rudely scorn the lesson, that our religion is not, like its own, ashamed to show itself in the face of all the people; that the Church manifests towards it a kindlier mien than it would fain manifest towards the Church, nay, or even towards itself; even sanctifying its very thoroughfares, and lifting up her voice in the streets, (Prov. i. 20.) in calm and measured accents of entreaty, that God would remember His ancient mercies, and think of the congregations which He possessed from the beginning. But to return from our digression.

The pieces chanted during the Procession consist of the passages from the Gospel narrative which relate to the first great Procession of Palms, six days before the Pasch. The words are slightly varied to suit the circumstances of the Church. They conclude thus: “As the people heard that JESUS came to Jerusalem, they took branches of palms, and went out to meet Him, and the children cried out, saying: This is He who was to come for the salvation of the people. He is our salvation and the redemption of Israel. How great is He, to whom the thrones and dominations do service. Fear not, daughter of Sion, behold thy King cometh to thee, sitting upon the foal of an ass: as it is written, Hail, O King, Framer of the world, who comest to redeem us! Six days before the solemn Pasch, when the Lord came into the city of Jerusalem, the children met Him, carrying branches of palm in their hands, and cried out with a loud voice, saying: Hosanna in the highest! Blessed art Thou that comest in the multitude of Thy mercy: Hosanna in the highest.—The multitude with flowers and palms went forth to meet

the Lord, and render Him service meet for a victorious conqueror: the nations proclaim the Son of God, and in praise of Christ the voices resound, like thunder, among the clouds. Hosanna in the highest." The concluding Antiphon prays that, "we may be found, together with the angels and the children, faithful to Him that triumphed over death: Hosanna in the highest." Then the Church sings: "The great multitude which had gathered together for the feast-day, cried out to the Lord: Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest." On the return of the Procession, a portion of the choir enter the Church, and close the door. Then, standing with their faces towards the Procession, they alternate with the semi-choir outside the following stanzas, which we give in the form of a translation somewhat more literal than that of the Derby edition :

Gloria, laus, et honor, Tibi, sit Rex  
Christe Redemptor:  
Cui puerile decus prompsit Hosanna  
pium.  
Israel es Tu Rex Davidis et inclyta  
proles:  
Nomine qui in Domini Rex benedicta  
venis.

R. Gloria, laus.  
Cœtus in excelsis Te laudat cœlicus  
omnis,  
Et mortalis homo, et cuncta creatura  
simul.

R. Gloria, laus.  
Plebs Hebræa Tibi cum palmis obvia  
venit,  
Cum prece, voto, hymnis adsumus ecce  
Tibi.

R. Gloria, laus.  
Hi Tibi passuro solvebant munia laudis:  
Nos Tibi regnanti pangimus ecce melos.

R. Gloria laus.  
Hi placere Tibi, placeat devotio nos-  
tra:

Rex bone, Rex clemens, cui bona  
cuncta placent.

R. Gloria, laus.

All glory, praise, and honour be, O  
Christ, Redeemer, King, to Thee:  
Whom infant lips with homage meet  
Of glad Hosannas fondly greet;  
For Thou art heir of Israel's throne,  
Thou, royal David's promised Son;  
Thee King, Thee blessed we proclaim,  
Who comest in the Lord's high  
name.

R. All glory, &c.  
Thy lauds angelic tongues rehearse,

With quires on earth in mutual verse:

R. All glory, &c.  
Thee Israel's sons conduct with palms;

We with meek pray'rs and duteous  
psalms.

R. All glory, &c.  
Thine escorts they to Calvary: we,  
Glad hymners of Thy victory.

R. All glory, &c,  
Yet grant us, clement King, whom  
good delights,  
To share Thy love, who share those  
loving rites.

R. All glory, &c.

The Mechlin edition gives, in this place, the latter portion of the 23rd Psalm, "Lift up your heads," &c., distributed between the two parts of the chorus; a beautiful addition, undoubtedly, but one which seems to want sufficient authority.

At this point in the ceremony, the Subdeacon bearing the cross, knocks with the foot of it at the great door of the church, which is immediately opened, and the Proces-

sion enters chanting, with slight appropriate changes, the words in the Gospel narrative, descriptive of the event commemorated. Then solemn Mass is celebrated; the Palms being borne in the hands during the singing of the Passion and the Gospel.

What is called the "Passion" in the office of Holy Week, is the Gospel narrative of the Sufferings of our Blessed Lord, from the Last Supper to the "Consummation" on the Cross. The sequel of the Passion, consisting of the events between the Ninth Hour on the Friday, and the dawn of Easter morning, is properly termed the "Gospel" of the day. The solemn recital of the Passion, is one of the most deeply affecting incidents of the week; and the first occasion of it is in the Mass of Palm Sunday. The recital is divided between three parts; 1. the narrator: 2. our Divine Redeemer: and 3. the remaining speakers. The description of this most wonderful and piercing representation, shall be given in the accurate and graphic language of Dr. Wiseman:—

"The narrative is given by one in a strong manly tenor voice; the words of our Saviour are chanted in a deep solemn bass; and whatever is spoken by any other person, is given by the third in a high contralto..... The chant of the narrator is clear, distinct, and slightly modulated: that in which ordinary interlocutors speak, sprightly and almost bordering upon colloquial familiarity; but that in which our Saviour's words are uttered is slow, grave, and most solemn, beginning low and ascending by full tones, then gently varied in rich though gentle modulations, till it ends by a graceful and expressive cadence, modified with still greater effect in interrogatory phrases. This rhythm is nearly the same in all Catholic churches. But in the Pope's chapel it is sung by three of the choir, instead of by ordinary clergymen, and consequently by voices most accurately intoned and most scientifically trained. But the peculiar beauty of this representation, at least in the Sixtine chapel, consists in the chorus. For whenever the Jewish crowd are made to speak, in the history of the Passion, or indeed whenever any number of individuals interfere, the choir bursts in with its simple but massive harmony, and expresses the sentiment with a truth and energy which thrills through the frame and overpowers the feelings. These choruses were composed, 1585, by Thomas de Victoria, native of Avila, and contemporary with the immortal Palestrina, who did not attempt to correct or alter them; probably, as his worthy successor, Baini, has observed to me, because he found them so perfect and suited to their intention. There are twenty-one in the Gospel of Sunday, and only fourteen

in that of Friday. The phrases, too, of which they consist, in the first are longer, and more capable of varied expression than in the latter, and the composer has taken full advantage of this circumstance. When the Jews cry out, ‘Crucify him,’ or ‘Barabbas,’ the music, like the words, is concentrated with frightful energy, and consists of just as many notes as syllables; yet, in the three notes of the last words, a passage of key is effected, simple as it is striking. In this, and in most of the choruses, the effect is rendered far more powerful by the abrupt termination which cuts the concluding note into a quaver, (a note not known in the music of the papal choir), though in written measure it is large, or *double breve*. The entire harmony, though almost all composed of semibreves, is given in a quick but marked, and, so to speak, a stamping way, well suiting the tumultuous outcries of a furious mob. These are all traditional modifications of the written score, preserved alive from year to year among the musicians since the original composer’s time.”—*Lectures on Holy Week*, pp. 58, 59.

We will only add, that, in the Third of the “Lectures for the Holy Week,” will be found an interesting passage upon the antiquity of Processions, and upon the universality throughout the Church of that which is peculiar to the Sunday before Easter.

We pass rapidly over the three next days, the features of which are substantially the same with those of the Sunday. In all of them is found, of course, that wonderful application of Holy Scripture, for which the Divine Service of the Catholic Church is so remarkable. The Bible is a sealed book to Protestants; it is the Church alone which possesses the key to its exhaustless meanings. As to the offices of the Monday, Tuesday, and earlier part of Wednesday, they are felt by devout Christians, to be singularly in keeping with the spirit of those tranquil days, the precise events of which are more or less shrouded in obscurity, and which are days rather of still contemplation than of painful and arousing remembrances; thus differing characteristically from the First, as well as from the Three Latter, Days of the Great Week.

On the Wednesday evening begins what is called the Tenebrae office, so termed, as the author of the “Lectures” explains, (Lect. 3), on account of its being the Nocturnal Service of the Church, anciently celebrated at midnight, but for some time past anticipated by several hours, so that, according to actual practice, it falls in the earlier part of the evening, and generally ends in the twilight.

The Tenebræ, therefore, as not every one is perhaps aware, consists of nothing but the regular Breviary office of the days on which it is solemnized; i. e., of the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday in the Holy Week, actually sung on the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday evenings. It may be well to add, for the sake of some readers, that the "Lamentations" so celebrated on account of the exquisite chant to which they are set, are the Lessons of the First Nocturn on each of the three days taken out of the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah; and that the "Miserere," yet better known and for no better reason is merely the 50th, or as it is in the Protestant version, the 51st Psalm, which on these three days is said in a low tone of voice, or sung to a plaintive chant, not in the ordinary course of the Psalms, but towards the close of the office. We mention these facts, familiar as they are to Catholics, because some readers will be agreeably surprised, though others perhaps a little disappointed, to discover that what they had been accustomed to regard as peculiarities of "Popery," are nothing more than passages of Holy Scripture with which they have been, or should have been, familiar from their youth. The word "Tenebræ," commonly applied to the Three Days' office, is also perhaps connected with expressive ceremonies which take place in the course of it. For, as each of the fifteen Psalms of Matins and Lauds is concluded, one of the candles placed on a triangular candlestick is extinguished; and during the chanting of the Benedictus, at the close of every second verse, the six large candles on the altar are also put out. The church is thus left in darkness, which would be total (were the external twilight to be excluded) all but a single candle, which remains alight on the top of the triangular stand. When the antiphon, known from the words with which it opens, as "Traditor," i. e. "the Traitor," is repeated, the remaining light is hidden under the altar, in token of our blessed Lord's obscuration, and all say in a low tone the words, "Christ was made for us obedient unto death." Then is said or sung the Psalm Miserere, and the office ends with a short collect, the close of which is said in silence. Then, upon a loud signal, the candle is fetched from beneath the altar, replaced on the stand, and all depart in silence. The same ceremonies are repeated on the Thursday and Friday evenings, with the exception that on the second day, to the

words “ Christ was made for us obedient unto death,” is added, “ of the cross,” while, on the third, the whole of these words are used with the addition, “ Wherefore God also hath exalted Him, and hath given Him a name which is above all names.” While specifying the points in which the office of these days differs from that of other times, we ought not to forget the peculiar effect produced by the termination of each Psalm, which, instead of ending in the regular cadence, comes to an abrupt conclusion on a sharp, with an effect almost startling and very mournful.

The chant to which are sung the Lamentations of Jeremiah on the three latter days of Holy Week, will be found in the Mechlin book. Anything more exquisitely melodious and plaintive, can hardly even be imagined ; yet the range of notes is very limited, and the same cadences are often repeated. It is a tone of wild melancholy most unspeakably touching ; the cry of a heart labouring under the burthen of the Church’s desolation. We can hardly fancy that any expression of these words can be so appropriate as the melodious recitative of a single voice ; but we learn from the author of the Lectures, that in the Sixtine chapel, the first Lamentation of each evening is sung in a harmony of four voices.

The same learned writer informs us, that there are three different Misereres used on the successive evenings in the papal chapel ; that of the Wednesday being composed by Biani, the very recent director of the papal choir ; that of Thursday by Bai, a composer of the earlier part of the last century ; and the more celebrated one of Allegri being sung on the Friday. He adds, that Bai’s is founded upon Allegri’s, or rather is a copy of it with some alterations.

On the Thursday morning, the Church wears, for a while, an aspect even of joy. It is the day on which the Blessed Eucharist was instituted, and in the memory of that event, our holy mother drowns for the time the voice of sorrow. The mourning vestments are doffed for the occasion, the celebrant, attended by a long line of other priests and ministers,\* appears at the altar in virgin white, the colour of the day ; the mass opens with the psalm *Judica*, which, it will be remembered, has been dropped

\* This supposes that the benediction of the holy oils is part of the ceremony.

since Passion Sunday; the Gloria in Excelsis, suspended (on all days of the season) since Septuagesima, is once more heard with its festal tones, and during its recital, the bells are sounded both within and without the church, in token of a brief-lived joy, after which they remain silent till the Gloria of Holy Saturday. Instead of the Passion, as on the other days, is sung the Gospel narrative of the Last Supper. The sounds of festivity now die away, but are resumed at the end of the Mass, when the Blessed Sacrament is removed from the high altar to that on which it is to repose till the following day.

As no consecration takes place in the Mass on Good Friday, the Blessed Sacrament is reserved for the communion of the priest on that day, from the consecration of the previous day; whence the Mass of Good Friday is called "of the Presanctified." This reservation of the Adorable Victim is made at the altar of a side chapel, whither It is borne in solemn procession at the termination of the Mass on Holy Thursday. As soon, therefore, as the Priest has communicated on that day, the clergy prepare to accompany the procession, each receiving a lighted candle. The Blessed Sacrament contained in the Chalice covered with the Paten, is placed in the hands of the celebrant by the deacon, and a white veil, as usual, placed over his shoulders so as to envelope It; then, preceded by thurifers, walking backwards, and incensing the Adorable, and by the whole train of clergy with the lights, the celebrant bears the precious charge to the place prepared for Its reception. During the procession is sung the hymn, "Pange lingua," from the Office of Corpus Christi, commemorating the institution of the Holy Eucharist: when arrived at the chapel, the Blessed Sacrament is placed on the altar, where, illustrated by a multitude of lights, It remains for the adoration of the faithful till the time for its removal back to the high altar. It is also customary to place the sacred vessels on the altar of the sepulchre prostrate and almost in disorder, to intimate that, during the desolation of the Church, their office is at an end. Attendants, who should be in surplices, watch our Lord during this His exile from the habitation of His glory, and the injury which He receives at the hands of His murderers is repaired by the constant and loving devotions of the Church.

The clergy then return into choir, and chant Vespers.

This Office concluded, the priest and ministers proceed to strip the high altar, while the choir sings the touching antiphon, "They parted my garments," &c., with the whole Psalm in which it is found, (the twenty-first.) The sanctuary lamp is of course put out, and the crucifix alone remains to relieve the utter desolation of the scene. In due time, the clergy reassemble and chant the *Tenebræ*, and then there are two distinct solemnities going on in the Church at the same moment; in the choir, where *Tenebræ* is chanted, and in the chapel of "the Sepulchre," where the Blessed Sacrament is reserved,—two solemnities both commemorative of our Lord, yet in ways how different! the one descriptive of the treatment which He encountered from the world—the other expressive of the love which He receives from the Church; here they tell us, in accents of woe, how it fared with Him in the Garden of Gethsemani and the Hall of Caiphas; there He reposes on the altar, encompassed by every token of reverent devotion, and visited by a loving and adoring train of worshippers. This contrast, which we do not remember to have seen pointed out, is to our own minds one of the most striking and affecting circumstances of the week.

Our present occupation being with the *ordinary* services of Holy Week, we omit all notice of the *Mandatum*, or Washing of the Feet, proper to Holy Thursday, of which, however, a full account may be seen in the "*Lectures*." For the same reason we have not discussed the Benediction of the Holy Oils, which takes place on Holy Thursday, in the episcopal church or chapel of each diocese or district.

Good Friday has, of course, a character of its own, quite unlike the days between which it falls; they are, for different reasons, days of joy; *it* is one, as befits, of unmitigated and appalling desolation. The Sanctuary is vacant and almost disordered; its Light is gone. At the Mass, the priest and his ministers are vested in black, as at a funeral. No lights precede them, no incense rises before them; for incense bespeaks a Sacrifice,—and on that day, when the Antitype was offered, the Church, in reverence, suspends the Type. Arrived in the Sanctuary, the priest and ministers prostrate themselves at the foot of the altar, and remain in prayer while the acolytes cover the altar with a linen cloth. The Office begins with a

solemn and mournful Lesson ; a Tract, broken and disjointed, follows ; then a Prayer, then a Lesson from the Epistle, then the Passion according to St. John. At the words, “emisit spiritum,” all kneel and meditate, as the Rubric enjoins, “upon the redemption of mankind.” Then follows a series of Prayers for special occasions,—for the Pope, formerly, till the suppression of the Roman Empire, for its Emperor,\* all estates of Christians, and all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics. These Prayers ended, the priest takes down the Cross, and shows it to the people, while the deacon and sub-deacon sing, “Behold the wood of the Cross,” and the choir answers, prostrate on the ground, “Come, let us adore.” Then begins the Adoration of the Cross by the clergy and people, each of whom goes on bended knees and kisses it ; a ceremony which Protestants mislike, and to which, in our judgment, the ordinary explanations are not likely to reconcile them, and even if they were, the advantage would be dearly purchased by the sacrifice of good doctrine and good devotion which they commonly involve. There is one answer, and but one, to all such objections ; and that is an answer which none but a Catholic can rightly understand. It is, of course, this : that *external acts derive all their meaning from the intention with which they are performed.*

During the Adoration of the Cross are chanted the wonderful “Improperia” or Reproaches ; wonderful even from the music which conveys them ; far more wonderful from the idea upon which they proceed. They consist, as is known to many, in an address made by our blessed Lord to the Jewish people, in which He reminds them of His successive mercies to them in times of old, and contrasts with His acts of loving tenderness, theirs of hatred and cruelty. When the chanters have given out the first Reproach, the two sides of the choir sing alternately the different parts of the Trisagion. This hymn (often confused with the *Tersanctus* in the Mass) consists in an address to the ever Blessed Trinity, in Greek and Latin, under the three designations of God, the Holy, the Strong, and the Immortal. Not one of the least interesting fea-

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\* Never for the local monarch, as one might conclude from what is printed by mistake in some Missals and Office Books for the Laity.

tures of this hymn, is the memorial which it keeps up of the time at which the eastern and western Churches were united.\* The parts of the Trisagion are blended with the Reproaches—as if to recall the mind from the affronts put on our Redeemer in the flesh to the majesty of His divine nature.—Next follows the hymn in honour of the Cross, which is sung after the following manner. We have taken the translation from the “*Devotions on the Passion,*” as at once, we think, more literal and more in the spirit of the original than that given in the Derby *Holy Week* book. We add the Latin for those who can enter into it. It will be observed that the English is in metre and rhyme, though the words are printed consecutively, like the Latin in the Missal.

*Crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis; nulla silva talem profert, fronde, flore, germine. Dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulce pondus sustinet.*

*Hymnus.* *Pange, lingua, gloriari lauream certaminis, et super Crucis trophyo dic triumphum nobilem; qualiter Redemptor orbis immolatus vicerit.*

*Repetitur. Crux fidelis, ut supra.*

*V.* *De parentis protoplasti fraude Factor condolens, quando pomi noxialis in necem morsu ruit; Ipse lignum tunc notavit, daunna ligni ut solveret.*

*Repetitur. Dulce lignum, ut supra.*

*V.* *Hoc opus nostrae salutis ordo deponcerat; multiformis proditoris ars ut artem falleret, et medelam ferret inde, hostis unde laeserat..*

*R. Crux fidelis, &c.*

*V.* *Quando venit ergo sacri plenitudo temporis, missus est ab arce Patris Natus, orbis Conditor: atque ventre virginali carne amictus prodiit.*

*R. Dulce lignum, &c.*

*V.* *Vagit Infans inter arcta conditus praesepia; membra pannis involuta*

*O faithful Cross, thou peerless Tree, no forest yields the like to thee, leaf, flower, and bud. Sweet is the wood, and sweet its weight, and sweet the nails which penetrate thee, thou sweet wood.*

*Hymn.* *Sing, O tongue, devoutly sing, the laurels of our glorious King; loud proclaim the triumph high, of the Cross's victory; how upon that altar laid, our price the world's Redeemer paid.*

*Repeat.* *O faithful Cross, as above.*

*V.* *When our first forefather ate the fruit which wrought his woful fate, our high Creator pitying mourned, His holy law by creatures scorned, and fain to make the damage good, through wood revok'd the curse of wood.*

*Repeat.* *Sweet is the wood, as above.*

*V.* *Such the deep mysterious plan, fram'd to rescue ruin'd man, fram'd with wondrous skill to meet the crafty tempter's arch deceit; while from one source promiscuous flow, the woe, and salve that heal'd the woe.*

*R. O faithful Cross, &c.*

*V.* *Fulfill'd the course of Advent years, at length the promised day appears; stoops from His Father's lofty state, the Son who did the world create; meek Offspring of a Virgin womb, enshrin'd in flesh, behold Him come!*

*R. Sweet is the wood, &c.*

*V.* *Full many a tear beheld Him shed, sunk in His narrow manger-bed;*

\* There are some most instructive remarks on this subject, in the Third of the Lectures on *Holy Week*.

**Virgo Mater alligat; et Dei manus  
pedesque stricta cingit fascia.**

**R. Crux fidelis, &c.**

**V. Lustra sex qui jam peregit, tem-  
pus implens corporis, sponte libera  
Redemptor Passioni deditus, Agnus in  
Crucis levatur immolandus stipite.**

**R. Dulce lignum, &c.**

**V. Felle potus ecce languet spina  
clavi lancea, mite corpus perforarunt,  
unda manat et cruar: terra, pontus,  
asta, mundus, quo lavantur flumine !**

**R. Crux fidelis, &c.**

**V. Flecte ramos, arbor alta, tensa  
laxa viscera; et rigor lentescat ille  
quam dedit nativitas: et Superni mem-  
bra Regis tendi miti stipite.**

**R. Dulce lignum, &c.**

**V. Sola digna tu fuisti ferre mundi  
Victimam; atque portam preparare  
area mundo naufrago, quam sacer  
cruor perunxit, fusus Agni corpore.**

**R. Crux fidelis, &c.**

**V. Semperna sit beatæ Trinitati  
gloria, æqua Patri, Filioque, par decus  
Paraclito; Unius Trinique Nomen lau-  
det universitas. Amen.**

**R. Dulce lignum, &c.**

When the Adoration of the Cross is finished, it is replaced on the altar and the candles are lighted. Then the priest, his attendant deacon and subdeacon, and the other clergy, form themselves into a procession, and bearing

the while His virgin Mother mild, in shreds enwraps her glorious Child; and lo, th' incarnate feet and hands of God are swath'd in beggar's bands.\*

**R. O faithful Cross, &c.**

**V. And now six lustral courses run,  
His task of love is well nigh done; the  
Saviour, of His own free will, prepares  
His Passion to fulfil; and on the Cross  
the Victim lies, meek and bound for  
sacrifice.**

**R. Sweet is the wood, &c.**

**V. Drench'd with gall, behold Him  
languish, while His tender frame with  
anguish, thorns and nails and javelin  
fierce, one by one acutely pierce; till  
from His wounded side a flood of Water  
flows with mingled Blood; O healthful  
stream, which earth and skies, which  
land and ocean purifies!**

**R. O faithful Cross, &c.**

**V. Bow thy branches, haughty Tree;  
suspend thy wonted cruelty; relax thy  
tightened arms, repress for once thy  
nature's stubbornness; thy Royal bur-  
den gently bear, and spare our dying  
God, O spare !**

**R. Sweet is the wood, &c.**

**V. Thou alone wert meet esteem'd,  
Him to bear who man redeem'd, thou  
unshaken Ark, bedew'd with our  
Lamb's availing Blood, shipwreck'd  
man dost safely guide, and in port se-  
curely hide.**

**R. O faithful Cross, &c.**

**V. To the Undivided Three in hea-  
ven be glory, praise, and honour giv'n,  
alike to Father and to Son, and Para-  
clite, the Three in One; yea, let the  
adoring world proclaim, of Three and  
One the glorious Name. Amen.**

**R. Sweet is the wood, &c.**

\* St. Buonaventure makes our Blessed Lady wrap the Divine Infant in her own veil, which seems also to be the notion of Overbeck's exquisite picture. Holy Scripture leaves us the option; but spiritual writers almost with one accord, suppose a tattered and mendicant covering. They dwell on the contrast between our Lord's Divine Greatness, and the wretchedness of His earthly lot, which is heightened by this especial feature of it. The word in the hymn, "pannis," is literally "rags" or "tatters." Such contemplations seem peculiarly fitted to break down the hateful spirit of our time, which is inclined to associate the idea of *abject* (as distinct, of course, from *squalid*) poverty with disgrace.

lights, advance to the side altar or chapel, (commonly called the Sepulchre) to which the adorable Sacrament was removed the day before, and where it has since reposed. On their way they chant the hymn *Vexilla Regis*, a beautiful translation of which will be found in the Derby book. The celebrant again receives our Lord into his embrace, and returns with the clergy in solemn form to the high altar on which the precious Victim is laid. Receiving the thurible he incenses it on bended knees; wine and water is then supplied for the Offertory, and the Mass proceeds as far as “*Orate fratres.*” Then, omitting the intermediate portion, the celebrant goes on to the Lord’s Prayer, the Pax Domini, and Agnus Dei. He then communicates, and having purified his fingers and received the ablution, says the prayer of thanksgiving, and then leaves the altar. Thus end the “maimed rites” of this wonderful and awful anniversary. The holy Communion is not given on Good Friday, except to the sick.

The Church has prescribed no other services for Good Friday except the usual office; but in some religious communities the three hours during which our Saviour hung on the cross are occupied in appropriate devotions, hence called in Italian the Tre Ore. The society of JESUS is noted for its encouragement of this particular devotion. The Seven Words of our Blessed Lord, of course, enter largely into it, as a subject of meditation; and through them our Redeemer, addressing us from the Cross, bids us, even in the midst of His own anguish, to cast our care upon His blessed Mother,—“*Fili, ecce Mater vestra.*” And here we are glad to find a point of contact between the ritual and devotional branches of the subject, and, consequently, between our own more technical representation and the fervour and unction of Dr. Cox’s beautiful translation from the German of Dr. E. Veith—a long extract from which we shall make no apology for introducing.

“There is a sweet remembrance in the heart of man, which from earliest youth to grey old age is our constant companion. It renews itself in the stillness of night; it is as strongly and deeply implanted in the heart of the rough warrior, as in the heart of the most tender maiden. The heart in which it is not, must be like the heart of the savage hyæna. And this is the remembrance of a loving and affectionate mother. For when we look back, with all the power of our memory, into the earliest scenes of life, what do we meet? There, where our consciousness scarce rises above

the chaos of a life of dreams, we find ourselves in the arms of a mother. Our first glance of feeling was reflected in her eyes. At the side of our couch she sat with tender care, to watch our slumbler or to soothe our pain. Guided by her hands we took our first step. In our happiness she exulted, and if evil overtook us, her tears were seen to flow. If we journeyed from our home her soul travelled with us; her prayers protected us, and it would often seem as if, in her love, she hovered round us, with words of sweet, calm salutation! How deeply therefore do we feel the admonition of the Wise man: ‘Forget not the sighs of thy mother.’ (Eccl. vii. 27.) How true is his declaration: ‘He that honoureth his mother is as one that layeth up a treasure.’ (iii. 5.) For who shall measure the love that dwelleth in a mother’s heart, who shall define the gratitude to which it obliges us?

“And yet our mother could give us no more than this mortal life, full of discord, sin, and pain. She may have cherished and matured the germs of faith and morality within us; but we received these from another source; she herself stood in need of redemption, and may still stand in need of our prayers. We have another Mother of far higher dignity, who loves us, watches over us, accompanies us wherever we may be, and who takes a lively interest in all that concerns us—a Mother whom our Redeemer gave to us, when from His Cross He spoke these words: ‘Behold thy Mother.’ The sorrows of this Mother and her pangs we should never forget, for the pains which she shared with Jesus conduced to our spiritual birth.

“The fathers of the Church allude, when speaking of this subject, to Rachel, the spouse of Jacob, whose first-born son Joseph, named the Nazareen among his brethren, was offered as a sacrifice to the envy of these his brothers, and thereby became, by a special providence, their ruler and saviour. Her second son, to whom she gave birth amid the travails of death, was named by another name; he was called Benoni, the son of sorrows. So is the first-born of Mary, the Nazareen, the Holy, the Wonderful, the First-born of the dead, the great Saviour of the human race, to whom she, as being above the sin and doom of Eve, gave birth without pain. But she had another son, according to the order of spiritual birth, who was given to her upon Calvary, and this son was to her a son of pain and sorrow. Her favour and her care, therefore, are extended to all who bear the seal of redemption; and where is the mortal man, for whom the Blood of her Son was not shed, and where is he who, if he resist not the entrance of light into his soul, shall be excluded from salvation?

“Thus the word of our blessed Lord, ‘Behold thy Mother,’ is sacred to all whose hearts have not been made cold by indifference. She, the chosen of all generations and peoples, the gate of the orient, the restorer of salvation—behold, she is this Mother. The wisest and most exalted of all creatures, the flower and ornament

of the human race, the wonderful one in whom the mystery of a new creation was effected, by which heaven and earth were united—she is thy Mother. The Mother of a God-Man, the Mother of Jesus, is also thy Mother. Does the dawn of self-knowledge and repentance arise in the dark and sinful mind? Mary is the morning star that heralds in the light of grace. Has the sun of God's favour set in the unhappy heart through passion, error, or sinful habit? The evening star still shines—Mary, warning, praying, alluring, still looks down upon the wandering sinner, oftentimes as the only ray of light amidst the universal gloom. It is she who awakens sinners; she is the friend of the innocent, the instructress of youth, the comforter of the suffering, the hope of the dying; she is the merciful Mother of all men, for she is the Mother of the Man-God.—O Mother of men, we all cry to thee, exiled children of Eve, from this vale of tears! Turn, O heavenly advocate, turn to us thine eyes; protect us in thy love, speak for our souls. Behold thy Mother. Amen.”—pp. 77-80.

The “*Devotions on the Passion*” supply us with similar thoughts in verse, from the Latin of St. Bonaventure:

JESU, Lux et Rex gloriae, Fili Dei et  
hominis,  
JESU, Flos pudicitiae, Fili Mariæ Vir-  
ginis;  
Dum hæc Virgo sanctissima, tota plena  
doloribus,  
Genitrix amantissima, tot confecta  
moeroribus,  
Tua Mater charissima, tota percussa  
fletibus,  
Nutrix diligentissima, tota fracta sin-  
gultibus,  
Juxta crucem assisteret, et Te pen-  
dente cerneret,  
Dum tormenta conspiceret et præ  
luctu deficeret;  
Tu videns Matrem flebilem, pressam  
amaritudine,  
Matrem Tuam venerabilem, dignam  
beatitudine,  
Videns quoque discipulum, amatum et  
amabilem,  
Fidelem Dei famulum, Joannem vita  
nobilem;  
Alloquens ambos dulciter, præ vocis  
oraculo,  
Commendasti benigniter Matrem  
Christi discipulo,  
Dicens Matri, ‘Mulier, ecce filius  
tuus!’  
Deinde discipulo, ‘Ecce Mater tua!’

### *Oratio.*

O qualis permutatio! O quanta inse-  
qualitas!  
O qualis desolatio! O quæ Matris acer-  
bitas!

King of glory, Star of morn,  
Son of God, and Virgin-born,  
Flow'r of Chastity unspoil'd,  
JESU, Mary's sinless Child;  
While Thy Mother, holiest Maiden,  
Stands with many a dolour laden;  
Mother, loving and beloved,  
Nurse, of care most watchful prov'd,  
Stands in tears, and deeply sighing,  
Near the Cross, and sees Thee dying,  
Sees Thy torments, till the sight  
Her tender soul o'ermasters quite;  
On that Mother, ever blest,  
Thou Thy gracious eye dost rest,  
On that form which anguish bows,  
On each painful tear that flows,  
Then behold'st thy follower mild,  
John the lov'd one, God's own child,  
Fain in one sweet charge to blend  
Mother dear and faithful friend;  
'Woman, (thus that lonely one  
Thou dost cheer,) behold thy Son!'  
Then dost bless Thy duteous brother,  
Saying, 'Son, behold thy Mother!'

### *The Prayer.*

O sad reverse! contrast how passing  
strange!  
O aching void! O most unequal change!

Dum custos Matris traditur, pro Magistro discipulus;  
 Dum, per Matrem suscipitur pro Deo vir pauperculus,  
 Dum Matri custos mittitur, pro Rege simplex famulus,  
 Sic Tuæ, Jesu, gratiæ me commendabo humiliter,  
 Tuæque providentiæ me committo perenniter;  
 Ut, exorante Virgine pro nobis Te suppliciter,  
 A peccatorum turbine sinus securi jugiter.

Who her blest Son had cherish'd and ador'd,  
 Finds the disciple where she seeks the Lord;  
 A servant in His place the Ruler leaves,  
 She loses God, and but a worm receives;  
 Lord! to thy grace my weakness I command,  
 And crave to know Thee mine unfailing Friend;  
 When ruthless storms of sin are sweeping by,  
 O, at Thy Mother's suit, grant me to feel Thee nigh!

Good Friday evening is a strange, lonely time. An altar bared, a desolate sanctuary, lamps extinguished, and pictures veiled,— all bespeaking that the light of Israel is quenched, the glory of the Church is departed. The very repository-chapel, where yesterday we made our offerings to the still present Redeemer, is now dismantled; its faded flowers, its worn-down tapers, more desolate far than vacancy itself, are symbols not to be mistaken, of the change that has come over us. The “tabret and the harp” are still; and mute, or muffled, the vesper-bell, or the sweet Angelus—for who shall joy when Mary is in tears? Our very homes participate in the general gloom, as though there were one dead in the house; and perhaps, for the bell which erewhile summoned us to the cheerful meal, there is now substituted the harsh gong or the screaming rattle,\* to grate on the ear like nature’s yell of dismay, or the cry of ghosts dislodged from their paradise of hope.

But brief, through God’s mercy, are ever the obscurations of His glory, and the withdrawals of His consolation. “Heaviness endureth but for the night; joy cometh in the morning.” And that desolation which was short in fact, the Church in her loving impatience makes still shorter in remembrance, by anticipating the joy, though not all the joy, of Easter, even on the morning after the Passion.

The Matins of the Church for that singular day, Holy Saturday—singular in the Christian year, and even in this its holiest and strangest week—are deeply imbued with the spirit which painters call *repose*. Tranquillity and

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\* This is actually the case in some religious and ecclesiastical houses.

hope are the sentiments of every psalm and every antiphon. How wondrously do the opening words contrast with the altar-service of the morning previous—the reiterated petitions, the bitter Reproaches, the mangled Sacrifice! Such as was the temper of Blessed Mary on the night of that memorable Friday, such surely is the spirit of these Offices; the spirit of a peaceful reaction from intense sorrow. Or rather, is not the Office of Holy Saturday like our Lord's Compline, as they folded Him in the sacred winding-sheet, and gently laid Him in the new and virgin sepulchre? "Caro Mea requiescat in spe;" "In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam;" such are the key-notes of this languid, yet consoling, chant. And then, again, we seem to behold the lonely Mother bending over the Only-begotten, as the Church once more takes up the strain of her Lamentations, "How is the gold become dim, the finest colour is changed, the stones of the Sanctuary are scattered in the top of every street!"

In the Second Nocturn the tone of hope begins to rise. Here we have the first glimpse of joy. "Lift up your heads," it begins, "ye everlasting gates, and the King of glory shall come in." The next Antiphon is: "I believe that I shall see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living." The third: "Lord, Thou hast brought my soul out of hell." The character of the Psalms is denoted by these clues. The Third Nocturn breathes the spirit of the former two together—tranquillity and hope united.

The Ceremonies of Holy Saturday begin with the Benediction of the fire, from which the sacred lamps and tapers are to be kindled. In many religious and ecclesiastical communities, all the fires in the house having been first put out, are rekindled from the sacred light. How beautiful is this sanctification of elements in the Church! Fire and water, the proverb says, are "good subjects but evil rulers." Well, the Church divests them of their malice, exorcises them, and makes them her subjects. By water the world was drowned, by water it is saved. By fire it shall be destroyed at the last day, but the Church controls that terrible power into an instrument of her will, and a channel of her blessings. Some have thought that these elements are spirits in disguise; "Ministri Ejus sicut ignes urentes;" and that therefore we address them as living agents, capable of doing service to their Creator.

“Benedicite aquæ omnes quæ super cœlo sunt Domino.... benedicite ignis et æstus Domino.” Very demons are they in their natural state, but the Church makes of them “angels and ministers of grace.” The prayers at the Benediction of the Paschal Fire, are replete with divine imagery. Christ is the “Corner-stone” which shall give us light as fire is elicited from the flint; and as God was a pillar of fire to Moses as he quitted Egypt, so, asks the Church, “may fire be kindled to lighten us on our way to the everlasting light.” At this ceremony, which takes place at the door of the church on Holy Saturday morning, are also blessed five grains of incense, thought to be commemorative of our Lord’s five wounds, which are afterwards inserted in the Paschal Candle.

The lamps in the church are then put out, that they may be relighted with the sacred Fire: “Ecce nova facio omnia;” it is the day of universal regeneration. From the same fire the coals in the thurible are also ignited. A procession is then formed into the church. The deacon in white vestments bears the “arundo,” a rod with a triple candlestick, emblematic of the Sacred Trinity in Unity; and when he enters the church, an acolyte lights from the new fire, one of the three candles at the top of the rod. The deacon holds up the rod, and kneeling, as do also the rest, sings “Lumen Christi,” (the Light of Christ;) and the others answer, “Deo Gratias,” (Thanks be to God.) This is repeated in the middle of the church, and again before the altar, each time in a higher key. Then, having received the blessing of the priest, he proceeds to sing the Praeconium, or Benediction of the Paschal Candle, a hymn in honour of the approaching solemnities of Easter, commonly called the “Exultet,” from its first word. The Paschal Candle is one of the symbols and accompaniments of Easter joy; it is of vast size and height, painted and decorated with appropriate emblems. It burns during High Mass and Vespers, from Easter Eve to Ascension Day, when it is extinguished at High Mass after the singing of the Gospel.

The Hymn, or Preface of benediction, which is sung on this occasion by the deacon, is of great antiquity; some trace it up to St. Augustine of Hippo. As a piece of sacred poetry, it is, perhaps, one of the most magnificent compositions in the world, if we may apply a word importing human skill to a work which bears traces of the lower kind.

of inspiration. In one place it breaks out into a strain of almost daring sublimity. “O marvellous condescension of Thy pity in our behalf! O inestimable affection of charity! To redeem the slave Thou didst deliver up the Son. O verily needful sin of Adam, which was expiated by the death of Christ! O blessed transgression, that merited so great a Redeemer! O happy, happy Night, which alone deserved to know the time and the hour when Christ arose from the dead!” This is the Night whereof it is written, “And the night shall be as light as the day, and the night is my illumination in my delight. The sanctification of this night it is which chaces away crime and blots out sin, restoring innocence to the fallen and joy to the mourner.”

No words of ours can do justice to the melody in which this sacred Pæan is recited. It is founded on the tone of the Prefaces in the Mass, but ranges over a wider compass, rising one full note above the highest in the Prefaces, and falling two below the lowest. It occasionally descends by intervals from high to low, and then abruptly mounts in a tone of almost wild exultation. At one part it breaks into the form and melody of the Prefaces, and so proceeds at great length to the end, though with occasional most expressive deviations from the usual standard, especially the rise to the highest note under the influence of any triumphant passage. Just before a magnificent apostrophe opening with the words, “O blessed Night,” the Lamp of the Sanctuary, and other lamps in the church, are relighted from the sacred fire. Every thing betokens that the day is coming on.

The benediction of the Paschal Candle ended, a long course of instruction is begun, with especial reference to the catechumens, who, as it is well known, received, and in Catholic countries still receive, public baptism on this day. Prophecies of the Old Testament relating to our blessed Lord, are read in succession to the number of twelve, each being succeeded by a short prayer. The canticles of Miriam, parts of that of Moses, and of the song of the Vineyard in Isaiah, are chanted at the close of the Lessons to which they belong. The last Prophecy is the history of the setting up the golden statue by Nebuchadonosor. This we mention for the sake of noting one of those exquisite touches of feeling, which show how the Church never slumbers in her love of our Lord. At

the end of the other Prophecies, the people kneel as a token of humiliation at the usual summons, “Flectamus genua;” but after the history of Nebuchadonosor’s idolatrous act, this ceremony is omitted, as if in repudiation of it, and again, perhaps, of the genuflection made in mockery of our blessed Lord in the Hall of Pilate. (St. Matt. xxvii. 29.) It is in the same spirit of affectionate loyalty, that the Church omits the Kiss of Peace in the Mass on each day of the great Triduum, when her heart is bleeding at the memory of another kiss, not of peace, but of treachery, of which her Lord was the victim.

The prayers following the Prophecies relate also to the subject of Baptism. If there be a font in the church, it is then solemnly blessed in a form of exquisite sweetness, opening with a Tract in the words, “Like as the hart panteth at the fountains of waters,” &c. for which, as for the Preface following, a proper tone is appointed. During the preface, the celebrant divides the water in the form of a cross, and afterwards scatters it to the four points of the compass, in allusion to the quadripartite river of Paradise. At one period he plunges the Paschal Candle into the water to sanctify it, and lastly, pours the sacred oil and chrism into it. The catechumens, if there should be any, are baptized at this point. The celebrant and ministers then return to the foot of the altar, and bend down before it. All kneel, and the cantors intone the Litanies of the Saints. When they begin, “We sinners beseech thee to hear us,” the priests and ministers rise and withdraw into the sacristy. They exchange their mourning vestments for white. The candles are then lighted, and the veils of the pictures and images withdrawn. The Litany meanwhile proceeds to the end, and when the cantors have sung “Christ graciously hear us,” the choir takes up the Kyrie Eleison, but without organ. Then the celebrant intones the “Gloria in Excelsis,” which is taken up by the choir with the organ, and the bells are rung. Just before the Gospel, the subdeacon advances to the bishop if present, saying, “Reverendissime pater, annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, quod est, Alleluia.” The word of joy is echoed by the celebrant thrice, in a progressively ascending tone. He is answered in precisely the same form by the full choir. When the celebrant has received the Holy Communion, Vespers are chanted. The office is unusually short, for hearts are too

full for utterance, and the Church does little more than multiply Alleluias, and congratulate the Mother of God. The next morning she settles down into a tone of calm majestic joy, interchanging with her children in the Invitatory, (according to primitive usage,) the announcement "Christ is risen indeed, Alleluia." And in the first Antiphon of Matins, our Lord is with us again, "velut gigas ad currēdām viam," like a giant, not prostrated but "refreshed" with the chalice of His Passion; "Christus heri, et hodie, et Ipse in s̄æcula," reviving the hearts of the contrite ones at the end of the battle, with the same assertion of incommunicable Deity, with which, at its commencement, He felled His enemies to the ground, "EGO SUM QUI SUM," for rewarding as for avenging.

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ART. II.—*Le Protestantisme comparé au Catholicisme dans ses rapports avec la Civilisation Européenne.* Par L'Abbé JACQUES BALMES. 3 vols. Louvain : 1846.

THE Catholic Church, by its influence on the individual, the family, and the state, has insured to mankind the largest share of happiness and freedom, as well as the fullest capability for their enjoyment. By her sublime doctrine, morality, sacraments, and worship, she has rescued the mind and heart of man, (provided he only surrender himself heartily to her dominion), from the tyranny of vice, superstition, and unbelief; and thereby qualified him for the enjoyment of that civil and political freedom, which is the more immediate object of our inquiries.

The family, that first type and germ of all social organization, and on whose sound constitution the stability and freedom of the state mainly depend, was re-established by the Church on its primitive basis. Monogamy and the indissolubility of the nuptial tie were proclaimed: and thereby domestic concord, purity, and happiness, insured; the dignity and even influence of woman established; paternal despotism restrained; and the care and education of childhood, and its future interests provided for. The relations between master and servant, which under heathenism had been so harsh and cruel, founded on mutual distrust and degradation, on the utter forgetfulness of

man's native dignity; these relations were now softened and relaxed, till by degrees they underwent a total transformation. The empire of outward force indeed, which the fall of man had necessitated, Christianity could not abolish; but by diminishing the reign of sin, and by proclaiming to men their common fraternity, all the social relations were in course of time necessarily modified. Under the influence of the Church, which, like its Divine Author, brings about changes by slow and imperceptible degrees, servitude, gradually mitigated, was at last totally suppressed. Thus if Christianity had done no more than achieve the moral regeneration of men—the restoration of woman to her long-lost rights—the protection of infancy, and the abolition of slavery with all its frightful consequences—it would have raised the freedom and the civilization of modern nations immeasurably above those of pagan antiquity.

But its beneficial influence on the state has not been less remarkable than on the family. By announcing the divine origin of political power, the Catholic Church on one hand, rendered sovereignty more stable and secure, and therefore less prone to the jealous caprices of tyranny: and, on the other hand, it ennobled and sanctified obedience, and therefore sheltered the subject from the excesses of anarchy, and the insecurity of despotism. Mutual confidence and self-devoting love arose, where previously hatred and jealousy had subsisted.

The separation of the spiritual and temporal powers established in the Jewish Church, but more fully developed in the Christian, is the firmest bulwark of political freedom that can well be conceived. The independence of the Church on the state is a perpetual memento to the civil power; that the sphere of conscience is beyond its competence—that religion hath her own inviolable domain, and that the great questions of moral justice, which regulate all the social relations, are not to be determined by the tribunal of political sovereignty. In the primitive or patriarchal religion, as we observed on a former occasion,\* the royal and priestly authority were vested in the same hands; but the law of God, which was still fresh and living in the minds of men, was a safeguard against the

\* See this Journal for Jan. 1845, Art. "Religious and Social Condition of Belgium."

abuses of power. But in heathenism, where that law was so obscured, tyranny often became more or less predominant, as on one hand, the priesthood could not be expected to offer an energetic moral resistance to the despotism of the sovereign, from whom it derived its jurisdiction; and on the other hand, the questions of truth and error, of right and wrong, of actions licit and illicit, were settled by an authority necessarily partial and interested, to wit, the head of the state itself.

But, moreover, the very independence of the Catholic Church efficaciously protected that of all other corporations in the state. The family has a sphere of action, over which political authority has no legitimate control. The municipal and communal corporation—the judicial body—the order of nobility, though forming constituent parts of the state, and therefore more subject to its jurisdiction, have yet severally a distinct sphere of rights and liberties, which, except from imperious motives of general utility, must remain exempt from its legislative interference. Hence, it was under the shadow of the Church's spiritual independence, that in the middle age all political rights and liberties took root and flourished, and displayed a vigour and consistency of growth, which we shall in vain look for in pagan antiquity.

In the next place, the admirable constitution of the Catholic Church, which is that of a temperate and finely balanced monarchy, was calculated to exert the most advantageous influence on civil society. Here, before the eyes of kings and of nations, stood an immense spiritual empire, where authority was regulated and attempered by ancient usages and explicit laws, and subjected to many and various checks and influences. The papal power, mighty and all-pervading as it is, and as becomes the end for which its Divine Author instituted it, was yet in the exercise of its jurisdiction, bound by the canons of the Church, by the disciplinary decrees of general councils and preceding pontiffs, by the subordinate but divine institution of episcopacy and its inherent rights, by the usages and privileges of particular churches, (when not incompatible with general discipline), by the special compacts made with secular princes, and lastly, by the awful nature of its moral responsibility. In matters of doctrine, where the nature of the case and the necessities of the Church require a prompt and energetic decision, the au-

thority of the sovereign Pontiff is, according to the far most general, ancient, and credible opinion, infallible, and therefore necessarily more absolute; but in affairs of discipline, it is, (except in cases of momentous urgency to the Church), subject to the various checks and limitations above specified. Episcopacy, which circumscribed the exercise of the papal power, was in its disciplinary jurisdiction bound to respect the defined rights of the inferior clergy; for though the sovereign Pontiff and the bishops are the sole divinely appointed judges of faith and discipline; yet in disciplinary matters, which are more analogous to the subjects with which civil government has to deal, the second order of clergy has no little weight and influence. The episcopal synod is the medium, whereby on all things appertaining to ecclesiastical discipline, this order may make known its opinions, feelings, wishes, and interests. The frequent recurrence of these synods, as well as of provincial councils, where the canonical laws were strictly maintained, furnished the state with a perpetual model for deliberative assemblies.

We pretend not to assert that the analogies between Church and State can be carried out with perfect exactness. The nature of the case, and the very different ends for which both were constituted, forbid such a supposition. Enough is it to discern the type, on which, by the latent force of things, the political organism of modern Europe was insensibly formed.

As the family contains the first germ of all political society, and the monarchical form of government is the truest copy of the domestic constitution; so in the family itself, according to the just observation of Fenelon, we find the primitive model of the temperate, or (to adopt the modern, but much abused phrase,) the representative monarchy. The father, who in affairs of importance, in which the welfare of his offspring was involved, would act without consulting the feelings and wishes of those children, whose age and discretion enabled them to form a judgment, would exercise his power with extreme harshness and severity. Sound reason, and the tender circumspection of parental love, have always dictated the opposite course. Thus if monarchy be the most ancient, and by far the most natural and general form of government, we see too, in the primitive ages, before idolatry had made such fearful progress, and before vice and corruption had enervated

the state, royalty more or less restrained by the power of the nobles and the people, and (where the institution of castes existed) by the sacerdotal body. This was the case in the heroic ages of Greece, in the monarchy of the Persians, before they attained universal empire, and in the earlier times of India and Egypt. But as ancient traditions were obscured, and the passions and errors that heathenism fostered, were developed, society became alternately a prey to anarchy and despotism.

But if in the primitive ages we can discern only faint traces of the temperate monarchy, it was reserved for the Christian Church to bring that form of government to a maturer development. In all the kingdoms founded by the northern barbarians on the ruins of the Roman empire, we see from the very beginning, the sovereign convoking for the settlement of all important affairs his feudal parliament, composed of prelates and barons. And in the course of time, as the cities obtained their municipal charters, and the third estate advanced in wealth and civilization, we behold their representatives in the national assemblies. In Spain, in Portugal, in France, in England, in Scotland, in Ireland, in Flanders, in all the provinces of the Germanic empire, in Poland, and the Scandinavian countries, we encounter the same phenomenon. Every where we find aristocratic, and (in most places) popular institutions co-existent with monarchy. Where the third estate, as in Hungary and Poland, was unable to grow into importance, this defect must be ascribed to the absence of trade, occasioned by the incessant wars to which those frontier-countries were exposed, as well as by some vicious institutions, like elective royalty for example.

This admirable constitution, under which Europe was rapidly advancing in the career of civilization, was destroyed by the Reformation in the countries where it triumphed, and undermined in those which still remained Catholic. By annexing spiritual to temporal authority, Protestantism, as we observed on a former occasion, subverted the strongest bulwark of political freedom, while it deranged the whole economy of a mixed or temperate monarchy. Subjected to the crown in matters spiritual, despoiled either totally, or in a great part, of its ancient riches, the clerical body lost its rank in the social hierarchy, or even where it retained its old political rights (as in our own country and Sweden), it was unable to resist the

encroachments of royalty, or act as the mediator between all classes.

The nobility, enriched with the spoils of the Church, having been rendered selfish, avaricious, and licentious, became the supple instrument of regal tyranny.

The commons, in a great measure bereft of the guidance of their natural leaders, and swayed alternately by those despotic and anarchical doctrines that issued from the bosom of the Reformation, now crouched at the feet of their monarchs, now burst into wild revolt.

Royalty, sated with the plunder of the Church, invested with two-fold authority, spiritual and temporal, freed from those restraints which the Catholic clergy and the old independent aristocracy had imposed on the arbitrary exercise of regal power, was now transformed into a perfect despotism. This despotism preceded and prepared the way for those bloody anarchic struggles, that marked the age subsequent to the Reformation.

This mighty event could not fail to exert an important influence even over those countries where the ancient faith still remained predominant. The temporal power of the popes, which, by often terminating or preventing unjust wars, and, in extreme cases, by repressing the despotism of kings and the revolt of subjects, had conferred such immense advantages on mankind, now disappeared. For, firstly, in the divided state of christendom, that universal umpirage, which monarchs and nations had once acknowledged, could no longer find a fitting scope for its exercise; and in the second place, in order not to afford a pretext for the declamations of heresy, the sovereign Pontiffs judged it prudent to confine themselves within the strict sphere of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Thus was one great prop of European freedom removed, and at a period, too, when it was so much needed. The sixteenth century —(to anticipate an observation of the writer whose work stands at the head of this article)—the sixteenth century was one in which royalty entered into a new crisis of its development. In many countries the decline of the feudal aristocracy, the growing power of cities, colonial acquisitions, and the junction or reunion of kingdoms by conquest or inheritance, rendered a strong central power necessary for the well-being of society. Here the papal power, could it have been exercised, would have tended to prevent the undue predominance of monarchical

sway, and have adjusted the balance between the different members of the body politic.

Moreover, while the tutelary authority of the Holy See, from which oppressed nations had so often sought and found redress, was thus relegated from the region of politics; the example of tyranny set by Protestant rulers, the anarchical doctrines spread by the Reformation, and the violence and bloodshed that everywhere marked its footsteps, rendered Catholic sovereigns more jealous of their prerogatives, more distrustful of popular institutions, and more prone to despotism. In Spain, the dread of the introduction of Protestantism led to a more jealous and illiberal policy on the part of the court, and to the infringement on popular rights.

In France, the violent republican doctrines put forth by Calvinism, and the endless series of conspiracies, rebellions, and civil wars which it enkindled, often drove the monarchs of that country into a course of crafty tyranny; while the spoliation or destruction of the noblest families, Catholic and Protestant, during those civil wars, facilitated the establishment of absolutism.

It was thus in Spain, from the time of Philip II., the Cortes declined more and more in power and importance, though in that country, so tenacious of ancient rites and customs, the root of popular institutions was never wholly extirpated. The system of absolutism, founded by Richelieu, was brought to its full development by Louis XIV., who, in the general abasement of all other political institutions, had the effrontery openly to declare, "L'Etat, c'est moi."

In both countries, but more particularly in France (such is the close union between the temporal and the spiritual order of things) the civil power, while it restricted the liberties of the people, encroached on the jurisdiction of the Church.

Yet those monarchies, much as they had declined from their ancient freedom, still possessed down to the period of their destruction many remnants of their old political liberties, admirable commercial and municipal institutions, and laws often the most wise and benevolent. And the observations we make in reference to France and Spain, apply more or less to other Catholic states. Such is the salutary influence of the Catholic Church on mind, manners, and legislation; so admirably doth she attemper

authority and enoble obedience, that her spirit supplies in some degree the loss of the outward guarantees of political freedom. Hence, in the Catholic monarchies we have named, even in their period of decline, we find a degree of social happiness, stability, personal freedom, and general civilization, immeasurably superior to all that the most favoured governments of antiquity could exhibit, and even not to be paralleled in the best governed Protestant states.\*

But if we compare the social state of Catholic with that of Protestant countries, how vastly superior is the former!

Where but in Catholic kingdoms shall we find such purity and happiness in domestic life? where is woman invested with so much dignity, and even influence? where are so much confidence and kindness manifested in all the relations between the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the master and the servant? where is so much tenderness evinced to the claims of poverty? where is the sense of honour more delicate in the gentry, and the spirit of moral independence stronger among the people? And is it not those qualities which lend the highest value and the most durable consistence to the best forms of government?

Yet the decline of political freedom is ever a great misfortune to nations; for with it decline those generous sentiments that are the mainsprings of art and science—that

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\* In England itself, life and property were not better secured than in France and Spain before their respective revolutions; and even under the most absolute of sovereigns, Lewis XIV., the violations of personal freedom were extremely rare. In France the parliaments, though they often made a factious and dangerous abuse of their power, still checked the arbitrary exercise of regal authority.

Some few of the French provinces had even preserved their ancient legislatures down to 1789.

In Spain, the Council of Castile, celebrated for its integrity and wisdom, had the right of remonstrating against the legality of royal ordinances. The Inquisition, though too severe in its forms, and at one period guilty of excesses, yet often curbed the despotism of kings and ministers; and on that account, as Mr. Charles Butler truly observes, remained, at least with the lower classes, a popular institution. Of this we shall later adduce the proofs. Biscay and Navarre, down to the late civil wars, retained their own Cortes, and, like the Pays d'Etats of France, were the most flourishing provinces of the monarchy.

practical energy which is the life of industry and trade, and that public spirit which is the source of all political greatness and enterprise. Moreover, as experience shows, the liberty of the Church sinks with that of the state ; and with the decline of ecclesiastical freedom we see the gradual decay of discipline and virtue, and the growth of schism and heresy.

Such was the state of the Catholic monarchies, when, about the middle of the eighteenth century, an irreligious and anti-social philosophy began to sap their foundations.

Had those monarchies retained their original form, they would have been better able to sustain the dreadful shocks, religious and political, which they were now destined to encounter. Had the clergy not been hampered in their spiritual jurisdiction, and divested of most of their political rights, they would better have been enabled to stem the tide of infidel opinions, which, having sprung up in Protestant countries, began now to overflow the Catholic kingdoms, and more particularly France. Had the nobility not been reduced to systematic inaction, withdrawn from their sphere of local influence, degraded into mere courtly attendants, and excluded for the most part from the management of public concerns, they would not so easily have become the dupes of those revolutionary theories, which accompanied or followed the course of unbelief. Had, for instance, the States-general of France or the Cortes of Spain subsisted during the eighteenth century in their full vigour, never would the political doctrines we allude to have obtained such vogue : for those great national assemblies, where the various corporations of the state are represented, possess a far more conservative instinct than a court which is naturally more variable, and open to so many influences, extraneous and internal.

This irreligious and anti-social philosophy, which was only the natural development of the principles of the Reformation, encountered, of course, far less opposition in Protestant than in Catholic countries. In the latter kingdoms, where the whole system of doctrines, opinions, manners, and institutions opposed such mighty obstacles to the progress of this philosophy, it could only hope to obtain success by means of secret societies, court cabals, and the favour of the great. It is the anti-social, more than the irreligious, doctrines of this philosophy which form the

immediate subject of our enquiries ; and as we have briefly traced the rise, the growth, and the decline of the Catholic monarchy, we shall now proceed to describe its downfall.

This revolutionary system reigned from the middle of the eighteenth century down to our times ; and, according to the different stages of its development, may be characterized as the despotic liberalism, the anarchical liberalism, and the constitutional liberalism.

The Jansenism, which infected a portion of the French clergy—the encroachments often made by the parliament on the spiritual rights of the Holy See—the suppression of the order of the Jesuits—and the licentious manners of the court and nobility in the reign of Lewis XV. facilitated in France the spread of infidelity, imported as it had been from Protestant countries. This infidelity, through the patronage of powerful ministers and the machinations of secret societies, was able to obtain some footing in Spain and Portugal ; and in Austria, Bavaria, and the minor Catholic states of Germany, through the order of the Illuminati, and the favour and example of Joseph II. and other princes, it acquired considerable success.

Coupled with this irreligion, was an anti-social system that proclaimed the doctrine of popular sovereignty, making a fictitious social compact the basis of society, and all power a delegation from the people. This principle, reprobated by primitive antiquity, was first proclaimed by the degenerate philosophy of Greece ; and after having been repudiated by the Christian Church, was revived by some Catholic theologians of the fifteenth century, and developed by the reformers of the following age, especially Calvin and his disciples. This principle, which, while it admits the absolute necessity of power to the existence of human society, still presupposes a state of things where no society existed, impeaches the providence of God, because in creating man He had left him without the means to unfold his physical, moral, and intellectual faculties. "To explain the origin of society," said the Abbé de la Mennais, before his fall, "this doctrine presupposes society ; for the contract whereby power is delegated to the sovereign, implies a common language, common country, common wants, common interests ; and these cannot exist except in the state of society." Hence this doctrine—the root of all political troubles—has received from some great writers of modern times the severe epithet of *atheistical*.

Power, thus delegated to the sovereign by virtue of a presumed primitive compact, is subject to no law, no control, moral or positive, save what the popular will may ordain. "The sovereign people," says Rousseau, "requires not reason to justify its acts;" and here was another note of the atheistical character stamped upon this principle.

But, false and absurd as it is in theory, this doctrine is equally impracticable in life. To realize its application to modern society, the revolutionary sophists are compelled to narrow it by the most arbitrary limitations. In open contradiction with the principle of the equality of all men, they exclude from this exercise of sovereign delegation, women, minors, and those in service; and arbitrarily assume the power in the majority to bind the minority.

They commit another gross violation of their own principle, in ascribing to one generation the power of legislating for another; and hence the more consistent revolutionists maintain, that, on every new generation, the institutions of a country should be submitted to the approval of the people.

But this theory, impracticable as it is, was still most fatal to the quiet and freedom of nations. By rendering the tenure of power unstable and uncertain, it urged royalty into despotism; and by making the people sovereign, and exalting it above legitimate authority, it precipitated nations into anarchy. Some sovereigns of the eighteenth century, according to the just observation of M. de Haller, openly embraced this doctrine from a sort of soft, effeminate good nature, and in order to appear as the guardians and protectors of the people, to whose interests they were exclusively devoted; others from a false ambition and a spirit of despotism, to be able, under the pretext of the public weal, to accomplish measures of tyranny.\*

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\* 'Restouration der Staats,' Wissenschaft, vol. i. p. 179. We have purposely abridged the words of the Baron de Haller. Here they stand in the original: "Einige—(he has been speaking of princes)—Einige thaten dieses aus weichlicher gutmuthigkeit, als denen die schimmerade Schwärmerei gefiel, in allem die Vormünder und Fürsorger ihres Volks zer seyer, sich nur allein seinem Dieuste dahinzugeben und bei sich selbsk laute Uflichten und Reine Kechte anzuerkennen; andere aus falscher Ruhmsucht und despotischen Sinn, um Gewalthätigkeiten durchsetzen zer Können, die mon mit dem angeblichen Volk's-Besten Veschönigen wusste."

In some countries, like France, while society was undermined by irreligious and anti-social errors, and the abuses of the court furnished the spirit of destruction with the most dangerous aliment, fewer attempts were made, prior to the great outbreak of 1789, to introduce into the political region the revolutionary doctrines. But in Portugal, under the minister Pombal—in Austria, under Joseph II., and even, though with greater reserve, in Tuscany under Leopold, while the most violent encroachments were made on ecclesiastical power, the regular clergy, in one of its most revered orders insulted, wronged, and oppressed, and Jansenism openly encouraged, no effort was left untried to enforce the application of anti-social theories. The nobility—that object of hatred to all tyrants—was humbled and outraged, stripped of many of its just political privileges, and injured even in its proprietary rights. Entails and the right of primogeniture were abolished. All guilds and corporations were put down; the provincial legislatures, where they existed, were either put an end to, or fettered in the exercise of their power. Local customs and privileges were most arbitrarily violated or suppressed; and every attempt made to reduce society to one dead uniform level. Codes of the most absurd pretentious character were published, where often the holiest maxims of morality were trampled under foot, and the laxest indulgence evinced towards crime.

Who does not recognise in this fantastic extravagant game played by the deluded sovereigns of the eighteenth century, the natural prelude to the wild atrocities of French Jacobinism? Yet such, with more or less variation, more or less disorder, was the spectacle exhibited during the latter part of the eighteenth century, not only by many Protestant states, but by the Catholic governments of Austria, Spain, Portugal, Tuscany, and others. The great revolution of 1789, which unfortunately found in France and in Europe a soil already too well prepared, was not by any means so original a movement as is commonly supposed. The French Constituent Assembly merely walked in the footsteps of Pombal and Joseph II.; and it only carried out with the headlong violence of democracy, and the dialectic consistency of the French mind, those destructive measures in church and state pursued by the misguided sovereigns and treacherous ministers of the preceding epoch. This disorganizing

assembly, which called itself *constituent*, not content with suppressing *some*, abolished *all* religious orders ; not content with fettering the jurisdiction, sought to annihilate the authority, of the episcopate ; and at last consummated the schism which its royal prototypes had commenced. In its work of pretended political reform, it subverted the order of nobility with all its privileges and titles, despoiled municipal and communal corporations of their rights and property, put an end to all provincial legislatures, destroyed all local institutions, judicatures, and customs, and changed the very names of the ancient provinces of the monarchy. The bloody, anarchical, and atheistical assemblies, which succeeded to the constituent, completed the work of religious and social destruction.

Napoleon had the glory of reopening in France the closed temples of religion ; and had he but remained true to the sublime mission he had received from Divine Providence, he would have been hailed by his contemporaries and by posterity as the second Charlemagne. But he soon began to persecute the Church, which he had re-established ; and so in ecclesiastical, as well as political, matters, his government assumed a thoroughly revolutionary character. This character was evinced, on the one hand, in the irreligious despotism which Napoleon sought to establish over public education, in his persecution of the French clergy, and his imprisonment of the Head of the Church ; and, on the other hand, in the centralizing character of his government, based, like all the preceding revolutionary ones, on the annihilation of all orders and corporations, of all municipal and communal rights, of all local customs and franchises ; and which, by its forced military levies and the violent proceedings of its extraordinary tribunals, vied at times with the republican tyranny that had been put down.

The period of the constitutional liberalism dates in France from the restoration of the Bourbons in the year 1814, and continues down to the present time. Here, although in this eventful period of thirty years many better elements have been introduced, and a strong reaction has sprung up in the upper and a portion of the middle classes against the religious and (in part) the political doctrines of the revolution ; still that revolution, though in a modified form, continues to reign. The state, by the doctrine of popular sovereignty proclaimed as its basis—by its system

of centralization, opposed as that is to all local customs and rights, and to the free development of municipal and communal institutions—by its undisguised hostility to the order of nobles, whose existence is perpetually undermined by the subdivision of property—lastly, by the arbitrary interference it assumes in the most sacred concerns of the family and the Church—the state, we say, still retains in France a revolutionary character.

The decline of the Spanish monarchy, down to the middle of the last century, we have already pointed out.

In the reign of Charles III., a monarch personally upright and pious, but who, from his passionate love for the chase, blindly surrendered himself up to the guidance of the counsellors that surrounded him—in the reign of Charles III., the ministers, Aranda, Villa, Hermosa, and Compomanes, were the obsequious tools of the infidel and anti-social party in France. At the instigation of these culpable ministers, and after the example of the tyrannic and blood-thirsty Pombal, the illustrious order of the Jesuits was suppressed; and hence throughout the whole Iberian peninsula and its colonies, a void was left in education and a shock given to religion, from which those countries have not to this day recovered. At the same time a Jansenistical party (in Spain at least, ever contemptible in point of numbers and influence,) was fostered and encouraged; every attempt was made to hamper the bishops and the chapters in the exercise of their rights, and a secret war was carried on against the Holy See.

While the government thus encroached on the jurisdiction of the Church, it attempted the most arbitrary interference with the rights of the family; for those two corporations, the family and the Church, are bound together by mysterious ties; and rarely doth the State infringe on the liberties of the one, without trenching on those of the other. Thus Charles III. attempted by an ordinance to interdict the Spaniards the use of the slouched hat, but was for that arbitrary measure well nigh falling a victim of popular fury.

The higher nobility of Spain, from their frequent intermarriages, sunk for the most part into a state of moral and physical imbecility, and rendered moreover by their long exclusion from the management of public affairs the easy dupes of political innovators, were far from being able to cope with the difficulties of the time. They either approved,

or looked with passive indifference on the revolutionary policy pursued by the court. Under Charles IV., an unworthy minister, the guilty paramour of the queen, Godoy, in open contempt of the feelings of the nation, disposed of the destinies of the state, till he at last treacherously opened the gates of Spain to the arms of Napoleon. Here commences the war of independence—a war so glorious in the annals of Spain—a war that revealed to Europe the religious patriotism, the lofty enthusiasm, the heroic energy, that still slumbered in the heart of her noble people.

The generous feelings of liberty and national independence that this war elicited, were perverted to the worst purposes by a faction brought up in the doctrines of the French revolution, and fostered by the ministers of Charles III. The Cortes of 1812, was a feeble, sickly imitation of the French constituent assembly. Its members found themselves separated in doctrines, feelings, and views, from the great bulk of the nation, and hence they were compelled to proceed with far more circumspection in the work of social havoc. For, in despite of the corrupting policy of the Spanish government during the preceding thirty years, and in despite of the pernicious influence of the French literature over certain circles, the great mass of the nation remained firmly wedded to their faith.

The history of that tragic revolution, with its two restorations, that gave a momentary respite to Spain, is, alas, too well known to our readers. The suppression of all monasteries and the confiscation of their property, the plunder of the secular clergy, the most violent encroachments on their spiritual jurisdiction, the imprisonment and exile of the highest prelates, every encouragement afforded to an irreligious press, divine worship shorn of its splendour, the massacre of religious connived at, and the country menaced with a deplorable schism—such is the religious history of the revolution from 1812 to 1844. And what is the political aspect it presents during the same period? Royalty humbled to the dust, the impotent tool of anarchic factions, the higher nobility and clergy systematically excluded from political affairs, a licentious soldiery bearding the legislature, and violating the freedom of elections, the most honourable citizens compelled to abandon their home and country, the best blood of Spain flowing in a prolonged and disastrous civil war.

In this mournful drama, two restorations, like more cheering episodes, intervene. But these, though they gave the country time for repose and reflection, were, from the manner in which they were conducted, not of a nature to cure its evils or avert its dangers. In the first restoration, we see an excessive severity towards the *persons* of the revolutionists, but little attempt made to counteract their *principles*, either by an improved system of education, or by the patronage of a Catholic literature, or by the restoration to the Church of greater freedom, that would enable her to correct abuses, and render her ministers more efficient for the exigencies of the time. Instead of surrounding itself by the collected wisdom of the nation in the Cortes of the three estates, and opposing to the destructive democracy a sound legitimate democracy, royalty returns to the feeble worn-out government of the Camarilla, and in the presence of vigilant foes, perpetually changes its counsellors, till it falls into the snares of its enemies, and by a rebellious army, is virtually precipitated from the throne. The second restoration, from 1823 to 1833, though conducted with more prudence, labours under most of the same defects. At length the sovereign, from a misguided affection for his spouse, reverses, of his own arbitrary power and without the consent of his Cortes,\* the fundamental law of succession, and bequeaths to his unhappy country the horrors of civil war.

If now we compare the course which the revolution has pursued in Spain with that which it followed in France, we shall discern two important differences, that serve to explain many anomalies in the former. 1. The revolution in Spain has not been *social*, but purely *political*; that is to say, its doctrines did not, as in France, pervade the minds of the people, before they descended into the region of political life. 2. The central unity of power, which was established by the *French republic one and indivisible*, and for which the Ancien Régime had too well prepared the way, the Spanish revolutionists have never been able to establish. To this false unity, the strong municipal spirit of the Spaniards, and the great diversity in the manners, habits, and character of the different provinces,

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\* The Cortes were convoked in 1828 by Ferdinand merely to do homage to his daughter, not to deliberate on the change of the Salic Law.

opposed an insuperable obstacle. These two circumstances it is, which have prevented the Spanish Jacobinism from exhibiting the same character of gigantic wickedness, and obtaining the same infernal success as the French.

The perplexed drama of the Spanish revolution, though by no means closed, seems verging to a conclusion. Unless all symptoms be deceptions, said the great organ of Catholic Germany some time ago, the revolutionary fever is rapidly declining in all the Catholic Romanic countries.\*

The downfall of Espartero, was at once the token and the result of a great religious and political reaction. For the details of that religious regeneration, which, according to all accounts, is going on in the Spanish mind, we beg to refer our readers to the article that appeared two years ago in this Journal, from the pen of a writer who had the best opportunities for obtaining accurate information.† In political opinion, there is a corresponding, though more slowly advancing, improvement.

To this gradual regeneration of the public mind, no one has more powerfully contributed than the young Spanish ecclesiastic whose work stands at the head of this article, whose name is not unknown to our readers, and who, by his political as well as theological and philosophical writings, has acquired a very high reputation in his country. M. Balmes edited for some years the ablest journal in Spain, entitled "El Pensamiento de la Nacion," and wherein his object was to restore the Church to her former dignity and influence, reconcile and unite all the friends of monarchy, whether belonging to the Carlist or Christino parties, and while he respected the legal interests that had sprung out of the revolution, to persuade his country to recast her political institutions as much as possible on the model of her ancient Cortes. His political opinions are, we believe, represented in public life by that enlightened statesman, the Conde Viluma and his friends.

We now come to the remarkable work, that stands at the head of this article. The length of these preliminary observations, we trust, the reader will excuse; as hereby

\* See 'Historisch-Politische Blätter,' by Phillips and Gorres, October, 1846.

† See Dublin Review for June, 1845. Art. 'Spain.'

on one hand, the irksome task of a long analysis of the book has been avoided, and on the other hand, we have been enabled to give a clearer exposition of our own views on the matters treated by the author. This exposition will serve as a clue for the succeeding remarks and extracts we shall have occasion to make in the course of this reviewal.

The present work, "Comparative View of Catholicism and Protestantism, in their relations with European civilization," is one of the most opportune as well as valuable gifts, that could have been made by the distinguished writer, not only to his own country, but to Europe at large. Much as the subject has been handled in the Northern countries of Europe within the last forty years, we know few books that, for the soundness of the matter and the attractiveness of the form, can be placed by its side. It is distinguished by great solidity, and often depth of observation, and is pervaded throughout by the Southern glow of fancy. The arrangement of the matter is lucid, though occasionally the progress of the work suffers needless interruption. The author displays considerable learning, his assertions are constantly supported by historic illustrations, and when necessary, by documentary proofs. The style in M. Balmes's own French version is clear and brilliant, though the author, we think, occasionally indulges in a too great amplification of his subject.

We shall now proceed to give, in as brief a compass as possible, an analysis of the present work, extracting at the same time such passages as best develope and confirm the views we ourselves have above laid down, or which treat the most disputed points of the subject, or which, in fine, best illustrate the author's talent.

M. Balmes's book may be divided into three parts. After some introductory chapters, on the origin and nature of Protestantism, he examines the comparative influence of the Catholic and Protestant Churches in regard to the moral, the social, and the political state of man.

As in the first part of the work, the author treats a subject frequently discussed, namely, the comparative influence of the two religions on individual virtue and happiness, we shall not here long detain the attention of the reader. On the other hand, the second and third parts, where the relations of the two Churches in respect to

social and political life are considered, will claim in a more special manner our attention.

In the preliminary remarks on Protestantism, the following passage on the instinct of faith in human sciences, evinces great depth of observation.

"What proves," says the author, "the truth of my assertion touching the weakness of our intelligence, is that the hand of the Creator hath deposed in the depth of our soul a preservative against the excessive mutability of our minds, even in things not regarding religion. The preservative is such, that without it all social institutions would sink to the dust, or to speak more properly, would never have been established; the sciences would never have advanced a step; and if the principle were banished from the heart of man, the individual and society would be plunged into the abyss of Chaos. I mean a certain inclination to defer to authority—*the instinct of faith*, if I may so speak—an instinct not undeserving of attention, if we would obtain an insight into the mind of man, and the history of its development. It has been many times observed, that it is impossible to perform the first acts, or to satisfy the first necessities of life, without deference to the word of others. It is therefore easy to understand, that without this species of *faith*, all the treasures of history and experience would be soon dissipated, and the very foundations of all knowledge would soon disappear.

"These important observations may serve to show how futile is the charge brought against the Catholic Church, that she exacts faith from her members. But it is not to this point I wish to direct the attention of my readers: I am desirous of presenting the matter in another light, and of placing the question on another ground, where the truth, without losing a particle of its inalterable strength, will gain in breadth and in interest.

"In reviewing the history of human sciences, as well as by casting a glance on the opinions of our contemporaries, we may constantly observe that the men, who most pique themselves on the spirit of enquiry, and on freedom of thought, are scarcely more than the echoes of other men's opinions. If we examine that great apparatus, which under the name of science makes so much noise in the world, we may observe that it comprises in reality much authority, and that at the very instant, when we would introduce a spirit of enquiry absolutely free, even on those points belonging to the sphere of reason alone, the greater part of the edifice of science would fall to the ground, and but very few men would remain in possession of its mysteries.

"No branch of knowledge, whatever may be the evidence and the exactness of which it boasts, is exempt from this general law. Abounding as the exact and natural sciences do in evident principles, in rigid deductions, and in manifold observations and experiments, they still rest a great part of their truths on other more exalted truths, the knowledge whereof necessarily demands a delicacy of observation, a

reach of calculation, and a perspicacity of view, that belong but to a very small number of men."—pp. 42-3, vol. i.

In these introductory chapters, there is one where the fanaticism of the authors of sects, is happily contrasted with the enthusiasm of Catholic saints, and the founders of religious orders. Next follows an able chapter on the gradual filiation of infidelity from Protestantism. Often as the matter has been discussed, the reader will yet find some new and interesting facts and circumstances brought forward by the author. In the subsequent chapter, where he examines the important question as to the cause of the duration of Protestantism, he displays much judgment and philosophic discernment. What would be the effect of the introduction of Protestantism into Spain at the present moment is next discussed; and here the generous patriotism of the writer rises to the loftiest reflections and the most fervent eloquence. He shows that from its inherent weakness at all times, and its utter rottenness in the present age, Protestantism is now incapable of inflicting on the Church of Spain, any *immediate and direct* injury. But he maintains that the Protestant doctrines employed as an instrument of political warfare by a revolutionary government, would serve as a rallying point, round which would group all those irreligious and anti-social errors, now scattered and dispersed through the nation; that the zeal of the Catholic clergy and laity to defend the doctrines and discipline of their Church against the attacks of Protestantism, would be interpreted as factious and rebellious, and be made the pretext for new measures of repression; that the horror of the Spanish nation, (so long unaccustomed to heresy,) at seeing the dogmas of its religion reviled, and its worship and ministers turned into ridicule, would lead to the violent controversies, tumults, broils, and civil wars of the sixteenth century; and lastly, that a Protestant party in Spain, would be to certain foreign Protestant powers, a welcome instrument for promoting their commercial and political ascendancy over the Peninsula.

The author concludes with the following noble burst of religious patriotism, that must awake the sympathy of every Catholic heart.

"This is one of the capital differences which exist between our revolution and that of other countries. It is, at the same time, the

key that explains the most shocking anomalies. In other countries the ideas of the revolution had pervaded the social body, before they penetrated into the body politic; but among us Spaniards they first prevailed in the political sphere, and then sought to descend into the social region. Society was very far from being prepared for the like innovations: hence such violent and such repeated assaults have been necessary.

" From this want of harmony, it hath come to pass that the government in Spain exerts but little influence over the people: and by influence I mean that moral ascendancy, which has no need of being associated with the idea of force. No doubt this is in itself an evil, since it is a thing which tends to weaken power, that is of absolute need to all society. But on more than one occasion this has even been a great blessing. It is no small advantage, that in presence of a misguided and insensate government, a society filled with calm wisdom and reflection should be found, that while the former plunges into every extravagance, pursues its glorious and majestic march. Much is to be expected from the right instinct of the Spanish nation—much is to be hoped for from its proverbial gravity, increased by so many misfortunes, and from that tact which makes it so well distinguish the true path of its felicity, in rendering it deaf to the insidious suggestions of perverse men. If many years have already revolved since, by an unfortunate combination of circumstances, and by the want of agreement between the social and political order of things, Spain hath not been able to obtain a government, which was the exact expression of her wants, which could divine her instincts, follow her tendencies, and open to her the path of prosperity; we cherish, however, the hope that that day will come, and that from the bosom of a society so full of hope and so teeming with life, will spring the harmony that is yet wanting, and the equilibrium which has been lost. In the meanwhile it is of the utmost importance, that all who feel beat within their bosoms a Spanish heart, and who wish not to see the bowels of their country lacerated, should unite, should concert, and should labour in common to rescue her from the dominion of evil.

" Their union would prevent a fatal hand from casting on our soil the seeds of eternal discord, from adding this new calamity to so many others, and from stifling the precious germs, whence our civilization may revive brilliant and renewed, overcoming the depression wherein disastrous circumstances have plunged it.

" Ah! the soul is oppressed with a painful anguish at the very thought, that a day may come, when religious unity would disappear from among us: that unity which is identified with our habits, our customs, our manners, and our laws, which guarded the cradle of our monarchy in the cavern of Covadonga, and which was the emblem of our standard during a struggle of eight centuries against the formidable crescent; that unity, which developed and gave lustre to our civilization in the most arduous times; that unity which followed our terrible *tercios*, when they imposed silence on Europe; which conducted our

mariners to the discovery of new worlds ; that unity which sustained our warriors to the end of their heroic conquests, and which in times more near to us, crowned these great and numerous exploits with the subversion of Napoleon. Ye who condemn with so much precipitancy and levity the work of ages ; ye who cast out such insolent outrages against the Spanish nation, and who treat the ruling principle of our civilization, as the parent of obscurantism and barbarism, do ye know what ye insult ? do ye know what inspired the genius of the great Consalvo, of Fernand-Cortez, of the conqueror of Lepanto ? Do the shades of Garcilazo, of Herrera, of Ercilla, of Fray Luis de Léon, of Cervantes, of Lope de Vega, inspire ye with no respect ? Will you dare to tear asunder the bond which unites us with them, to make us the unworthy posterity of those great men ? Would ye divide by an abyss our creed from their creed, our manners from their manners, make us cast asunder all our historic traditions, and bury in oblivion our most glorious recollections ? Would ye wish that the noble and august monuments of the piety of our forefathers should stand in the midst of us, like a severe and eloquent reproach ? Would ye consent to see for ever dried up the prolific springs, whither we may recur in order to resuscitate our literature, revivify our science, reorganize our legislation, revive the spirit of nationality, call back our glory, and replace this unfortunate nation in the high rank which its virtues merit, in giving it the prosperity and the happiness it seeks with so much restlessness, and which its heart anticipates ?"—Vol. i., pp. 107-9.

After having established the superiority of the Catholic over the Protestant Church, in all that regards the moral man, that is to say, in all relative to religious certainty, as well as to the sentiments, instincts, ideas, and constitution of the human mind, the author proceeds to the second part of his work, where he examines the social influence of the two religions.

Here the family, the basis of all social organization, first of course engages his attention. In the family, three elements are to be observed : the relations between husband and wife, between parents and children, and between master and servant. The natural order of things required, that Signor Balmes should have commenced his discussion with the first element of domestic society, the nuptial bond ; but instead of this, he begins with the last, the relation between master and servant. Indeed, one of the few defects in this excellent work is, that the logical arrangement of the subject is not sufficiently attended to.

Here the author enters upon the important subject of slavery. After showing the wide prevalence in the heathen

world of this atrocious custom—one of the most evident marks of original sin—and after proving that the wisest legislators and most renowned statesmen and philosophers of antiquity, so far from condemning, were ever the first to sanction and uphold it, our author points out with noble pride and satisfaction, the conduct and legislation of the Catholic Church on this great social question. The doctrine of the fraternity of all men, and their moral equality before God, proclaimed by the gospel, shook to its basis the system of slavery. While the Church preached up to the slave the duty of obedience, and held up rebellion as a crime, she enforced on the master the obligation of lenity, kindness, and generosity, in the treatment of the slave. Her exhortations and example led to frequent manumissions; her ingenious charity devised various, nay, numberless mitigations for the state of servitude, till at last, when the condition of society was fully prepared for the change, she finally eradicated this vicious, but deeply rooted institution. This theme the author proves at considerable length, and with great clearness of reasoning and copiousness of learning, citing in his notes a considerable number of ecclesiastical canons of different ages, bearing on this important subject. Our limits will not permit us to dwell on this portion of the work, but we cannot forbear citing the concluding summary.

"The following is the manner wherein the Church hath proceeded. She at first loudly proclaims the true doctrine relative to man's native dignity; she determines the obligations of masters and slaves; she declares them equal before God; and thereby reduces to atoms those degrading theories that pollute the writings even of the greatest philosophers of antiquity. She then proceeds to the application of her principles; she endeavours to mitigate the treatment of the slaves; she struggles against the atrocious right of life and death; she opens to the bondsman her temples for an asylum, and when he leaves it guards him against ill-treatment; she labours to substitute for private vengeance the regular action of tribunals. While the Church guarantees the liberty of the emancipated in connecting his freedom with religious motives, she defends with vigilance and firmness that of the free. She endeavours to close up the sources of slavery, in exerting the most active zeal for the redemption of captives, in resisting the cupidity of the Jews, and in procuring to men who had sold themselves facilities for regaining their freedom. The Church herself sets the example of lenity and disinterestedness; she facilitates emancipation, by admitting slaves into the monastic order and the ecclesiastical state; she facilitates it by all the means which charity can suggest; and it is thus that, in

despite of the deep roots which slavery had struck into the old world—in despite of the convulsions caused by the irruptions of the barbarians—in despite of so many wars and calamities of all kinds, that paralyzed in a great measure every regular and beneficent influence, we have seen, nevertheless, slavery, that plague and dishonour of all antique civilization, dwindle rapidly away among Christian nations, until it finally disappeared.....

“These facts I have not invented ; I have named the periods, and cited the Councils. The reader will find in this volume in the original, and at some extent, the very texts from which I have drawn my summary ; and so he may convince himself that I have not deceived him. Had such been my intention, I should have certainly taken care not to descend on the ground of historical facts ; I should have preferred the vague region of theories, and called to mine aid pompous words, and all other devices calculated to fascinate the imagination and excite the feelings.

“We may be permitted, in conclusion, to ask the Protestant Churches —those ungrateful daughters, that, after having gone away from the bosom of their mother, endeavour to calumniate and stigmatize her,—where were ye when the Catholic Church accomplished in Europe the giant task of the abolition of slavery ? and how dare you to charge her with servile sympathies, with degrading man, and usurping his rights ? Can you put forth a like title to the gratitude of mankind ? What share can ye pretend to in this great work —the first basis of all European civilization ? Alone, and without your concurrence, the Catholic Church brought it to an end ; and alone she would have conducted, too, Europe to its lofty destinies, if you had not come to turn off her nations from their majestic march, in driving them through paths encompassed with pitfalls—paths whose term is covered over with clouds, that the eye of God can alone pierce.”—p. 180-2, vol. i.

The author now proceeds to contrast the Pagan and Christian civilizations in their respect to the individual. He shows how in antiquity the individual was absorbed by the state, and how little *civil liberty* was understood and enjoyed.

He next considers the constitution of the family, and he proves how the reform of marriage introduced by the Catholic Church, has been one of the great bulwarks and props of European civilization. The triple character of monogamy, indissolubility, and sacramental sanctity, which that Church hath impressed on matrimony, hath served to impart to woman a dignity and a social influence she never before possessed ; to bring the nuptial relations under a purer discipline ; to curb the inconstancy of man’s heart, and check the first buddings of adulterous desire ; to protect the interests, moral and material, of the child ; to promote

concord among different families, and insure in an eminent degree, the peace and stability of the state itself.

As to monogamy, the reformation found this principle too solidly established by the Catholic Church, too deeply interwoven into the domestic manners, and public habits, customs, and laws of European nations, to be capable of being set aside. How loose were the doctrines of some of the leading reformers, and among others, of Luther himself on this very matter, we may see from a passage in his "Commentary upon Genesis." "As to the question," says he, "whether we may have several wives, the authority of the patriarchs leaves us at perfect liberty." He adds, "this is a matter neither permitted nor prohibited, and for my part, I will decide nothing."

Such language may account for, though it cannot justify, the conduct held by Luther, in the celebrated affair of the double marriage of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. M. Balmes triumphantly contrasts the mean, truckling, vacillating, and culpable conduct of Luther, Melancthon, and other arch-reformers, who against the dictates of their own conscience, sacrificed to the lustful caprice of a tyrant the most sacred principles of religion and morality, with the holy and courageous inflexibility of the Roman Pontiffs, who for so many ages withstood the promises, the cajoleries, the menaces, the violences of many powerful monarchs, who sought to repudiate their lawful wives, and contract other matrimonial engagements.

We cannot forbear citing the following passage, where the moral advantages which marriage derives from its sacramental character, are well pointed out.

"I rendered justice, in another place, to the wisdom evinced by the Protestant communities, in not entirely following the impulse given by their founders. But let us not on that account believe, that the Protestant doctrines have not, in the so-styled reformed countries, been attended with the most lamentable results. Let us hear the language of a Protestant woman, speaking of a country she loves and admires. Madame de Staél, in her work, 'L'Allemagne,' says: 'Love is a religion in Germany; but a poetic religion, that too willingly tolerates all that sensibility can excuse. The facility of divorce, it cannot be denied, in the Protestant provinces has infringed on the sanctity of marriage. People there as quietly change their consorts, as they would arrange the incidents of a drama. The kindly disposition of the men and women prevents much animosity from mingling in those easy separations; and as there is among the Germans more imagination than real

passion, events the most singular there occur with strange tranquillity. Yet, it is thus that manners and character lose all solidity ; a paradoxical spirit undermines the most sacred institutions, and no fixed rules there exist on any subject.' (De L'Allemagne, p. 1, c. iii.)

"Led away by their hatred against the Catholic Church, and seized with the frenzy of universal innovation, the Protestants thought they achieved a great reform by secularizing marriage, if I may so speak, and by rejecting the Catholic doctrine that declared it a Sacrament. This is not the place to enter upon a doctrinal controversy on this matter. It may be sufficient to observe, that, in despoiling marriage of the august seal of a Sacrament, Protestantism showed it possessed little acquaintance with the heart of man. To regard matrimony, not as a mere civil contract, but as a real Sacrament, was to place it under the venerable ægis of religion, to exalt it above the agitated sphere of human passions ; and who can doubt that this is absolutely necessary, when the most vivacious, the most capricious, the most terrible passion of the human heart is to be restrained ? Civil laws are insufficient to produce a like effect ; motives drawn from a higher source must here exert their potent influence."—p. 231-2, vol. i.

A beautiful chapter on the state of virginity follows. The author shows how protestantism, in proscribing this holy state, laid down a doctrine more degrading than any that paganism had professed. Virginity exalts the dignity of woman, is at once the outward guard and the type of excellence to female modesty in general, and tends to diffuse through all society more spiritual and unearthly views of life. The following passage, in our opinion, evinces great delicacy of perception.

"These considerations, which regard the two sexes, acquire still greater importance when applied to woman. With her excitable imagination, her passionate heart, and lighter tone of mind, she has still more need than men of severe inspirations and grave and serious reflections, to form a counterpoise to that extreme mobility with which she runs through all objects, receiving with extreme facility impressions from all she touches, and, like a magnetic agent, communicating in her turn those impressions to everything around her. Allow, then, a portion of the fair sex to devote themselves to a life of religious contemplation and austerity ; allow the young maids and matrons to have ever before their eyes a model of every virtue—a sublime type of their comeliest ornament, which is modesty : this will never be void of utility. Those virgins are not torn, believe me, either from the family or from society : the family and society at large will recover with usury what you imagine they had lost.

"Who can calculate, indeed, the salutary influence which the august ceremonies, whereby the Catholic Church solemnizes the consecration of

a virgin to God, must have exerted on the manners of woman ? Who can calculate the holy thoughts, the chaste inspirations, that go out from those silent abodes of modesty, erected sometimes in retired spots, sometimes in the midst of populous cities ? Do you believe that the maiden, whose heart begins to be agitated with a burning passion—that the matron, who in her soul has given room to dangerous inclinations, will not a thousand times have found a curb to their passions in the very recollection of some sister, relative, and friend, who in those dwellings of piety raise up to heaven a pure heart, offering up as a holocaust to the Son of the Virgin all the charms of youth and beauty ? All this is not susceptible of calculation, it is true ; but, at least, we may rest assured, that these holy retreats never suggested thoughts of frivolity or sensual desires. This cannot be calculated ; but can we calculate the benign influence which the morning dew exerts upon the plants ? can we calculate the vivifying action of light upon nature ? And can we calculate how the water, which penetrates into the entrails of the earth, impregnates it, fertilizes it, and brings up from its bosom flowers and fruits ?

"There are, therefore, an infinity of causes whose existence and efficacy cannot be denied ; but which, nevertheless, it is impossible to submit to a rigid calculation. This it is which proves the impotence of every work exclusively emanating from the mind of man ; for his mind is incapable of embracing the *entire relations* involved in this order of facts, or of appreciating in a suitable manner the *indirect influences*, sometimes occult, sometimes imperceptible, there working with extreme delicacy. This is wherefore time dispels so many illusions, belies so many prognostics, proves the weakness of what we believed strong, and the strength of what we believed weak."—p. 6-8, vol. ii.

We feel ourselves obliged, by the length to which this article has run, to defer to another opportunity our notice of the third volume of this interesting work, which, following the same plan, exemplifies the influence which the Church has had upon man in his political capacity, not only indirectly, and by means of the change wrought in himself and his more immediate relations, but by the liberal and humane spirit which she has carried out into all the institutions of the great family of the state.

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**ART. III.—*The History of the Penal Laws Enacted against Roman Catholics; the Operations and Results of that System of Legalized Plunder, Persecution, and Proscription; Originating in Rapacity and Fraudulent Designs, Concealed under False Pretences, Figments of Reform, and a Simulated Zeal for the Interests of True Religion.*** By R. R. MADDEN, M. R. I. A. &c. London, Dublin, and Derby, Richardson and Son, 1847.

THE great value of any work, which professes to be an authentic account of past transactions, or present occurrences, must depend upon the character of its author. The author stands before the public in the position of a witness in presence of a court of justice; and before the public or the jury can be required to pronounce a verdict upon his labours or his testimony, they are fairly entitled to see that his own conduct can stand the test of a searching cross-examination. If he be a convicted literary forger, we may doubt his deposition when he affirms the authenticity of a Shakspearian MS., or of an ancient charter; or, if he be like Hume, so devoid of religious principle as to advise an infidel to take holy orders,\* we may be pardoned if we discredit every word he says that relates to Catholicity, or that bears upon the character of priests, of nuns, of pious men who lived as saints, or of christian heroes, who shed their blood as martyrs. The facts may be true although their attestation depends upon a recreant to his country, and a palterer with his creed like Josephus; but we never can be certain that they positively are true—that their authenticity is indisputable—unless they be solemnly averred by one, whose previous life has been distinguished by its purity, its integrity, its morality, and its disinterestedness.

A veracious history might, by some miracle, be written by a rogue; an authentic history can alone be the work of an honest man. Judging the present work by such tests as these, we may be justified in affirming that this book contains an authentic account of the Penal Laws, with which England was afflicted for the true faith, and

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\* See Letter of David Hume to Colonel Elphinstone, in appendix to Lord Brougham's "Lives of Men of Letters."

through which English Catholics suffered a martyrdom of centuries.

Before, however, we touch upon the nature and contents of the work itself, we intend to adopt and apply the test we have ourselves laid down, and, in order to prove the faith-worthiness of the author, shall state a few particular circumstances in his career of life.

Dr. Madden, the author of this work, was born in Dublin some eight or nine and forty years ago. His profession is that of a physician: his life, however, has been devoted not to medicine, but to literature, and the amelioration of the condition of his fellow men. His sympathies have, at all times, been with the suffering, the many, and the oppressed; whilst his entire course has been marked, not merely with opposition to wrong-doers, but with an absolute intolerance for crime, for cruelty, and injustice, when combined with wealth, with rank, and with power. Truthful even to bluntness, his high spirit and his daring courage have made for him many enemies, and beset his path and his progress with many malevolent and many potent persecutors. Frequently employed in offices by the British Government, which required in their administrator the most unflinching integrity, he has always proved himself worthy of his trust, by showing that he preferred truth to his own ease, justice to his own personal advantage, humanity towards others even to the safety of his own life—and what is dearer than life—to his own reputation. An enthusiast in the just cause of Negro Emancipation, he was appointed, in 1833, a special magistrate in the island of Jamaica; and with such rigid and scrupulous integrity did he enforce the protection of the negroes, so tenderly and carefully did he guard them from the oppressions, injustice, and cruelty of those who regarded and treated their fellow men as brutes, that he excited against himself an utter abhorrence on the part of the slave-holding West-India planters. He was beloved, and his name was venerated by thousands of poor, humble, helpless, half-brutified wretches, and he was conscious that such popularity could bring with it neither fame, nor profit, nor honour. He was unpopular with those whose enmity was to be feared; for they had the capacity as well as the inclination to injure him.

Dr. Madden's next appointments were conferred upon him in 1835, when he was nominated Superintendent

of Liberated Africans at the Havana, under the Colonial Office, and Acting Judge Advocate in the Mixed Commission Court, under the Foreign Office.

These offices conferred upon him great power in protecting the negro race—in restoring to freedom numbers unjustly deprived of it—in ameliorating the condition of those whose emancipation he could not secure; and, in one instance, of saving the lives of some negroes, who, in defence of the natural rights of man to freedom, had been guilty of the homicide of those who sought to make them slaves. Here Dr. Madden rendered himself so obnoxious to the slavers and slave-owners, that plots were laid to deprive him of life; and the dagger of the assassin was prevented from being imbrued in his blood by accidents, which could not but be regarded as providential.

In 1839, Dr. Madden was appointed by Lord John Russell, a commissioner of inquiry on the western coast of Africa. In the course of this inquiry, Dr. Madden discovered that there existed under the name of "*the pawn system*," an absolute state of slavery, even at those forts and posts on the coast of Africa, which had been established by the English government for the protection of negroes captured as slaves, but entitled under the British flag to enjoy a perfect state of freedom. By the "*pawn*" system a negro who contracted a debt, (and Dr. Madden discovered they were often enticed, entrapped, and cajoled to do so,) was permitted to sell himself as a bondman to the creditor until the debt was paid. It was, although denied at the time, a state of complete slavery, and such as was perfectly well known and practised in the middle ages.\*

\* We find in Marculfus a copy of the legal form, in accordance with which a man testified his readiness to work, and to be treated as a slave, and even beaten as a slave, for a certain number of days in each week, until the debt he had contracted was repaid.

"Domino fratri illi ille. Quatenus necessitatem meam supplendo, solidos vestros numero tantos mihi ad beneficium præstistis; ideo juxta quod mihi aptificavit, taliter inter nos convenit, ut *dum*" (donec) "ipsos solidos de meo proprio reddere potuero, dies tantos in unaquaque hebdomada servitio vestro, quale mihi vos aut agentes vestri injunxeritis, facere debeam. Quod si exinde negligens aut tardus apparuero, licentiam habeatis [mihi] sicut et ceteris servientibus vestris, disciplinam corporalem imponere. Et quando solidos vestros reddere potuero, meam cautionem absque ulla evacuatoria intercedente recipiam."—*Marculfus. Formular. Lib. ii. § 27.*

It was the condition of “the *Obaerati*” amongst the Romans; and not only had such a system incurred the strong reprobation of Dr. Madden; but he also did that which required great disinterestedness, great integrity and great courage. He believed that he had traced an indirect but powerful sustentation of the slave trade to merchants in this country; and that these merchants, though pretending to be opposed to slavery, derived enormous profits from such a traffic. Believing this to be a fact, he stated it in his report to the government. The report was prepared and printed in the Colonial office in 1841; but before it could be presented to parliament, Lord Stanley became Colonial Secretary; the report was laid hold of—the passages implicating English merchants suppressed—a mutilated report published—a parliamentary committee formed, with Lord Sandon as chairman, and that committee, we believe, came to the conclusion that the accusations of Dr. Madden against those merchants could not be proved.

This is a question on which we do not wish to enter. We only refer to it for the purpose of showing that no respect for wealth—that which is omnipotent in England—and no regard for his personal interests, nor his pecuniary advantage, could prevent, in his defence of the negroes, and his desire to put down the slave-trade, Dr. Madden from stating what he believed to be facts. No man knew better than he did the dangers to which he exposed himself—he foresaw the life-enmities he was provoking—the powerful foes he was exciting to assail, and, if possible, to crush him.

In the cause of what he was convinced was the truth he defied them all—insisted upon the accuracy of his statements, and the validity of his assertions, and was punished by the Colonial office, as long as it was in the hands of the Tories, by being refused all employment. The man who suffers thus for his conscientious convictions, and who is ready to sacrifice himself for the sake of the poor and the humble, proves, at least, that he is possessed of one great qualification for an historian—an uncompromising integrity.

It is to be wished that the Whigs, in restoring Dr. Madden to official life, had not sent him to a distant settlement, but had retained him in a position in which he could have been most advantageously employed—that of honestly working out the great experiment of the importation of free negroes to the West India colonies. Under Dr. Madden’s

supervision the friends of humanity could feel perfectly secure that the experiment would never be converted into a perpetuation of slavery, disguised under false names, and untrue pretences.

Having given proofs of his integrity as a man, and on which faith may be based in his integrity as an author, we have next to ascertain—is Dr. Madden a person upon whose due diligence in the collection of his materials and authorities we can rely? Amongst the many works published by Dr. Madden,\* was one, which was in many respects peculiar, “The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen.”

\* The following is a correct list of all the books, pamphlets, and articles, written by Dr. Madden :

- 2 vols. Travels in the East. Colburn, 1829.  
Second Edition in America, a 2nd in England.  
3 vols. The Mussulman. An Eastern Tale. Colburn, 1830.  
2 vols. The Infirmities of Genius. Saunders and Otley, 1833.  
2 vols. Travels in the West Indies. Cockram, 1837.  
1 vol. Poems on Sacred Subjects, (Cuba) unpublished, 1838.  
1 vol. Egypt and Mohammed Ali. London, 1841.  
2 vols. Lives and Times of U. I. M., 1st series. Madden, 1842.  
2 vols. Do. Do. 2nd series, illustrated. Do. 1843.  
3 vols. Do. Do. 3rd series. Duffy, 1846.  
1 vol. Poems by a Slave, translated from the Spanish, 1840.  
1 vol. History of the Connexion of the kingdom of Ireland, with  
the crown of England. Duffy, 1845.  
1 vol. Report on the British West African Settlements, and on  
Slave Trade. Clowes, 1842.  
1 vol. History of the Penal Laws, (1st vol.) Richardson, 1847.
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- 22 vols.

#### *Pamphlets.*

1. Letters on Slavery, addressed to Dr. Channing. Boston, 1839.
1. State of Slavery in Cuba. London, 1840.
1. Connexion of British Commerce with the Slave Trade. Madden,  
1843.

#### *Articles (of some interest) in Reviews and Magazines.*

1. Memoir of Mr. Salt, the Abyssinian Traveller. Metropolitan  
Mag., 1829.
1. Portugal and its Modern Rulers. Foreign Quarterly Jour. 1846.
1. Letters on Prison discipline and Penitentiary Reform. The  
London Universe, 23rd Oct., and Nov. 6, 1846.

Dr. Madden travelled through the United States, that he might see and speak with the survivors of “the men of '98,” or their immediate descendants. We are aware that, to collect materials, he spent months upon months in Paris—that he travelled over all parts of Ireland; we have known of his coming to London, to speak with a person holding a situation in one of the London Police offices, because that person, he was assured, had been present at Emmet's trial, and retained a vivid recollection of the scene he witnessed, and of every word that had been uttered by the unhappy enthusiast; that he even made his way into the dark recesses of Dublin Castle, and—greatest sacrifice of all to one of his temperament and feelings—had condescended to speak for hours with the notorious Armstrong, whose evidence had brought the brother Sheares to the scaffold.

A man so truthful, and so pains-taking, could not turn his attention to a subject like the Penal Laws, without giving many honest views, and stating many new facts respecting them. Both of these will be found to emanate from Dr. Madden in the present work, and, although we do not coincide with him in some of his propositions, we do not respect him the less for the integrity with which he maintains, nor for the candour with which he avows, them.

Having pointed out the reasons why great value ought to be attached to this work—first, from the character of its author; and, secondly, because of his proved zeal and diligence in the collection of materials—we have next to direct attention to the peculiar advantages which Dr. Madden possesses beyond any of his predecessors who have written on the same subject.

This historian of the Penal Laws, and with them of the Reformation, is a man of the world—one who has mixed largely in society, has visited various parts of the globe, and has been a resident in countries whilst they were undergoing the same process of “*Reformation*,” although under a different name, which occurred in England during the sixteenth century.

The great difference between the sixteenth century in

1. Notice of early Irish Medicinists. Dub. Quarterly Jour. of Med. Scien. No. 7, 1847.
1. On the Birth-place of St. Patrick. Duffy, Catholic Mag. October, 1847.

England, and the nineteenth century in Spain and Portugal, is “the pretence.” In both the object was the same,—the spoliation of God’s Church and of God’s poor, for the enrichment of the avaricious, the base, and the vile. In the sixteenth century the holy name of “the Gospel” was used to sanctify robbery; in the nineteenth century the venerable name of “liberty” was and is misemployed as a subterfuge for plunder. The goods of the Church, and the estates of the poor, were alike craved after by infidels in religion and tyrants in politics.

A useful and a practical lesson is to be derived from these pages by the men of the present day—by English and Irish Catholics more, perhaps, than by any other persons; because none have been more easily seduced, nor more shamefully cajoled, than they have been by the employment of such phrases as “Constitutionalism” and “Liberalism,” when ventilated by continental politicians, and who, by such phrases, disguised what were their real objects—the appropriation of Church property to themselves, the annihilation of ancient popular privileges, the centralisation of all the powers of the state in the hands of a few,—the blood-stained desolating despotism of an Espartero, a Narvaez, a Mendizabal, and a Costa Cabral. To our shame be it spoken, a foreign policy of England has been popular which promoted these objects; and Irish chivalry has been displayed, and English blood has been shed, in aiding their accomplishment.

It is, at least, a consolation to reflect, that this periodical has done its utmost to expose and lay bare the delusion, to denounce and hold up to the scorn of the world, the “constitutional” tyrants and the “liberal” despots by whom so many sacrilegious robberies and so many foul deeds have been perpetrated.\*

Dr. Madden, to his honour be it said, is one of those who has aided greatly in tearing off the mask from the Peninsular pretenders to “liberalism;” for by detailing their peculation as ministers, their remorseless cruelty as magistrates, their iniquitous jobbing as financiers, and their intolerable tyranny as rulers, he demonstrated that the people in Portugal, as in Spain, have, in the downfall and degradation of the Church, lost the protection of

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\* See *Dublin Review*, Vol. xviii. pp. 376, 482.

their best friend, and the surest saving-shield for their liberties.

With the example before him of tyrants who cried out “liberty,” in order that they might facilitate the robbery of monasteries and the persecution of nuns and priests, he has been the better able to appreciate the motives and judge the actions of those who exclaimed, that “what they desired was Gospel truth,” when their hearts were set upon the despoiling monastic Bibles of their golden-clasped jewelled cases; and who afterwards sought to justify their thefts by scandalous calumnies on those who had preserved the Scripture in its purity, and imitated its precepts by their mode of life.

Infidelity, whatever be the form it assumes, or whatever be the object it professes, is a hypocrite. In abandoning the allegiance it owes to God, it forswears the truth it owes to man; it conceals its fraudulent pretences under fine phrases, and its base desires beneath delusive hopes; it kills with an embrace, poisons with a smile, and stabs the victim it pretends to protect. It has been so since the father of sin deceived the first frail mortal into transgression by a promise of knowledge; and *his* children have but imitated him, when they induced vain men to seek for “the undefiled word of God” by breaking open the sanctuary; and to hope that they could find temporal happiness or civil freedom by turning away from Calvary, and renouncing their humble, fitting, complete, and full obedience to the cross. The religious reformers of the sixteenth century were like to the Pharisees in the days of our Saviour—pretenders to piety and hypocrites. The political anti-monastic continental reformers of the nineteenth century are, like the religious reformers of the sixteenth century,—hypocrites, concealing their hatred to the true Church under captivating names and false professions. One common strain of insincerity runs through them all, because by nature, by constitution, and by habit, the infidel cannot be otherwise than a hypocrite.\* This is an historical and physiological fact, and Dr. Madden is but an additional witness to it.

“Gospellers” and “liberals” have accused the monks of “ignorance;” and now let us note the testimony given

\* “Factus natura et consuetudine exercitus velare odium fallacibus blanditiis.”—Tacitus. *Annal.* Lib. xiv.

by Dr. Madden as to the manner in which Church-reformers at one period, and constitution-mongers at another, treated the libraries of monasteries:

"They," (the Church Reformers,) "not only plundered churches, convents, altars, shrines, and libraries; they defaced, destroyed, levelled, tore down, pulled to pieces, all that could be wrecked or injured by them. They ransacked the female convents, sacked their cells and their sanctuaries, terrified the unfortunate inmates, threw some of them into prison, and turned the others into the streets.

"The libraries of the monasteries were not more sacred than the shrines and altars of their churches, in the eyes of the licensed robbers, the subordinate agents of Cromwell. The splendid missals and illuminated manuscripts of the convents were rifled of their clasps and covers, for the sake of their gold and silver ornaments."—  
pp. 53, 54.

Upon this passage, the following note is added by Dr. Madden:

"This villainous example, in recent times, was followed by the rapacious liberals of Spain and Portugal. *The author, in both countries, has seen the most valuable works taken from the pillaged convents, thus despoiled of their covers, in grocers' shops, sold by the Arroba weight of thirty-two pounds.*"

Upon the similarity between the Church Reformationists and the Liberals, he observes as respects the latter in Portugal:

"There are many things analogous in the suppression of the monastic orders in England and in Portugal, but the plunderers of the religious houses in Portugal, did not thirst after the blood of the victims of their cupidity.\* They spoiled, deceived, and violated their engagements with them it is true, but they did not put them to death on the scaffold, they did not hang, disembowel, and behead them; they were satiated with the spoil of their churches, their convents, and their estates. At the period of Elizabeth's persecution and spoliation, some of the victims of her rapacity and cruelty found an asylum in Portugal. Englishmen in Portugal should bear

\* This praise cannot be bestowed upon the Spanish liberals. See *Times*, 8th of August, 1835, containing an account of the massacre of the monks at Barcelona, and their brutal assassins crying out "liberty," over the dead bodies of their innocent victims. See *Andrew's Orthodox Journal*, 1835, p. 114; and Article on Spain, in *Dublin Review*, Vol. xvii.

this in mind, and evince their remembrance of it by their generosity to the unfortunate monastic victims of the liberalism of 1834."

Dr. Madden has, in his researches abroad, traced the persecuted to their resting-places or to their last homes. Thus we find him (p. 54) giving an account of the Sisterhood of Sion House, whose only representatives at present in the same neighbourhood are the virtuous and amiable community, "*the faithful companions of Jesus,*" and who, under the superintendence of a French nun, Madame Guillimet, and of a kindly-hearted nun of Ireland, Mother Mary Stokes, are, whilst instructing the children of the middle class, gathering the means for diffusing the blessings of education amongst the poor.

The rich woods and the green lawns of Sion House were once filled with the voices of the young, the pure, and the innocent. Hymns to the Blessed Virgin there arose from lips that knew not the stain of sin, and those hymns were responded to by the humble and the poor, by the heart-sad and the ailing, who always found in convent and in nun a sure refuge, refreshment, food, medicine, sisterly love, and maternal tenderness. There, however, the spoiler has been. The spoil remains; its temporary owners have grasped it in many a broken line—childless have held it—strangers have succeeded strangers—unwept, have been torn from it, and have passed into oblivion; whilst the memory of its own old, good, truthful, and once legal possessors, clings around it,—sweet, gentle, and tender as a pious prayer for the soul of a loved one who has departed.

This is Dr. Madden's account of the destruction of the Bridgetine Nunnery at Sion House, and of the persecutions inflicted on one of the sisterhood:

"The sufferings endured by the ladies of the Bridgetine nunnery near Brentford, called Sion House, have been recorded by one of its members, the sister of the well known Jesuit, Father Nicholas Sanders. Several of the community were of noble families, and of noble qualities, as they evinced by their courage and constancy in very grievous trials. Their convent was not only suppressed, but several of the inmates were treated with brutality and cruelty, and some of them cast into prison and kept there. In a subsequent reign they were dragged from tribunal to tribunal, where they were charged with obstinacy and contumacy for the purpose of getting money from their relatives, who had to pay the heavy monthly fines imposed on them for recusancy. In a work of Dr. Sanders, on the

persecution in England, translated into Spanish, there is a narrative of the sufferings and wanderings of the ladies of Sion House, written by Elizabeth Sanders, after the dispersion of the community, in the reign of Henry VIII., and her own long imprisonment. (*Relacion de Algunos Martyrios*, p. 42.)

"This lady states, that at the visitation at Sion House, by the king's commissioners, the nuns were treated with great harshness; their property was taken, several of the community were imprisoned, the rest turned adrift on the world.

"Miss Sanders was imprisoned at Windsor, and, probably on her brother's account, was treated with great rigour. She was frequently exposed to annoyances of the most odious kind, to language offensive to modesty, and conduct insulting to it. When the further changes in religion took place, after Henry's death, she was constantly importuned to go to the sermons of ministers, and punished for refusing to do so, brought before the magistrates, and judicial tribunals at the end of each term of six months, on charges of refusal to attend sermons and the new service, in her prison, and for each monthly offence condemned to pay a fine of eighty ducats, till the sum at length amounted to five hundred ducats, which sum being unable to pay, she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. This is worthy of notice, for though the crime of non-attendance at church was only nominally punished with a fine of £20. monthly for each offence, the actual penalty, in case of poverty, was imprisonment for life. But the worst of all her sufferings, worse even than those arising from want, on many occasions, of the common necessaries of life, to her and the other ladies confined in the same prison, were those which they were subjected to by the guardians of the prison, and the agents of the authorities in the shape of impious discourses and indecorous behaviour. After a long confinement, Miss Sanders effected her escape, but had not been long at liberty, when her conscience reproached her with having fled, and she returned to her prison. Her spiritual director had the good sense to convince her of her error, he assured her it was lawful to fly from an unjust imprisonment; and the wife of the jailer having consented to favour her escape, she fled a second time, and was kindly received by a wealthy gentleman of Berkshire, Mr. Francis Yates, who kept her closely concealed for some weeks, when the authorities came to the house, seized Mr. Yates, and threw him into prison, where he died. She, however, contrived to elude the search that was made for her, and succeeded in effecting her escape to France, and joining some of the members of her community at Rouen, where they had then established themselves.

"After some time they were banished from France, fled to the Low Countries, and established themselves in Flanders; but the persecuting spirit of Elizabeth's government followed them there, and its influence caused them again to have to seek another place

of refuge ; they made their way to Portugal, with the intention of proceeding to Spain, where an asylum had been offered to them ; but in the former country they were hospitably received, and the kindness they met with from the Portuguese, induced them to establish themselves in that country. Thus the survivors of the community of Sion House, after many wanderings and persecutions in many lands, arrived in Lisbon, in 1594, (Castro, in his *Mappo de Portugal* says, fifteen in number,) and were enabled, by the noble liberality of a Portuguese lady, Donna Isabella de Azevedo, to found their first convent in Lisbon, in the street of Mocambo, which house was destroyed by the great earthquake. Another country establishment was founded for them at Maravillas, near Lisbon, by a dignitary of the church, Archdeacon Cabral.

" Their present house in the capital, called St. Salvador de Sion, the convent of the Inglesinhos, was founded in 1651. The community now is chiefly Portuguese, there are a few English ladies belonging to it ; the existence of this convent is connived at by the government, the inmates have nothing more to be robbed of."—pp. 54-57.

There are few persons, we suppose, who may honour this article with a perusal, who have not read that narrative of thrilling interest, the " *Memoir of the Rev. Cuthbert Maine,*" in Challoner's " *Missionary Priests.*"\* In that narrative frequent reference will be found made to the name of Mr. Tregian, a gentleman of Cornwall, in whose house the martyred Maine was arrested.

The following are the particulars respecting Mr. Tregian collected by the diligence and the research of Dr. Madden. We are certain they cannot be perused without emotion.

" Let us see what the author of the ' *Memoirs of Missionary Priests,*' says of the fate of the unfortunate Cornwall gentleman, who was cast into prison for having the charity to succour and shelter a persecuted priest of his persuasion.

" Mr. Tregian, the gentleman who had entertained him, (Maine,) lost his estate, which was very considerable, for his religion, and was condemned to perpetual imprisonment ; and several of his neighbours and servants were cast in a *præmunire*, as abettors and accomplices of Mr. Maine. Sir John Arundel was also persecuted and cast into prison on this occasion.†

\* Vol. i. pp. 37-45. (Derby Edition.)

† Lingard, in speaking of Mr. Tregian says, he was cast in a *Præmunire*, his large estate was taken by the Queen, but he was mistaken in stating that " the unfortunate gentleman languished

" Doubtless, Gentlemen of England, you will imagine that a man of such respectability, with such 'a plentiful estate,' as Mr. Francis Tregian, of Golden, could not have long remained in prison for exercising that old English virtue on which your ancestors prided themselves, and especially towards a man in misfortune and a native of his own country ! For this, you will say, was in 'the golden days of good Queen Bess,' and she would not have suffered one of the lords of the land of Old England, to lie for any length of time in a dungeon, and keep his plentiful estate from him ; except for the short period of his imprisonment, with the view of deterring others of meaner quality from harbouring traitors in the guise of Popish priests ! Doubtless, Gentlemen of England, you will presume that intercession was made for him in high quarters, by his rich friends in Cornwall, and the result of such intercession with a gracious Queen, and one of glorious memory, was his restoration to liberty, his family, and his estate. And yet you would be utterly mistaken. In the work referred to, no further mention is made of the unfortunate old gentleman. Lingard speaks of him, but is mistaken in saying that he died in confinement. Yet the sequel of his story may be told from a record of the cruelty of Elizabeth, and of the virtue of her victim, written on stone, on the tomb of Francis Tregian in a foreign land, where by accident it was discovered by the author of this work.

" In the church of S. Roque, in Lisbon, the church of the suppressed convent of the Jesuits, there is, on the left hand side of the aisle, not far from the principal entrance, a sepulchral stone, set in the wall in a vertical position, covering the tomb of Mr. Tregian. The inscription states, that AFTER AN IMPRISONMENT OF TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS, on account of his fidelity to his religion, after great sufferings and the loss of all his property, he terminated his days in Lisbon, in 1607, 'WITH A GREAT FAME FOR SANCTITY.' And that after seventeen years his remains had lain in that church, in 1625 his body was found entire and uncorrupted, and was re-interred the following year where it now lies.

" Father Maine was arrested in 1577. Tregian was committed to prison at the same time. He was imprisoned twenty-seven years, consequently his liberation must have taken place in 1604, about a year after the death of the persecuting Queen, and it appears that he only survived his liberation three years.

" The following is a copy of the inscription on his tomb :



" "Aqui esta em pè o Corpo de Dom Francisco Tregian, Fidalgo Ingres, mui illustro o qual depois de confisca dos seus estados é

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till death in a prison." —History of England, 4to. Edition, Vol. v.  
p. 376.

grandes trabalhos padecidos en 28 annos de presam polle defesa de fè Catolica em Inglaterra, na persecucao da Rainha Isabella, anno de 1607, a 25 de Decembro, morreo na esta Cidade de Lisboa, con grande fama de Santidade, avendo 17 annos, que estava sepultado nesta igreja de S. Roque da Compania de Jesus, no anno de 1625, aos 25 April, se achava seu corpo inteiro e incorrupto è foi colocado neste lugar, pellos Ingreses Catolicos residente, neste Cidade, os 25 de April, de 1626.'

"No more was to be learned there of Francis Tregian; but in another country the history of his sufferings was brought to the knowledge of the author. In the catalogue of the National Library, in Madrid, he found mention made of a Life of Tregian, entitled, 'Vida de D. Fran. Tregian, Fr. F. Plunquetus, (auctor), Sevilla.' Two days in vain were spent in ransacking the library for this work, but unfortunately the book was not to be found. In Lisbon, however, a copy of it was discovered by him in the hands of the President of the English College, taken from a reprint of the work which existed a few years ago in the library of the convent of Jesus, and by the kindness of that gentleman, the author was permitted the use of it.

"The title is, 'Heroum Speculum de vita, D. D. Francisco Tregian. Edidit F. Fran. Plunquetus Hibernus, ordinis S. Bernardi, nepos ejus maternus Olispone, 1655.'

"This little work, notwithstanding its barbarous Latinity, is highly interesting. We learn from it that Tregian was connected with the Arundel family, was married to a daughter of Viscount Stourton, and was a frequenter of the Court of Elizabeth.

"He had the misfortune to become, unconsciously, the object of one of those attachments for her courtiers, of which persons of comely looks were but too often the victims. Elizabeth's passion for Tregian was one of head-long violence,—'Amoris peste corripitur.' She would have him lodged near the palace, and she endeavoured to persuade Tregian to allow her to create him a Viscount, which he constantly refused.

"At length the vehemence of her passion led to scenes of violent advances on one side, and of virtuous resistance on the other, which terminated on the part of her Majesty, in hatred of the man who dared to repel the favour of a Queen, and a determination to be revenged of him. Letters, by the Queen's special orders, were despatched to the authorities in Cornwall, to have Tregian and all his family arrested, and these orders were carried into execution with barbarous rigour, the 8th of June, 1599.

"In prison, in chains, subjected to all kinds of indignities, separated from a beloved wife and children, cut off from all communication with friends and relatives, twenty-seven years of cruel sufferings were endured by him with all the bravery of spirit, dignity of mind, and resignation, that became a christian gentleman.

Prayer was his only occupation and recreation. In his daily form of prayer, to which it would be impossible to find any thing superior in point of elevation of language and of thought—his earnest supplication to God is to take away from him all sense of fear, all feelings of pusillanimity, so that he might bear all that the malice of his enemies might do against him, as it became a christian man to endure persecution.—‘ Deus Immortalis ! Solamen peccatorum abige a me procul omnem pusillanimitatis speciem nec me obruat servilis metus.’.....

“ The cruelties inflicted on him were of the most revolting kind ; at times he was immured in a filthy dungeon, on one occasion for three months, on a charge of attempting his escape, after suffering personal violence at the hands of his jailers. At length, after a persecution of twenty-seven years and upwards, he was set at liberty, deprived of all his property ; for this had been confiscated soon after his imprisonment.

“ The ambassador of Philip III. of Spain, was commissioned by his master to offer this unfortunate gentleman an asylum in his dominions ; the offer was gratefully accepted, and he was received at Madrid with all the honour and respect due to his virtue and his former position in society. A liberal monthly allowance was made by the king for his subsistence, in a manner suitable to his rank. Shortly after his arrival, he was seized with illness. Change of air was recommended by the physicians, and Lisbon was the place to which he was advised to proceed. There his life was spent in holiness and works of mercy, and especially in relieving the unfortunate Irish refugees, who at that time crowded Lisbon.

“ He died as he lived, in the odour of sanctity, in his sixtieth year, the 25th of September, 1608.

“ His remains, (adds his biographer,) were interred in the Jesuit’s church of St. Roque’s, in a marble sepulchre, and after seventeen years, when that tomb was opened, his body was found in a perfect state of preservation.

“ D. D. Philippa, and D. D. Jacob Plunket, to whom a portion of the shroud, which retained its original appearance, had been sent to Ireland as a relic, presented the same to his widow. A host of miraculous cures, alleged to have been made by similar relics taken from his remains when his tomb was opened, are detailed in the biography, which occupy no small portion of the narrative. These, at least, are evidences of the fame of his holy life.

“ In these times of hero worship, of war and warrior idolatry, the eclat of the virtue of Francis Tregian, the man ‘ of a great fame for piety,’ of unshaken fidelity to his religion, of constancy invincible in sufferings, and triumphant over them, has now little chance of renown. The merit of the christian chivalry, moreover, of Cuthbert Maine, will sink to the dust, it may be, in our days, in comparison with the glory of great military prowess, no matter how acquired. There may be some persons, however, who would prefer the simple

record of the merit of exalted virtue on the tomb of Francis Tregian, or the remembrance of the dignified bearing and christian chivalry of Cuthbert Maine, to all the trophies that are destined to adorn the statues and the sepulchres of successful soldiers. There may be some who will not laugh to scorn the idea of the virtue of the old Cornish gentleman, and the valour of the other intrepid soldier of the Cross, being on a par with any qualities which belong to military heroes.

"The day will come when the memories of the persecuted missionary priests of England will be honoured in their own land, and the exploits of the heroes who are now the gods of our idolatry, will be remembered, perhaps, with less admiration than theirs. Even now in the Church that persecuted theirs, there are enlightened members, christian men, who would set a higher value on the fame of those martyrs than on all the glory that ever gathered over the eagles of Napoleon, that fell to the share of Picton and Davoust, or was gained by the sabre of Murat ; who would deem all worldly honour of small account compared with that of having bravely borne the banner of that Cross which the pious Maine died on the scaffold under the folds of, and the man of great fame for sanctity, the venerable Tregian, sunk beneath, after his long suffering in a foreign land."—pp. 121-126.

But here we must pause in our extracts from the work of Dr. Madden. Of the work itself it may be truly said that it is honest, truthful, candid : that its materials have been sedulously collected, and that whilst avoiding the minute details of history, the author has illustrated the subject so well as to relieve it from the tedium which a mere dry narrative of legal barbarities and legislative enormities, must have inevitably produced.

We would thus willingly bring our observations to a conclusion; but that we feel it necessary to place on record our dissent to one or two points on which Dr. Madden lays some stress. As a Catholic, we think, he concedes too much when he admits the necessity for change at the time the Reformation burst forth and desolated Europe. We do not regard as historically accurate portraiture of society, the denunciations of the ardent preacher, who in warning all men, Churchmen as well as laymen, to attain a state of perfection, boldly exposes individual or class vice wherever he can discern it, whether in the few or the many, the rich, the great, or the exalted. We do not regard as historical truths, the accusations which partisans who profit by a new state of things, allege against the old. We think that Dr. Madden, in the extreme desire to be

impartial, has given an undue importance to isolated facts, and then made those which we may designate as local and particular facts, generally applicable to the great body of the Church. It is in proportion to their weakness and their wealth, that the most pious, ardent, hard-working, and charitable members of the Church, have been either slandered and spoliated, or spoliated and slandered—the accusations serving as pretexts or as justifications to their calumniators and plunderers. We cannot admit that one of the men who aided on the work of the Reformation, was actuated by a good motive; nor, as far as England is concerned, is Dr. Madden their apologist. But when Dr. Madden prefaches his history of the Penal Laws in England, with a detail of the exertions made by good men elsewhere to correct the abuses of Churchmen—as good men, and pious men, and holy Popes in all ages, have struggled to correct such abuses in the Church—and when he, referring to those efforts at a pure reformation elsewhere, regards them as preliminary to, or premonitory of, the Reformation in England, he does that which is calculated to lead the reader astray—to bring him far wide of those causes which gave impulse and strength to the Reformation in England. He should have borne in mind that Henry VIII. was not the first English king who had attempted to tyrannize over the Church, nor to apply its revenues to his own vile uses.

There was, we believe, no country in Europe in which the Gospel was received with more cheerfulness, truthfulness, and simplicity of heart, than by England, when ruled by its Anglo-Saxon sovereigns. Its love and attachment to Rome were unbounded—to Rome its Kings, its Queens, its Ethelings, its Ealdormen, and its Thanes, went as pilgrims—its Archbishops of Canterbury were to be found there, humbly kneeling at the footstool of the Apostles—its people sent with their prayers their Peter's-pence—it was thought of with affection and spoken of with reverence by whomsoever was the occupant of the Pontifical Chair. But it was not destined to remain thus. Twice was England subsequently desolated, almost depopulated, by a conquest—first, by the piratical, infidel, and democratically Thing-ruled Northmen, who brought with them blind superstition, a hatred to the Catholic Church and its discipline;\*

\* When Hakon, the foster son of king Athelstan, determined upon

a personal animosity against bishops, and priests, and monks;\* and with an attachment to their old customs, a horror of Christianity, as if it were inimical to liberty.† And thus was the population—that is, the poorer classes in England demoralized, and from that demoralization, despite of all the efforts of the Church, they never were purely and perfectly recovered, or else we should not see

christianising Norway, he sent to England for bishops and other pious and learned men to assist him, (*Konung Hakon Adalstens Fostres Saga.* c. 15); and we find him at the great Thing held at Froste, proposing the adoption of christianity to them in these terms : “ that they should, whether holders of farms or occupants of houses, or dwellers on other men’s lands, rich and poor, great and small, old and young, no matter what their sex or condition in life, abandon their old pagan superstition, acknowledge the one true God, and Christ the Son of the ever blessed Virgin ; turn away from their accursed sacrifices, and abominate their foolish idols ; that they should on the seventh, a day of holiness, cease from every species of servile work, and that they should fast one day in every week.” How do we find these propositions received by the poor, the working classes, and the slaves amongst the Northmen ?

“ An immense clamour arose amongst the crowd, and men were heard murmuring, that they would be deprived of the time which was peculiarly suited for carrying on their field labours—that not only would the old religion be abolished, but the land would be rendered sterile from the want of its being properly and constantly tilled ; and to these complaints were added those of the labourers and slaves, that if they were restricted by fasts in the due allowance of their food, they would never be able to go through their work.” *Snorro. Konung Hakon Adalstens Fostres Saga.* c. 17. Vol. i. pp. 142, 143. See *Torfæus Hist. Rer. Norveg.* Vol. ii. pp. 216, 217.

\* The same authority (*Snorro*) mentions this fact, as indicative of what we may term the innate hatred of the Northmen to the ministers of religion. Eight men, states the author, entered into a conspiracy to root christianity out of Norway, and to compel King Hakon to offer up pagan sacrifices. “ Four of these then sailed to the southern coast of More, where they killed three priests, and burned to the ground three churches.”—*Snorro*, Vol. i. p. 146.

The darkest pages of English history, with the exception of those occupied by the English “ reformation” itself, are those filled with an account of the destruction of monasteries, and the slaughter by the Northmen of monks, nuns, priests, and bishops.

† See Wachsmuth “ *Aufstände und Kriege der Bauern im Mittelalter.* ” *Historisches Taschenbuch*, Vol. v. p. 295.

"the Ancient Laws of England" so crowded with enactments against Northern superstitions.

The second and the worst change was the Norman Conquest, which gave to England so many rapacious, cruel, selfish kings, and brutal nobles, who were for converting to their own uses all that England possessed, and among the rest the sacred property of the Church. Hence that long series of quarrels with the See of Rome, in which every bad monarch of England has found a defender in every base and irreligious historian of England. To the Conquest by the Normans we can trace the insurrection of Wat Tyler—to the popularity of such a leader as Ball, the Conquest by the Danes. The truth is, that wherever these barbarous Northmen—whether democratical or oligarchical—established themselves or made a settlement, we find the "reformation" for a time at least successful; and wherever they had been repulsed, we find the same "reformation" in vain struggling by the aid of brute force to retain a semblance of existence.

The swords of infidels prepared the soil for the seeds of "the Reformation." Its golden harvest was gathered by the hands of heretics.

Doctor Madden should have looked far beyond the period at which he has commenced his researches for the causes that led to the Reformation.

There are other points on which we differ with Dr. Madden; but as we have not space to explain, we do not feel it necessary to specify them. Taken as a whole, we think, this first volume merits a place in the library of every Catholic; and, we wish we could believe, that it was universally perused by those who differ from us in faith; for its pages cannot fail to be suggestive how very doubtful it must be that the creed which they profess can be true, when to found, to prop it up, and to sustain it, such awful crimes were perpetrated, so many inhuman deeds committed, and so many barbarous laws enacted.

What, says an ancient legislator, should the law always be:—"Like to the Divinity itself; the guardian of religion, the spring source of discipline, the workman of pure equity, the origin and regulator of manners, the guide of the Commonwealth, the forerunner of justice, the rule of life, the very soul and spirit of the body politic."\*

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\* "Lex est æmula divinitatis, antistes religionis, fons discipli-

It is a serious and an awful question for every one who differs from the Roman Catholic Church and examines the Penal Code of England—and it is one which must be answered wisely and justly now, or be solved by a terrible judgment hereafter—“Can *this* Creed be true, which required *such a Code* for its protection?” Let Protestants read this work of Dr. Madden, and we defy them to close its pages without some such suggestion being forced upon their minds.

As to Catholics, it is not possible for them to read this book without edification, and without feeling alike their faith strengthened, and their hope animated. They see here the spirit of evil working by the same means that it did in the times of Nero, or in the days of Julian, shedding the blood of martyrs, or punishing with political disabilities and confiscations, an avowed attachment to the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church. Their faith is strengthened as they read; and the hopes of many of them must be animated as they peruse the details of what have been suffered by their ancestors, in the great cause of Christianity. Hundreds of them are heirs to that sanctified destitution, and most blessed poverty, which they have inherited with an attachment to the true faith. Oh! if they will be but true to their faith—if their lives shall but correspond with the discipline of their Church, how great and how glorious shall be their reward hereafter; for already there is stored for them in heaven the boundless treasures, which lost on this earth, are counted there as charities. This is a truth of which we are assured by one of the greatest Saints of our Church.\* May they ever remember it! and great indeed will be their reward.

A single instance of the sufferings endured, and the spoliations practised upon a single member of a single family,

narum, artifex juris boni, mores inveniens atque componens, gubernaculum civitatis, justitiae nuncia, magistra vitae, anima totius corporis popularis.”—*Leges Wisigothor*, Lib. 1. Tit. 2. § 2.

\* “Non enim illæ tantum opes, quas eleemosynæ nomine dispensimus, transferuntur in cœlum, sed etiam quascumque nobis hostes fidei piorumque persecutores rapiunt, illic thesauri erunt: est enim hoc non minus quam illud.” St. John Chrysostom, Homily xl. as quoted in the Lives of S. S. Juventinus and Maximus, Act. Sanct. (Januar.) Vol. ii. p. 620. Ch. 2. § 5. See St. Paul to the Hebrews, chap. x. v. 34.

will best illustrate the glory of the English people who adhered to the faith of their fathers. The case we select is that of John Townley, Esq., of whom the following account is given by Mr. Whittaker in his "History of Whalley."

"John Townley, Esq., son of Charles, second son of Sir John Townley, Knight, married Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Richard Townley, his uncle. He was celebrated for his *recusancy* and suffering. In Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, are many memorials relating to him, and his fellow-sufferer, Sir John Southworth. The following inscription, under a portrait of himself, his lady, and children, in the library at Townley, will supply what is wanting in this narrative.

"' This John, about the 6 or 7 yere of her matie that now is for professing the Apostolical Catholick Romain ffaith, was im-prisoned first at Chester Castell, then sent to Marishalsea, then to Yorke Castell, then to the Blackhouses in Hull, then to the Gate-house in Westminster, then to Manchester, then to Broughton, in Oxfordshire, then twice to Eley, in Cambridgeshire, and so now of 73 yeares old, and blinde, is bound to appear, and to keep within five myles of Towneley, his house : who hath since the Statute of 23, paid in to the Exchequer, £20 the month, and doth still, (so) that there is paid already above £5,000.'"—Whittaker's History of Whalley, Book vi. c. i. p. 465. 1601.

In the preceding pages we are conscious that we have, when referring to the personal character of Dr. Madden, written in strong and eulogistic terms—perhaps it may be thought too much so of one who is still living. We do so, because we cannot but feel, that we may write of him, as if he were dead. He may never see these lines—may never know they had been written, or, if knowing, perchance, may learn that the heart which dictated them has ceased to beat. Dr. Madden is now on his voyage to the Antipodes. He is about to discharge the duties of Colonial Secretary at Western Australia, and there are many chances against his return to Europe for several years.

There are distances of time and place in this world that are greater than those which separate time from eternity. Place the former between two friends, and their hope of reunion on earth amounts to an impossibility; whilst the latter can include the lapse but of a few years. Let us be but good and faithful children of the Church, and our reward is assured to us—we shall meet those good and faithful Christians whom we have loved upon this earth.

Here there is nothing so uncertain as that we shall again grasp the hand of a friend, from whom a four months' voyage separates us; whilst with a pure and holy life, and the grace of God to protect us, we know that the certainty of our being united in Heaven is a certainty more certain than that Queen Victoria reigns in England.

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ART. IV.—*Notes of a Residence at Rome in 1846.* By a Protestant Clergyman. REV. M. VICARY, B. A. London: Bentley, 1847.

WE would respectfully suggest as one of the standing orders of the new Italian *Zoll-verein*, that no foreigner shall be admitted to travel within its territory, unless upon an express understanding that he shall not print his tour. There is hardly a single “Tour in Italy” that is not a disgrace to common sense, as well as to good feeling and propriety, and that does not contain outrages against truth, charity, and justice, sufficient to disentitle the author, not alone to the ordinary privileges of hospitality, but even to the lowest degree of toleration.

We have had occasion, many a time since the commencement of our career, to denounce the ingratitude and treachery with which the unsuspecting hospitality of Italy is requited by strangers, to whose criticism she too confidently lays open her treasures of religion as well as of art. But we had hopes that a better feeling had begun to prevail; that men had come at length to look, at least with toleration, on usages, which, heretofore, were regarded as unmixed Paganism; and that it was no longer a matter of course that every thing which differed from the preconceived notions in which the tourist had been educated, must be condemned because it is not understood, and because it departed from the conventional standard according to which his ideas of propriety had been adjusted.

It is painful to be obliged to confess that the work now upon our table has taught us that our anticipations have been too sanguine. It is filled with the worst and most vulgar prejudices of the olden bigots; and to what in them, Heaven knows, was already sufficiently offensive, it superadds the further offensiveness of a patronizing and apologetic tone. We are unwilling to speak hardly of the author

of this unamiable publication, who is a clergyman, and apparently not a very practised writer: but the publication itself is one which we cannot overlook; especially as it is not without pretensions, at least in externals, and as it has been lauded in no very measured terms by some of the journals which profess to be liberal, and lauded, among other things, for the justice and fairness of its views on the subject of the religion of Rome. Its statements are broad and tangible; they are unhappily of such a character as leaves us without any alternative; to these statements it is impossible to extend any quarter; and for the author personally, the best we can say, (though this is in itself far from complimentary,) is, that the evidence of precipitancy, incompetence, and want of sufficient preparation, which are betrayed in almost every paragraph, leads us to hope that his worst fault is the exceeding rashness of venturing to write upon a subject on which he was not only without accurate knowledge, but even without the means of obtaining it.

Mr. Vicary does not expressly tell how long he resided in Rome; but, judging from the range of the ceremonies which he describes, we conclude that his visit was for the established term which fashion has prescribed;—viz. from Christmas till Easter; and this term, in the year 1846 (even supposing, what is by no means certain, that he did not contrive, during the interval, to take “a run” to Naples, and perhaps to Salerno and Pæstum,) allows somewhere about three months and a half for the preparation of his materials. Now these materials embrace the entire subject of Rome, its religion, its political constitution, its social condition, its art, its antiquities, and even the manners, the usages, and the character of its people. This, one would say, affords “ample room and verge enough” for a three months’ enquiry. We might, however, admit it to be possible that a tourist, well acquainted with the language, familiar to some extent with the habits and character of the people, prepared by careful previous study of the best writers in the several departments, and directed by the advice of skilful and judicious friends, would be enabled to digest within that period his own observations on the conclusions which had been drawn by those who went before him; though we must say that, even with these advantages, it would be the extreme of rashness to offer the judgments thus formed, as certain and beyond suspicion of

inaccuracy. How far Mr. Vicary enjoyed these advantages, we must leave the reader to infer from his own statements. With the exception of one or two hacknied references to such profound works as "Matthews's Diary," "Chambers's Dictionary," "The Library of entertaining Knowledge," &c., his book does not contain a single reference to any authority, whether native or foreign: it is full of blunders in the most plain and palpable matters of fact: it presents no evidence of intercourse with those who could have supplied correct information,\* and the author's familiarity with the language may be inferred from the specimens which his pages present, (and which by the way he is fond of parading;)—as for example, "*il fede*" "*homocidio*" "*vino asciouto*" "*ligneua di vera croce*," (in another place *legnia*,) "*il girandola*" "*nostra protettore*" (twice,) "*questa giorno*" "*il malade di dente(?)*" "*capellane*," &c., &c.

Every one recollects how regularly the English journals, for the last twelve months, have made a standing joke of the style "*Sir Cobden*" which some unlucky Italian journalist gave to the great leader of the League. We fear Mr. Vicary has supplied an inexhaustible source of retort in his numberless blunders as to the names and styles of Italian families, communities, and individuals: e. g. "*Mikara*," "*Oriola*," "*Ruspigliosi*," &c. &c.

It must not be inferred, however, from this special exception in favour of his Italian, that his general character stands very high as a linguist; at least if we may judge from such latinity as "*Miserere me Dominus Deus*;" and such philosophical profundity as the derivation of carnival "from *carnaval*, by reason the flesh then goes to the pot, to make amends for the season of abstinence ensuing." (p. 287.)

From the flippant and (we fear we must add) profane tone, too, in which he discusses even the most sacred subjects, the reader will hardly judge that Mr. Vicary approached the enquiry with sufficient seriousness to make amends for his incapacity on another score; and in a spirit becoming the deep and solemn interests which it involves. A clergyman—we say it with great pain—might have

\* If we except what every respectable stranger who winters in Rome may claim, an introduction to the rector of some of our national colleges, or to some resident English or Irish priest.—Of this, however, there is but little trace in Mr. Vicary's volume.

abstained, even though the subject is popery, from the unseemly joke about the ladies going veiled to St. Peter's, (p. 95); and about St. Apollonia's being "more fitted to give the heart-ache than cure the tooth-ache," (p. 169.); he might have found some less undignified comparison for the inscriptions over the doors of the churches than "the sign-boards of a hotel" (p. 26); he might have taken the trouble to inform himself as to the truth of the offensive statement which he makes in page 29, even though this would have destroyed the point of his jest about "holy book-keeping;" and the antiquity of the usages which he derides, (p. 247), might have taught him to respect the use of the chrism, which even his own Church does not discard; and to devise for the mystic binding of the priest's hands at ordination, some less mirthful name than that of "handcuff." Such a tone as this may meet the approval of the "liberal" friends, who pride themselves on their enlightened and disinterested patronage of popery: but we must confess that to us it is a source of unmixed pain and regret, and we are much mistaken if the feeling be not shared by every religious mind, no matter how far its sympathies may be removed from the religion and the religious worship of Rome.

These strange specimens of ignorance, however, as well as the numberless blunders in matters of fact with which the book is filled, would hardly be worth notice were there not an evidence of the writer's incompetence to deal with the more important relations of his subject. It would be of very little importance, for example, whether he is right or wrong in describing a solemn ordination at the church of St. John Lateran on Easter-Monday, on which day no such ceremonial is performed (p. 249); in asserting that the office of the Tenebrae contained "an Epistle, Gospel, and other prayers for the occasion" (p. 145); that the Misere-re is sung on three "different nights of the Holy Week, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday" (p. 147); that he saw the cardinals kiss the foot of the pope at the commencement of the service in St. Peter's (p. 93); that the "modern name of the Pantheon is "Santa Maria Degli Angeli" (p. 35); that the Jesuits' dress does not differ much from that of the local clergy, but may always be distinguished by "having the cravat *half covered with a piece of white muslin*" (p. 71); that the number of students in the English college "does not appear to amount to more

than fifty”\*\* (p. 237); while that of the Propagandists “varies from two to four hundred” † (p. 235). These, and a hundred similar mistakes, as to usage, ceremonial, dress, &c., &c., unimportant as they are in themselves, may furnish means of judging whether, in matters of more importance, and of greater difficulty, the unsupported assertion of such a writer is deserving of implicit credit. We need hardly take the trouble of directing the reader’s judgment. He can form but one.

It is not so easy, however, to deal gently with a blunder like the following.

“This day is remarkable on account of the Pope receiving the eucharist. It is an interesting spectacle, as his method of receiving it differs from all the world. It is usual to receive the elements in a reverential posture, and so do nearly all denominations of Christians. But the Pope, presuming upon his intimacy with our Lord, from his office of vicegerent, always receives it sitting. The cardinal who officiated at the altar, and the bishop, approached his Holiness, bearing the paten and chalice. The Pope received with much apparent devotion, but with a vast deal of ceremony. As they approached and retired from him, they bowed repeatedly. During all this time, there was a solemn silence, and all were attentive. None of the cardinals or other officials present were communicants. It seemed to be enough for all that his Holiness should partake of it.”—p. 104.

Now will it be believed that this scene, though the writer describes it as an eye-witness, is, nevertheless, in all its most important details, purely imaginary! That the Pope’s “method of receiving” does *not* “differ from all the world;”—that he does *not* “presume upon his intimacy with our Lord, from his office of vicegerent,” and “always receive it sitting;”—that “others of the officials present *were* communicants;”—and that it did *not* “seem enough for all that His Holiness should partake of it!”

In one word, the whole scene is a pure invention! The Pope did not, on the occasion on which Mr. Vicary professes to have been an eye-witness, nor on any other occasion, from time immemorial,† receive sitting. He received

\* It is not twenty in reality.

† We wish it could be reckoned at half the number.

‡ This *was* the custom, but it has been abandoned for more than a century.

the sacred elements in the same posture in which every other priest in the church receives—standing; and not only he, but also the assisting deacon and sub-deacon, communicated at the mass. The only peculiarity of the Pope's communion is a very curious and striking one, which this most observant eye-witness *did not notice at all*;—he receives, by immemorial usage, the Sacred Chalice through a tube (called *calamus* or *fistula*), a usage, however, which is also observed by the assisting deacon, (though not by the subdeacon), at the Papal High-Mass. And the most strange circumstance connected with this absurd, and, we are sorry to add, ill-natured, blunder is, that it is one into which many equally profound tourists had fallen before Mr. Vicary, and which is corrected by every person who has written upon the ceremonies of the papal mass, from Benedict XIV.\* to Gaetano Morone: nor should we have cared to notice it in Mr. Vicary, even when we recollect the ill-natured use to which he turns it—a sneer at the papal pretensions—except as an illustration of his accuracy as an observer, and of the degree of credibility to which his statements are entitled.

There is another equally ludicrous specimen of ignorance, which we cannot pass over so lightly.

“ After an early examination, upon retracing my steps, an object caught my eye which had at first escaped notice. I observed over the door of almost every church, in large white letters on a black ground, the words ‘*Indulgencie plenaria perpetuo pro vivis et defunctis.*’ This startling announcement is generally upon a board,—like a sign over an hotel, declaring what sort of entertainment is to be found within. There seems to be an absolute rivalry upon the subject. In some we find it placed more prominently than in others; while it is not forgotten, if the letters become defaced, to have them carefully renewed.

“ What an extraordinary announcement in a christian temple—‘the utmost liberty for the living and the dead!’ No doubt, this subversion of the principles of Christianity drives only at one object—the replenishing of the coffers of the Church. It is the prostitution of religion for purposes of gain, and upon a subject which is sure to have no lack of customers, as conscience will urge millions to the absolving shrine, and affection call as many to

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\* *De Sacrificio Missæ*, sect. i. N. 339. p. 131. (Cologne 1751. Strangely enough, Eustace (vol. ii. p. 170) falls into the same mistake.

purge the ashes of their dead. The words were on St. Peter's, and thus are stamped with all the authority of the Vatican.

"If the announcement is fully acted on, the question may be well asked, What are its effects? Immorality and irreligion must, I conceive, be the inevitable result. If a man under the influence of sin, or committing actual crime, knows where he may without any inconvenience (where there is an absolute competition to serve him) wipe out all these stains and scars, and return to innocence, participating in full pardon,—if the accounts he owes are settled so easily, the long bills ignored by the ecclesiastical jury, with whom the *heaviest* arguments are the best,—it is to me a great doubt, whether, with youth as it were invigorated, and conscience cleansed, he will not return with renewed zest to his original life; and thus a sort of holy book-keeping be kept up, the account of debtor and creditor regularly proceeding, and as regularly settled.

"If individuals in courts of law could, by undergoing some nominal penalty, have no fears of the consequence of crime, and might obtain full exemption from punishment, would the state of society be as inviolable, and men's property and persons as secure, as when that law vindicates itself, and its red right arm is bared for punishment? It is so with human nature,—equally the case with the conscience. Where punishment, the dread of future recompense, can be bought off on such easy terms, vice in its varied forms is likely to flow with an unobstructed course, and exert its evil influence upon the great mass of society. The objection once made, 'Who can forgive sins but God alone?' is exactly reversed in Papal Rome. It is hard to know what the character of Roman morality is—it is difficult to read the heart. The very name of the City of the Church will serve as some outward check. I speak only of the genuine consequences of the practice.

"Although the principle involved be so opposed to true religion, it is for many reasons the very last thing that the priesthood would be likely to abandon. Let as much light as possible be thrown upon it, they will still cling to and clutch it. The '*Plenaria Indulgencia*,' thus openly advertised, serves two important purposes in the economy of the Roman Church. It gives the great body of the people an exalted idea of the priesthood, and being the true '*thesaurus theologicus*,' it recruits the finances, and oils the wheels of the whole system. And then how comprehensive is its circle; it includes the living and the dead,—'*vivis et defunctis*.' No matter how unsubstantial the theory, its results are gratifying. It may be truly said of them, '*Quod volumus facile credimus*,' or more pertinently in the present instance, '*Populus vult decipi*.' Its manifest use will maintain it, and the infallibility of the Church comes in to check any doubt that may arise concerning it—a mode of stifling argument, that has been devised in modern times, to chain the reason and the will to the chair of the Popes."—pp. 26-29.

The first question which presents itself to one's mind on reading this, we must say, disgraceful passage, is, whether it is possible that any man, who had received the education of a clergyman, could be ignorant of the meaning of the words "*Indulgentia Plenaria*" in this inscription. If Mr. Vicary really did not know the meaning of these words, we need hardly say that his attempting to write a book upon any topic of controversy, betrays an amount of presumption, so extravagant and so hopelessly beyond correction, that it would be folly to waste a word of criticism upon him. And yet we should much prefer to give him credit even for this inconceivable ignorance, than to adopt the other branch of the alternative—that, knowing full well what catholics mean by *indulgentia plenaria pro vivis et defunctis* (*a plenary indulgence for the living and the dead*) he was uncandid and dishonest enough to translate it "the *utmost liberty* for the living and the dead." The substance of the imputation itself—viz., that indulgences are nothing but a license to commit sin,—has been so frequently refuted, and the odious construction which Mr. Vicary thus dishonestly fixes upon it, has been so repeatedly and so indignantly disclaimed, that we shall not trust ourselves to enter upon it here; and we shall only repeat that the impossibility of believing the mistranslation to be wilful in the present instance, furnishes, in our mind, the author's best vindication from a charge more dishonourable, even than that of ignorance so gross as this mistranslation must be supposed.

Mr. Vicary, however, is far from being himself sparing in his judgments of the opinions and the religious dispositions of others. He once took a part, he tells us, in a procession at Rome.

"It was on the Circumcision, January 1, 184—, that my progress in the *Strada de due Marcelli* was arrested by the procession of the day. It was headed by twelve priests, apparently not above the rank of rector, in their officiating dresses. Then came some religious attendants, or Church officers, bearing a painting of the Virgin, and behind them a black crucifix of moderate dimensions. Some large wax candles were also carried, although in the face of day.

"As soon as the whole group had turned the corner of the *Collegio di Propaganda Fede*, the person with the picture of the Virgin drew near, and they stopped: a table which they carried was arranged as a temporary pulpit, which a priest having

ascended, he began to address the multitude. My knowledge of the Italian at the time was not very perfect, but sufficient to observe the scope of his discourse, and to what subjects he drew the attention of his hearers. The manner of the preacher was unquestionably sincere, as it was warm ; his voice firm and commanding, and his action theatrical to a great degree. The Virgin was held on his right hand ; to it during his discourse, with all vehemence and earnestness, he pointed. '*Santissima Maria*' was the theme, the beginning and the ending of his address, while far behind, unmentioned and unnoticed, was the crucifix. As he urged the topic of repentance, and pointed out the fitness of the day, commencing a new year, for reformation and amendment ; he dwelt little upon the name of God, but that of the Virgin repeatedly occurred. '*Santissima Maria*', ever and anon, in the language of the sweet south, fell on the ear from the not inharmonious voice of the speaker. The name of '*Gesu*' was but once or twice during the whole time mentioned. To the Virgin he pointed while he bade them date a new life from this period ; to her he pointed while he asked them to hope for the happiness of heaven. Upon her he turned his eyes, full and significant as they were, while bewailing the sins and guilt of his hearers ; he invoked her protection, or implored her intercession. And as he concluded with a blessing that they might improve in christian perfection, and attend the duties of the Church, to the picture he looked affectionately, imploring that that blessing might be confirmed."—pp. 118-120.

The obvious tendency of this description of the preacher and this analysis of his discourse, is to create an impression that, in the popular instruction of Rome, Almighty God is lost sight of altogether, and that the main object of devotion is the Blessed Virgin. It would be wrong, of course, to suppose that this was not the impression produced upon Mr. Vicary's own mind, prejudiced and predetermined as it was ; but that he was able, fairly and satisfactorily, to gather this impression from listening to the preacher's discourse, we do not hesitate to pronounce a pure imagination of his own, not a whit less extravagant than that which led him to believe that he saw the Pope communicate in a sitting posture. He modestly admits that "his knowledge of Italian at the time was not very perfect." We beg the reader to call to mind the specimens of Mr. V.'s knowledge of Italian at this present publishing of his book, which we collected together a few pages back, and to draw his own inference as to what it must have been, at the time when he had just, probably, arrived in Rome. But, whatever may have been his know-

ledge of the language, we can say from experience, that far more practised Italian scholars than he seems likely ever to become, long continue to find it difficult to follow the inflections and modulations of an animated preacher ; and that the idea of a novice, at hearing a "street-preacher" for the first time, understanding the general tenor of his sermon, is preposterous and absurd in the extreme. Mr. Vicary heard and understood these things, because *he wished* to hear and understand them, and because, in his preconceived views of the popular preaching of Rome, he was prepared to hear them, and was determined that he could not hear anything else.

However, this subject of the popular teaching of Rome is one on which so much of misrepresentation is abroad, that we are tempted to take this opportunity of placing before the reader the most complete and most practical refutation of it which it seems possible to devise or to desire. It consists simply in a descriptive enumeration of the books of devotion which are chiefly in circulation among the people of Rome, and which, of course, must fairly represent their devotional practices, and their views on the subject of the worship of God and of the saints. This enumeration is not new, being taken from the concluding chapter of Mr. Newman's "Essay on Developments;" but, as it may probably be new to many readers, and as it is the least suspicious of all the possible evidences which could be presented, it may be pardonable to reproduce it here ; especially as the writer of these pages is well acquainted with the collection to which Mr. Newman refers, and can vouch for its having been made with perfect fairness, and without the least desire or intention of concealing or softening down any of what are commonly regarded as the most repulsive features of Catholic doctrine and practice.

"The other instance which I give in illustration is of a different kind, but is suitable to mention. About forty little books have come into my possession which are in circulation among the laity at Rome, and answer to the smaller publications of the Christian Knowledge Society among ourselves. They have been taken almost at hazard from a number of such works, and are of various lengths ; some running to as many as two or three hundred pages, others consisting of scarce a dozen.

"They may be divided into four classes :—a third part consists of books on practical subjects ; another third is upon the incarna-

tion and Passion ; and of the rest, the greater part are on St. Mary, and the remainder upon the sacraments, especially the Holy Eucharist. There are two or three besides for the use of Missions.

"As to the first class, they are on such subjects as the following: 'La Consolazione degl' Infirmi ;' 'Pensieri di una Donna sul Vestire Moderno ;' 'L'Inferno Aperto ;' 'Il Purgatorio Aperto ;' St. Alphonso Liguori's 'Massime Eterne ;' other maxims by St. Francis de Sales, for every day in the year ; 'Pratica per ben Confessarsi e Communicarsi ;' and the like. The titles of the second class are such as 'Gesù dalla Croce al Cuore del Peccatore ;' 'Novena del Ss. Natale di G. C. ;' 'Associazione pel Culto Perpetuo del Divin Cuore ;' 'Compendio della Passione.' In the third are 'Il mese Eucaristico,' and a few others.

"These books are, as even the titles of some of them show, in great measure, made up of Meditations : such are the 'Breve e pie Meditazioni' of P. Crasset ; the 'Meditazioni per ciascun Giorno del Mese sulla Passione ;' the 'Meditazioni per l'ora Eucaristica.' Now of these it may be said, generally, that in the body of the Meditation, Saint Mary is hardly mentioned at all. For instance, in the Meditations on the Passion, a book used for distribution, through two hundred and seventy-seven pages, Saint Mary is not named. In the prayers for Mass which are added, she is introduced at the Confiteor, thus, 'I pray the Virgin, the angels, the apostles, and all the saints of heaven to intercede ;' &c., and in the preparation for Penance, she is once addressed after our Lord, as the 'Refuge of Sinners,' with the saints and guardian angel : and at the end of the exercise, there is a similar prayer, of four lines, for the intercession of Saint Mary, angels, and saints of heaven. In the exercise for communion, in a prayer to our Lord, 'My only and infinite good, my treasure, my life, my paradise, my all,' the merits of the saints are mentioned, 'especially of Saint Mary.' She is also mentioned with angels and saints at the termination.

"In a collection of 'Spiritual Lauds' for missions of thirty-six hymns, we find as many as eleven addressed to Saint Mary, or relating to her, among which are translations of the Ave Maria Stella, and the Stabat Mater, and the Salve Regina, and one is on the sinner's reliance on Mary. Five, however, which are upon repentance, are entirely engaged upon the subjects of our Lord and sin ; with the exception of an address to Saint Mary at the end of two of them.

"Seven others upon sin, the crucifixion, and the four last things, do not mention Saint Mary's name.

"To the Manual for the Perpetual Adoration of the Divine Heart of Jesus, there is appended one chapter on the Immaculate Conception.

"The most important of the first class is the French "*Pensez-y-bien*," which seems a favourite book, since there are two transla-

tions of it, one of them being a fifteenth edition ; and it is used for distribution in Missions. In these reflections there is scarcely a word said of Saint Mary. At the end there is a method of reciting the crown of the Seven Dolours of the Virgin Mary, which contains seven prayers to her, and the *Stabat Mater*.

"One of the longest books in the whole collection, is one consisting principally of Meditations on the Holy Communion, under the title of the 'Eucharistic Month,' as already mentioned. In these 'Preparations,' 'Aspirations,' &c., Saint Mary is but once mentioned, and that in a prayer addressed to our Lord. 'O my sweetest Brother,' it says, with an allusion to the Canticles, 'who being made man for my salvation, hast sucked the milk from the virginal breast of her who is my mother by grace,' &c. In a small 'Instruction' given to children on their first communion, there are the following questions and answers : 'Is our Lady in the Host? No. Are the angels and saints? No. Why not? Because they have no place there.'

"Of the fourth class, which relate to Saint Mary, such as 'Esercizio al onore dell' addolorato Cuore di Maria,' 'Novena di Preparazione alla festa dell' Assunzione,' 'Li quindici Misteri del Santo Rosario,' the principal is a remarkable book by Father Segneri, called 'Il Divoto di Maria,' which requires a distinct notice. It is far from the intention of these remarks to deny the high place the Holy Virgin holds in the devotion of Catholics ; I am but bringing evidence of its not interfering with that incomunicable and awful relation which exists between the creature and the Creator ; and as the following instances show, as far as they go, that that relation is preserved inviolate by such honours as are paid to Saint Mary ; so will this treatise throw light upon the rationale, by which the distinction is preserved between the worship of God and the honour of an exalted creature, and that in singular accordance with the remarks made in the foregoing section.

"This work of Segneri is written against persons who continue in sins under pretence of their devotion to St. Mary. And in consequence it is led to draw out the idea which good Catholics have of her. The idea is this, that she is absolutely the first of created beings. Thus the treatise says, that God might have easily made a more beautiful firmament, and a greener earth ; but it was not possible to make a higher mother than the Virgin Mary ; and in her formation there has been conferred on mere creatures all the glory of which they are capable, remaining mere creatures.—p. 34. And as containing all created perfections, she has all those attributes, which, as was noticed above, the Arians and other heretics applied to our Lord, and which the Church denied of Him as infinitely below His supreme Majesty. Thus she is the 'created idea in the making of the world.' To her are applied the words, 'Ego primogenita prodivi ex ore Altissimi ;' because she was predestinated in the eternal mind coevally with the Incarnation of

her divine Son. But to Him alone the title of Wisdom Incarnate is reserved, p. 25. Again, Christ is the first-born by nature. The Virgin, in a less sublime order: viz., that of adoption. Again, if omnipotence is ascribed to her, it is a participated omnipotence, (as she and all the saints have a participated sonship, divinity, glory, holiness, and worship,) and is explained by the words, 'Quod Deus imperio, tu prece Virgo, potes.'

"Again, a special office is assigned to St. Mary, that is, special, as compared to all the other saints; but it is marked off with the utmost precision from that assigned to our Lord. Thus she is said to have been made 'the arbitress of every effect coming from God's mercy.' Because she is the Mother of God, the salvation of mankind is said to be given to her prayers, '*de congruo*, but *de condigno*, it is due only to the blood of the Redeemer.'—p. 113. 'Merit is ascribed to Christ, and prayer to St. Mary.'—p. 162. In a word, the whole may be expressed in the words, 'Unica spes mea Jesus, et, post Jesum, Virgo Maria. Amen.'

"Again, a distinct cultus is assigned to St. Mary; but the reason of it is said to be the transcendent dignity of her Son. 'A particular cultus is due to the Virgin, beyond comparison, greater than that given to any other saint, because her dignity belongs to another order, namely, to one which, in some sense, belongs to the order of the hypostatic union itself, and is necessarily connected with it.'—p. 41. And 'her being the mother of God is the source of all the extraordinary honours due to Mary.'—p. 35.

"It is remarkable that the 'monstra te esse matrem' is explained, p. 158, as, 'Show thyself to be our mother.' An interpretation which, I think, I have found elsewhere in these tracts, and also in a book commonly used in religious houses, called the 'Journal of Meditations,' and elsewhere."—Essay on Development, pp. 441-5.

Let the reader set this calm, deliberate, and scholar-like judgment, formed after such an examination, against the crude and hasty impressions of an Italian scholar, so perfect in his knowledge of the language, as to have discovered that "*carn-a-val*" means "flesh to the pot," and so original in his views of it, that he cannot even put three words of an Italian phrase together without violating as many of the first principles of grammar. Having done this, let him decide as to the character of the popular teaching of the Roman clergy.

And yet, will it be believed, this weak and silly writer presumes to censure the conduct and to judge the motives of those universally beloved and respected clergymen, immeasurably his superiors in learning, in integrity, and in every quality that does honour to man, who, as he says, "false to their first love, and allured by the attrac-

tions of Rome," have deserted "to her seductive ranks." We have not patience to refer to the passages in which he has the bad taste to provoke the comparison. It is ludicrous to read his allusions to "weakly constituted minds," (p. 107); his surprise at such a proceeding on the part of "men of studious and enquiring habits," (p. 158); his lamentations over those "who neglect the heart, and make up the defect by ample concessions to sense," (p. 107.) But it is with a deeper feeling than that of merriment that, knowing the enormous, and, in most cases, the public and notorious sacrifices—sacrifices of fortune, of rank, of position, of family, of friends, of old associations, of everything that men hold dear, which these men have made for conscience' sake,—we read from the pen of a brother clergyman, the odious and revolting, if it were not ludicrously false, insinuation, that "the baser object of *certain gain* moved the springs which have influenced their conduct." (p. 30).

We have seldom met, at least on this side of the Atlantic, anything more "cool" than the following proposal:

"If our relations with Rome were of a more intimate nature, it is probable that the nuncio we should have would be one of the most wary of the cardinals; and however the equipage, the red hat, and the red stockings might excite attention, it would be a matter to be lamented that the persecuting and intolerant Church should have its recognised representative in our free metropolis. It is a spectacle that the people of England would be unlikely to endure. At the same time, a representative of our own at Rome, however the same feeling would naturally resist any proposition of the sort, would be attended with considerable advantage. I do not now, with reference to this diplomatic post, speak of Church matters—of this different views will be entertained; but I refer merely to the benefit of an accredited agent of our government to the English residents. It requires a residence in Italy to become acquainted with the underhand and disingenuous nature of the Italian character. No men, at least to a great extent, are so low in the moral scale; nowhere can there be found a greater want of integrity, truth, and honesty. In their dealings with Englishmen the three last principles are entirely thrown overboard; and reckoning our countrymen as persons well able to bear it, they do not scruple to make use of unfair dealing. Numberless cases of flagrant injustice have come under my notice; I mean cases of contract for houses and lodgings violated and falsified, and among classes where one would not expect it,—so universal is the taint, or the appetite, to over-reach John Bull. The English consul has no power where

natives are concerned, so the maltreated Englishman is left to have recourse to laws whose language he is not conversant with, and whose justice all precedents assure him is one-sided.

"The wealthy English pay these enormous demands, or pocket their affronts; but to the artist or the invalid, the person of small means, they are most serious evils. The Romans know that we have no one to apply to, and hence, in almost every case, there is some breach of faith, with its consequent annoyances. This system would all be put an end to, the ill-got gains of the papal subjects would cease, if the *Inglese* had their ambassador, armed with powers to decide and punish." —pp. 56-58.

If Pius IX. be the man he is commonly taken for, we should not like to be the organ of communicating this proposal. That the "persecuting and intolerant Church," should "have a representative" in Mr. Vicary's "free metropolis," is a thing which "the people of England would be unlikely to endure;" but it is a matter of course, that the Pope is to feel himself honoured in receiving an accredited agent, not on Church matters, (Heaven forbid!) but to hire houses and lodgings for poor, unprotected, "maltreated," John Bull, whom "there is such an appetite to overreach;" and to "put an end to the ill-got gains of the Papal subjects!" It would be a pity not to submit the proposition to Lord Minto, before he shall conclude his preliminary diplomatic mission at Rome!

We hope we are right in believing that the following description of an ordination at St. John Lateran's, is conceived in a spirit, and expressed in a tone, which are not likely to meet much sympathy from any religious or well-regulated mind.

"One cardinal bishop only attended. He wore his mitre, and was seated in the chancel as he administered the rite. Several priests stood by his side, who also placed their hands on the postulant's head, when he meekly knelt for admission as one of the shepherds of the Church.

"Perhaps the sitting posture in the bishop is more significant, as tending to represent that authority with which he is invested; although there is no lack of means to declare this to both clergy and laity in the Church of which the Pope is the supreme head. The form of words that was pronounced was very brief, but was repeated over each candidate. On two several occasions he approached his Eminence; at the first, the vestment, which is indorsed with the cross, was placed upon his shoulders. He then retired to his place, evidently fully impressed with the responsibilities of the station which he had assumed. Subsequently he again

appeared in the chancel, where he presented the palm of his right hand to the bishop, who then poured some of the sacred chrism from the anointed cup into it. The attending priest, his chaplain probably, immediately placed the other hand over it, and taking a small white napkin from a bundle that was provided near him, he tied them both together: with this handcuff the young priest retires again to the seat he had occupied in the oratory. He continues in this posture for hours, until, I suppose, the chrism has worked its expected effect, or till it has been absorbed by the animal heat.

"I should not have been surprised if the bishop had anointed candidates upon the head, which was the ancient and usual method; but I am at a loss to discover the intention of anointing the hand. Perhaps it was a hint taken from the school of the gladiators, who oiled their arms, hands, &c., that their bodies might be more pliant for the struggle, and that they might slip more easily from the grasp of their opponents. So this would signify that he should be prepared for controversy—ready to grapple with any adversary who might hurl a 'negative' in the clerical arena; and then it would contain a hint that, if hard pressed, he could retire, as there would be no danger of his antagonist being able to hold him in his grasp.

"No doubt the act may be significant, and this, or some such conjecture, may explain it. Perhaps it is done, founded upon the well known fact, that, as oil cast upon troubled waters soon reduces them to a quiescent state, so they should regard their ministry in the same light, checking schism in the Church, as well as quelling tumult in the state. If this be the true interpretation, it were well for the sister country if many of her priests were ordained at Rome. As to schism, it probably does not exist to give them any uneasiness; but political movement, and the evils following in its train, would fall still-born, but for the decided part taken by the Maynooth priest.

"But I am inclined to believe the real cause of this rite is to impart a sanctity to the hands which are to hold the host in consecration. Such an opinion might follow from the belief in transubstantiation. It were well adapted to impress upon the young priest the idea of his own importance, as the act itself he is destined to perform raises him in the estimation of the people. That the host is of so sacred a nature, that he should not venture to touch it with common hands; but it requires the blessing of the bishop, in addition to the ordination and the chrism of the Church, to adapt them for the high duty: so much amongst Roman Catholics is religion reduced to externals. The ceremonies—the mass—all speak in the same language. To have a true spiritual church, it were better to receive the Saviour in the heart than in the hand, and to anoint with heavenly influences the former rather than the latter. The heart is the test in all things. In the dealings of life,

in the intercourse of society, if that is not steady and sincere, all is hollow and deceitful, although it be wrapped in specious pretexts. Devotion is the heart of religion, showing itself in pure doctrine and conduct, and pulsates as strong and as warmly, although the body that meets the eye be in modest garments, and without the aid of ornament."—pp. 250-253.

We cannot trust ourselves with any comment on this coarse and offensive passage. Honest and hearty reprobation of any practices which are considered objectionable, would, at least if it seemed earnest and sincere, be entitled to fair and candid, if not respectful consideration; but the rude and unfeeling levity which marks every line of this ill-natured diatribe, is incapable of exciting any sentiment but one which we are reluctant to indulge. It is unworthy, not alone of the serious habit of mind which a clergyman should be presumed to cultivate, but even of the fair and manly views which become an English gentleman. The heaviness of its coarse and vulgar wit overpowers even the profaneness by which it is so painfully distinguished, and the only feeling which remains after its perusal, is regret at the want of good taste and good feeling which could dictate its publication.

But we have already devoted to this ill-starred volume more space than we had intended, or than it deserves. It is no exaggeration to say that we have seldom read any book with more pain, and in some respects with more astonishment. There is hardly a charge against our religion which is not, at some time or another, insinuated or advanced;—charges of idolatry, of modified paganism, of persecution, of hollowness and hypocrisy, of hostility to enlightenment and civilization. There is hardly a class which is secure from the malevolence which pervades it. "It is hardly possible," we are told, "to think that *the Pope* can be sincere." (p. 154.) "Ostentation seems, with *the cardinals*, to be the ruling principle." (p. 54.) "*The monks* betray but little intelligence or acuteness in these countries;" he doubts whether "their qualifications, in many instances, embrace anything further than a capacity for chaunting the burial services." (p. 73.) "Nothing can be more melancholy and monotonous than the life of *the unhappy nun*, though it cannot be denied that they are said to be sincere." (p. 80.) As to *the people*, "no men, at least to a great extent, are so low in the moral scale," (p. 57) "many, perhaps the majority, lead the life of a

Nero, and look forward to have the black catalogue of years wiped away, like a Constantine, by an imposing, but momentary rite!" (p. 132.) Truly, one cannot but wonder at the variety and extent of the enquiries which this tourist contrived to compress into the short space of three months and a half, and at the unhesitating confidence with which his enquiries have enabled him to pronounce upon them all!

Seriously, however, the confidence with which he puts forwards statements, so palpably false as scarcely to need a word of refutation, would, in many cases, be exceedingly amusing, if it did not create a more painful feeling. He tells, for example, that "some of the Sacred College have built spacious palaces, which are exceedingly beautiful, and the principal ornaments of the localities in which they are placed; but he could not hear of them founding useful institutions, or bequeathing their wealth to purposes of national or public utility." "Ostentation," he adds, "seems to be, with all, the ruling principle; and they are ignorant that the connexion of their name with some hospital or college would form a more noble and enduring monument, and would transmit it more lastingly to the gratitude of posterity." (p. 54.) If we might suggest an explanation of Mr. Vicary's not hearing that the cardinals had connected their names with any of the munificent public institutions of Rome, we would say it was because he did not enquire, or because he did not desire to learn. The truth is, that there is hardly one of the countless institutes of mercy with which Rome abounds, that does not count popes and cardinals among its founders or benefactors. If he had taken the slightest pains to examine—if he had but enquired of his friend Mgr. Zacchei, (whom, in true Mrs. Nickleby strain, he describes as "a thin, cadaverous looking man, but with a good deal of the gentleman in his features and deportment:") if he had but glanced into a volume which no tourist should omit to consult—Morichini's *Istituti di Carità Pubblica in Roma*—he would have found that almost every institution in Rome has a pope or cardinal for its founder—that the hospital of San Salvatorma was founded by Cardinal Giacomo Colonna; the conservatorio del Rifugio by Cardinal Marcantonio of the same noble house; that to the munificent Cardinal Salviati Rome owes the hospital of San Giacomo, that of San Rocco, and the asylum of S. Maria in Aquiro; that the

hospital of S. Maria della Consolazione was enlarged and beautified by Cardinal Cozza; that that of San Gallicano was founded by Cardinals Corradino, and Orsini (afterwards Benedict XIII.); that the lunatic asylum of Santa Maria della Pietà was founded by Cardinal Queva; that the great central institute of universal benevolence, the Ospizio of San Michele, is a large debtor to the celebrated Cardinal Baronius; and the Borromeo asylum to Cardinal Vitalian Borromeo, of the family of the illustrious St. Charles.\* These and fifty other similar facts he would *necessarily* have learned, if he had but enquired from any well-informed Roman; and yet he has the incredible effrontery to tax the whole illustrious body of Cardinals with “ostentation” and indifference to the interests of charity and benevolence, because “he could not hear of them founding useful institutions!” It would be just as reasonable for a man to shut his eyes, and then complain that he could not see the sun.

With this crowning specimen of Mr. Vicary’s cool effrontery we shall take our leave of him. If he or any of his “liberal” admirers should think that our strictures have been unreasonably severe, we shall only request them to reflect whether it is fair to expect that an ignorant and irresponsible stranger shall be at liberty, because he chances to have had an opportunity of spending a few months in a foreign capital, to revile the people and their institutions with impunity; to heap obloquy and insult upon the highest personages in the land; to tax “prudent popes” and “wily cardinals” with ingenious frauds for the purpose of increasing their finances (p. 175); to declare it “impossible that the pope can be sincere” (p. 154); and to represent the *plenaria indulgentia* as a device “to recruit the finances, and oil the wheels of the whole system.” We should like to see some poor Italian papist try such a course as this in a “*Viaggio d’Inghilterra*.” Nothing is more certain than that Mr. Vicary and his “liberal” friends would be the first to raise the cry of “bigotry” against him; and, much as we deprecate this unkind and acrimonious warfare, we feel, nevertheless, that it is a duty

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\* This asylum might well be regarded as having given the idea for the new popular institute of Ragged Schools. The poor girls of the Borromeo Institute were called, from their exceeding poverty before their admission, *Le Cenciose*.

to our unsuspecting and defenceless co-religionists in Italy to shield them, as far as in us lies, from this and every similar attack, whether it proceeds from ignorance which misunderstands, or from malevolence which seeks to misrepresent, their religion, their character, and their institutions.

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ART. V.—1. *The fourth Annual Report to Parliament on the Fisheries of Ireland.* 1847.

2. *The 5 and 6 Vict. c. 106 : An Act to regulate the Irish Fisheries.*  
3. *Report of the proceedings of the Irish Council.*—Dublin: 1847.

THE importance of the fisheries of this country has at length attracted the attention of the government and people of England, and many projects are consequently afloat for the purpose of turning this source of national wealth to account, and societies are in course of organization, whose objects are to reduce those projects to practice. A few honest well intentioned Englishmen were the principal originators of those projects; but not knowing much of Ireland practically, they availed themselves of the aid of some members of "the Irish party," and the result is that the efforts of the societies are to be confined solely to the deep-sea fisheries, as if this island had no other. Regarding these societies now chiefly as foils to divert attention from the gross injustice inflicted on the mass of the community with regard to the inland fisheries, and as calculated to confirm the idea already too prevalent in England, that the neglect of the fisheries is attributable to the idleness of the people, we have seen with regret on some of the committees, names that might well have been absent, and resolutions adopted at meetings where real friends of the people were present, hailing the formation of such companies as one of the great levers to be employed in raising the country from its depth of want and misery. Men who seek to lead public opinion should be careful not to lend themselves to the propagation of delusions.

The cause commonly assigned for the neglect of the fisheries, is the want of piers and harbours, and of the means of providing boats, nets, &c.;—the cause assign-

ed by the leading organs of public opinion in England is of course the innate idleness of the Celt. We shall not stop to controvert the favourite doctrine, that the Saxon race are now the chosen people of heaven, and must overrun—indeed, ride rough-shod over—all creation; but when we recollect the indignant denunciations hurled against the indolence and cowardice of the peasant, who prefers starving and basking idly in the sunshine on the shore, to bestirring himself and gathering from the waters the wealth and food which Providence had bountifully placed within his reach, we cannot help suggesting, that it might be as wise and charitable, though of course it would not smack so strongly of philosophy, to ascertain first whether there was not some statute which might account for the conduct so energetically denounced. Efforts to force an unnatural occupation on a people have seldom proved successful. The efforts of some heartless Lairds in Scotland to convert Highland cottiers into deep-sea fishermen, have been attended with results at which few can rejoice. Employments of such a nature should come naturally. If you wish to make the people of Ireland fishers in the deep seas, you should allow them to take a few preliminary lessons in the shallow waters, and try their 'prentice hands on the lakes, bays, and large rivers of their country. It is too great a call on their dexterity and courage to force them to make their first experiments in fishing and sailing on the main ocean. The English, great and mighty and transcendental a people as they are, do not shut out from their fishermen the use of the rivers, bays, and harbours of their country: they do not forbid the fishermen of Barking to exercise their trade on the Thames, nor compel them to take their first lessons in spreading sails and casting nets on the Goodwin Sands or the Maelström.

Six years have now elapsed since we called attention to the illegality of the contrivances by which a few individuals had, in defiance of the laws of nature, and of the common and statute law of the realm, appropriated to themselves the exclusive fishery of all the tidal rivers, bays, harbours, and sea-coasts of the country.\* Believing in the futility of any appeal to the legislature for the suppression of this foul and enormous wrong, we suggested that the people should at once proceed to avail themselves of the ordinary

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\* See Vol. xi. p. 356.

forms of law which were still open to them. In many cases they did so with success, and began generally to exercise the rights of which they had been so long deprived. The monopolists took the alarm, and as they and the rest of their class recently conspired under the name of "the Irish Party," to prevent the extension to the people of the recognition of the right to existence out of the produce of the soil—a right which forms one of the elemental conditions of all society, and is not questioned in any other civilized country on earth—so they then combined to deprive them of the rights secured to them by the law of nature and of nations, and the usage of all civilized countries, and the positive common and statute law of the realm, and abusing the confidence of the legislature under the false pretence of amending the fishery laws, procured, in 1842, the enactment of provisions which for barefaced iniquity are unparalleled in the history of modern legislation.

At the time this measure was before the legislature, we pointed out a few of its objectionable provisions,\* in the vain hope that some of our representatives might abandon for a few days the ambitious pastime of squaring the circle of abstract political theorems, and protect the people from the gross, palpable, practical wrongs which those provisions were calculated to inflict. But our appeal was in vain. We saw with mingled feelings of regret and indignation, men going on deputations to the ministry in support of the measure, who must have been either ignorant of its provisions, or false in their professions of devotion to the interests of Ireland; and it passed without a single protesting voice being raised against it in either branch of the legislature. In order to enable the reader to form some conception of its character, we shall state a few of its leading provisions.

The 5 and 6 Vict. c. 106. is entitled, "An Act to regulate the Irish Fisheries;" and not, as it ought to be, "An Act to confine the benefit of the Irish Fisheries to a few individuals, and to deprive the community at large of all benefit therefrom."

The 1st section, after a preliminary flourish as to the necessity of consolidating and amending "the several acts now in force in Ireland relating to the fisheries thereof,"

\* See vol. xii. p. 561.

and setting out a number of modern peddling statutes, proceeds by a general paragraph, embracing “all enactments whatsoever now in force in Ireland relating to the fisheries thereof,” to repeal the well-known passage of the Great Charter relating to fisheries, and all the other ancient valuable statutes on that subject, which the authors of the measure had not the audacity to point to by their titles.

Just conceive the Great Charter repealed for the benefit of the Irish landlords! This is the work of the 1st section.

The 2nd section makes the Commissioners of Public Works “commissioners for the execution of this act,” and enables them to appoint clerks and fishery inspectors, and to pay them such salaries as the Commissioners of the Treasury may appoint. Subsequent sections convert the men employed in the coast-guard service, and a subsequent statute converts the police, into water-bailiffs,—for the landlords.

Thus appropriately the people of the United Kingdom are taxed, according to custom, in order to enable the Irish landlords to rob the rest of the Irish community.

The other sections, up to the 7th, under the semblance of securing to fishermen the right of using “the beaches, strands, and wastes, on or adjoining the sea shore, or any estuary”—a right which no lawyer would ever question, and in recognition of which decisions are to be found in the Year Books,—actually deprives them by construction of this right on the beaches and shores of tidal rivers.

The 7th section enacts, “That no person shall, *at any time between sunrise and sunset, set either in the sea, or within the tideway, or any estuary, any sea net for the catching of herrings, or any trammel net, or leave any drag or other net in the water between sunrise or sunset, except stake or fixed nets for the catching of salmon, as is hereinafter provided, and save also seines or drift nets for pilchards or fish other than herrings,*” under penalty of forfeiting the nets and “any sum not exceeding ten pounds.”

You must read this section often before you can have any adequate idea of the inexpressible iniquity of the framers. As a general rule, the night is the proper time for all kinds of fishing. The fisherman lays his nets at night, and brings home the fish early in the morning for his wife

to take to market. To prevent him from fishing at night, is to prevent him from fishing altogether. Just fancy the population of this country forbidden to catch herrings or anything else at night in the sea, and ask yourself is it right, or just, or durable, to require any human beings, no matter how abject their condition or their nature, to obey or respect such enactments?

The 16th section requires every vessel—which, by the interpretation clause, includes “a ship or a boat, cot or corragh”—used either temporarily or permanently in fishing, to be registered at the coast-guard station of the district in which it is used, and to have its number and name, and the name of its owner and of the port to which it belongs, &c., &c., marked on its stern, sails, buoys, &c., &c., and to carry a certificate of such registry, &c., &c., under a penalty “not exceeding ten pounds” for every offence.

Would any sane man ever dream of proposing such a law for England, or for Scotland, or for any other country but Ireland? Yet this was not enough to satisfy the monopolists; and at a meeting of that portion of the body belonging to the county of Cork, a resolution was adopted, suggesting the propriety of a clause for the registration of *fishing rods!*

The 18th section enacts, that, “*Whereas doubts exist* with respect to the right to use stake weirs and stake nets, bag nets, and other fixed nets for the purpose of catching salmon in the sea and tideways along the coast of Ireland, and it is necessary to declare and define such right,” it shall “be lawful for any person legally possessed of or entitled to any several fishery in or along any estuary or part of the sea coast in Ireland, to fix or erect, or authorize, or empower any lessee or assignee to fix or erect within the bounds of any such fishery” “any stake weir, stake net, bag net, or other fixed net for the taking of salmon.” The 19th section empowers “every person who shall hold and occupy as tenant in fee simple or in fee tail, or as tenant for life, or as tenant under any lease for a life or lives, or as tenant for a term of years, of which not less than fourteen years shall be unexpired at the time of first erecting such net on any land adjoining the sea shore or any estuary, not being within the limits of any such several fishery,” “to fix or erect such stake net or other fixed nets as aforesaid, attached to that part of the shore adjoin-

ing such land ; provided always that no tenant under any lease for a life or lives determinable, or for years of which less than 100 shall be unexpired, shall be empowered to fix or erect such stake nets or other fixed nets as aforesaid, without the consent in writing of the chief landlord or lessor seized of any rent and reversion on such land." The 20th section provides, that no net or engine for the taking of salmon, with meshes of less than certain specific dimensions, " shall be used on *any part of the coast of Ireland, or within any of the bays, estuaries, or tideways thereof, save and except by the proprietor of the whole of the fishery* of the river flowing into such bay, estuary, or tideway, from the mouth to the source thereof, including its tributary streams." The 27th section renders it unlawful for " any person, save and except the proprietor of a several fishery within the limits thereof, at any time to draw, shoot, or use any net for taking salmon at the mouth of any river opening into the sea (the inland or freshwater portion of which river is frequented by salmon), where the breadth of such mouth between the banks thereof shall not exceed a quarter of a mile statute measure," or " within half a mile seaward or along the coast from the mouth of any such river," or " to shoot, draw, or stretch nets entirely across the mouth, or across any other part of any river."

We have set out these clauses together, so that the reader may see their joint effect. The framers knowing that there was not " any person legally possessed of or entitled to any several fishery in or along any estuary or part of the sea coast of Ireland," except in a few instances under private statutes, in order to give a sort of parliamentary sanction to the usurpations of the landlords, used this vague phraseology in the first section, and then in the next, convey everything to the landlords in due form of law, which they had not had the audacity to seize upon before. Why should all the fisheries of this country be thus conferred upon them, and taken away from the rest of the community ? Is it just ? Is it right ? Is it politic ?

Having robbed the community of the salt water fisheries, they next proceed to rob them of the fresh water fisheries ; and by sec. 65 enact, " that in the inland and fresh water portions of rivers and lakes in Ireland, no person, save the owner of a several fishery within the limits thereof, shall at any period of the year, lay, draw, make use of, or fish

with haul, draft, seine, or other net for the taking of salmon or trout, unless in cases where a general public right of fishing for salmon, with such rights in the nature of a common of piscary, has been enjoyed" for twenty years next before the passing of this act.

We need scarcely say, that this section operates to prevent large inland lakes, such as Lough Corrib, Lough Dearn, Lough Neagh, Lough Erne, &c. &c., from being fished at all. No man can pretend to claim the fishery of such a lake as Lough Dearn, which is about fourteen miles broad, *ad medium filum aquæ*, as appurtenant to a patch of ground on its banks. The object of this iniquitous provision is to prevent such waters from being fished, lest indeed an odd salmon should be lost to the monopolists of the salt water fisheries.

Under this act, no man can fish any where or in any way, except he is a landlord or the proprietor of a several fishery. Indeed, so large, so unlimited, so universal is its language, that the framers were obliged to insert a clause, (sec. 69th.) allowing the owners of lands adjoining lakes and rivers, to fish "with rods and lines." Its language is worth preserving. It provides, "that nothing in this act contained, shall be construed to hinder or prevent the proprietors of any lands adjoining any lake or river, and not being within the limits of a several fishery, or any person authorized by them, from taking, catching, or fishing for salmon, trout, or other fish, with rods and lines, in any such lake or river," excepting, of course, the close season, or sec. 70, "by means of cross lines."

Having plundered the community at large, they next proceed to rob the proprietors of lands adjoining inland waters, and actually, by sec. 78, forbid any person to have or use between sunset and sunrise, "any light or fire of any kind, or any spear, gaff, strokeall, or other such instrument, with intent to take salmon or other fish in or on the banks of any lake or river;" or to attempt at any time to catch fish in any way except with rod and flies only, or to dam, teem, or empty, any river or millrace for the purpose of taking salmon or trout.

Having thus secured to themselves all the fisheries of the country, they next take effective measures to enforce their newly acquired privileges. As a matter of course, each proprietor is empowered to appoint any number of water bailiffs. They next convert all the officers and petty officers

of cruisers, and the entire coast-guard service into water bailiffs, and as if this were not a sufficient outrage upon all decency, they actually come to parliament the next year for an act, (the 6 and 7 Vict. c. 96.) for converting all the police too into water bailiffs.

What are the powers of these water bailiffs? They are thus described by a gentleman who has published an edition of the act, for the edification of all whom it may concern. Jagoe, on "The Irish Fishery Act" says, the powers of the water bailiffs "are very great, their duties are not only executive but judicial. They can enter all fishing boats, examine standing, floating, or other nets, and seize all illegal nets, instruments, and devices whatsoever used for fishing; the water bailiff is made the judge of the illegality of fishing instruments;"—"the officers and petty officers of cruisers, and officers and men of the coast-guard service, get by this section (86th.) judicial power, as they can seize illegal nets, and decide regarding any offences contrary to the provisions of the act or of the bye-laws." Again he says, speaking of sec. 103, "the justices change places with the water bailiffs who are the judges, and the justices become merely directors in enforcing the sale or destruction, according to the decision of the water bailiffs."

One illustration of the vigilance with which these police water bailiffs exercise their functions may be sufficient. There is a village in the county Limerick called Ballyhahil, about three miles from the Shannon. A small mountain stream passes by it, which empties itself into the Shannon at Loughhill, about four miles on the mail coach road from Glyn. The stream is so shallow, that, except during floods, there is not water enough in it to enable even a trout to make its way to Ballyhahil. Near this village it spreads over a large space covered with stones and gravel, and in the summer season is so low that it is almost lost to sight. On Sunday the 10th of August, 1845, a number of the little boys and children of the village were fishing for eels in the stream with forks, (plain forks, those articles that are commonly mentioned in conjunction with knives,) the police came up, caught about half a dozen of them, and in their character of water bailiffs confiscated the forks!

What is the effect of the system of monopoly on the fisheries of the country, and the condition and feelings of

the people? We shall give an instance from that part of the country with which we are personally acquainted.

The Shannon abounds in salmon, haddock, flounders, and a variety of other fish, and if properly and legally fished as the Thames, Severn, and the other tidal rivers of England are fished, with boats, floating nets, &c., and without any fixed weirs, which are nuisances and unlawful, would afford profitable employment to upwards of ten thousand people, both in the actual fishing, and in the making of boats, nets, sails, &c. &c., and a supply of food, the amount of which there are now no data for estimating. Soon after the claims of the corporation of Limerick to the exclusive fishery of the river from that city to Scattery Island had been overthrown, the proprietors of the lands adjoining the shore, who had not had the spirit to resist or even to aid in resisting the corporation, claimed and enforced by means of the new act, the rights which the corporation had been forced to abandon, erected new weirs, made their tenants give up theirs under the penalty of ejectment from their houses and lands, and then let all to Scotch and English lessees. We know that on Friday the eleventh of September, 1846, in the western part of the county of Limerick, a poor man had his house thrown down because he would not give up his weir to his landlord; he was a very honest, active, and industrious man, and his house and garden were such as any Irish landlord might be justly proud of; his landlord too was one of whom better things might be expected, and who now appears as a leading member of "the Irish party," and a promoter of deep sea fisheries. The landlords having secured the shore to themselves, prevent any one from fishing in the deep waters, as the police under their directions, seize and confiscate the boats, nets, and other instruments, of any one found fishing in any part of the river without the consent of the next neighbouring landlord, and of course bring the offender himself to be fined and imprisoned by the next weir-owning justice. Under this regime, the fishery of the river is conducted after the following fashion.

Salmon only are fished for—and thus only. On various prominent points along the shore stakeweirs are fixed to the number probably of 150 on both sides of the river, between Limerick and the Atlantic, each of which is fished on the ebbing of the tide by two men who, in ordinary

seasons, are paid tenpence or one shilling a day each. This fishing continues from February to September. During the rest of the year there is no fishing of any kind carried on. The weirs do not extend beyond low water mark, which is generally about 100 yards, the river being on the average between Limerick, and its mouth at least three miles wide. Beyond low-water mark there is no fishing, except by seals and porpoises, which were said by several witnesses before the Parliamentary Committee on the Public Fisheries of the United Kingdom, that sat in 1831 and 1832, to destroy thirty times more salmon than were caught in the weirs. Those caught in the weirs are immediately carried to central depots, where they are cured by Scotchmen, packed up in vessels made by Scotchmen, and sent off to England or Scotland under the care of Scotchmen. No person in the country except a lessor of a weir can, for love or money, get a salmon, unless one that is pale or spent, or otherwise unfit for the foreign market.

The present system of fishing may be summed up thus. It gives employment during seven months of the year to about 300 of the native population, at 1s. a-day. Nothing but salmon is fished for, and whatever good salmon are caught, are sent out of the country. The salmon even are fished for only in weirs, into which they are welcome, but are not pressed, to come, and which are fixed at from one to two miles apart along the shore, and extend inwards only about 100 yards, while the breadth of the river is 5,400 yards, the exclusive right of fishing for salmon in every other part of the river, and for everything but salmon in every part of the river, being strictly preserved for seals, porpoises, &c., &c. And finally, the salmon taken in the weirs are disposed of in a manner that leaves the people of the surrounding country just as little interest in them as they have in those caught in the Indus, or the Ganges.

This is only one instance of a system pervading every part of the country. We hear of people from other countries coming to fish on our coasts. So they may: but we cannot. The law forbids the exhibition of any such activity on our parts. An instance of the operation of the system in this respect, occurred in August, 1846, in the Shannon. A grampus pursued a shoal of herrings into the river as far as Tarbert Island. The arrival of such a shoal would have been regarded in any other country as a special gift

of Providence, but there it was useless, as the people had not any means of availing themselves of it. The grampus remained a fortnight in the river, coming up occasionally as far as Foynes, and destroying what might have been a blessing to thousands, and finally departed in safety—a not inappropriate symbol of the triumph of British Legislation.

The remedy which we propose for this system, is at once easy of attainment, simple, and practical. If some one could be found amongst our gifted representatives, who would, for the sake of the suffering poor of his country, condescend to exercise during five minutes of his existence in the House of Commons, so much self-denial and humility as to get up in that assembly, and, refraining from making a profound sensation by a great oratorical display, content himself with asking the Counsel for the Admiralty, Mr. Godson, and the Attorney and the Solicitor-General for England, whether the 5 and 6 Vic. c. 106, is not a violation of the common law rights of the subject; their answer would at once render this legislative fraud abortive, as the Government would be bound, in justice, to forbid the further employment of the coast-guard and police in this iniquitous service, and the people at large would proceed to enforce their then recognized common law rights, and so obtain an inexhaustible supply of good and wholesome food, and a source of employment at once profitable to themselves, and useful, or at the least, costless and harmless, to the rest of the empire.

Another course would be this. If those interested in this question were to appeal to the Lords of the Admiralty, as the Conservators of the seas and other navigable waters of the realm, we have reason to believe their Lordships would at once take measures for abating the weirs and other nuisances erected by the monopolists, and testing the legality of their pretensions, and so bringing about the same desirable result.

A third course would be, to apply to Parliament for a repeal of the 5 and 6 Vict. c. 106, so as to leave the law as it was before, or the repeal of every statute on the subject applying peculiarly to Ireland. This is all that can be desired or wanted. As Irishmen, knowing something of the law of England and the wants of Ireland, we must say that the course which we should wish to see pursued on this or any other question is, the abandonment of all

special exceptional legislation, and the sweeping from the statute book of every act applying peculiarly to Ireland. The object of every such enactment has been to do the landlords some benefit and the people some injury, that could not be done by the common law of the realm, or the statute law of England. No Irishman can hope to see any good result from a course of legislation moulded entirely with reference to the wishes of a class, many of whom are the most merciless tribute-takers that one conquering tribe ever yet imposed upon another—whose interests are directly opposed to those of the mass of the community—and with whom, though nominally Irishmen, Ireland can in reality claim no more kindred than Prometheus could with the vultures that preyed upon his vitals.

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ART. VI.—*Byways of History, from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century.* By MRS. P. SINNETT. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1847.

HISTORICAL writers of late years seem to have vied with one another, when treating of men or subjects connected with the era of the Reformation, in doing justice *on* the leaders in it, and *to* their Catholic opponents. The former are not *quite* so pure, the latter not *quite* so bad, as they have been represented. Indeed, should authors equally impartial continue to arise, it may fairly be expected that the lapse of a few years will suffice to render obsolete the charitable notion, that to have been a Protestant in the middle ages was enough to transform the greatest monster into an angel, whilst to have been a Catholic was sufficient to change the best man into a demon. In one of the chapters in Mrs. Sinnett's "Byways of History," we find some materials for adding another link to the chain of evidence requisite to procure the reversal, or at least, the reconsideration (in her own words) of "verdicts long considered as settled beyond appeal." In respect of one verdict, at all events, that which has pronounced Luther all but perfect, we venture to assert that these materials, gathered too by a zealous Protestant, go far towards upsetting it.

Luther, as the founder of Protestantism, must have been an ardent advocate of the rights of the humbler classes. That is the theory—here are the facts.—When a noble, who was more merciful than his fellows, and whose conscience had been rendered more sensitive by a severe illness, applied to Luther as to the lawfulness of tyrannizing over the peasants, this champion of enlightenment, liberty, and so forth, declared that “it was not well to relinquish one’s rights, and that the common man must be laden with many burdens, or he would grow restive.”—vol. ii. p. 158.

He, even Luther, taught also the doctrine of divine right and non-resistance, and clearly demonstrated to the ignorant Germans, who, under the nightmare of popery, had been in the habit of fining and imprisoning their kings, that according to the scripture they were bound to obey them under all circumstances whatever, without any exception, unless they had recently received “a new and special command from God,” to justify them in resisting. These enlightened, liberal, and truly Protestant opinions are thus developed in his letter to the peasants:—

“It is written that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword, and that every soul shall be subject under the powers that be with fear and trembling; that the excuse that the conduct of the rulers had been bad and intolerable; that they would not allow the Gospel to be preached; that they were guilty of every kind of tyranny; and that the bodies and souls of their subjects were destroyed under their dominion—*all this was no excuse for insurrection.* Both divine and human law agree in this, that no man shall be judge in his own cause, nor seek to avenge himself; for ‘vengeance is mine, saith the Lord.’ You cannot deny that in this insurrection you have been seeking to avenge yourselves, and have not been willing to suffer wrong. Should you persist in your undertaking against your lords, since you have the law both of the Old and New Testament, and also the natural law against you, you ought to be able to show a new and special command from God, which he had confirmed by signs and wonders..... You see the moat in the eye of your rulers, but see not the beam in your own. St. Paul says, to do evil that good may come of it, is deserving of everlasting damnation. Your rulers have done wrong in refusing to allow the Gospel to be preached to you, and depriving you of your temporal goods; but much more do you do wrong that you do not trust to God’s Word alone. Cannot you see, friends, that if you are right in what you have done, any man may become judge over another, and neither power nor authority, law nor order, subsist any more in

the world, but only murder and bloodshed ? ‘Thus much,’ he continues, ‘is merely divine and natural law, that even Jews and Turks acknowledge ; but the Christian, and especially the evangelical Christian, is bound to much more. Does not Christ say, ‘Resist not the evil : whosoever will compel you to go with him one mile, go with him twain ; whoever will take your coat, give him your cloak also ; whoever strikes you on one cheek, turn to him the other ?’ Suffer ! Suffer ! the Cross ! the Cross ! that is the law for the Christian ; that and no other.’—vol. ii. p. 160-162.

These are very pretty theories on “ civil and religious liberty ” from the inventor of Protestantism.

The reader may be curious to know what were the demands of these persons to whom this invaluable document was addressed. They consisted chiefly, our authoress tells us, in requiring

“The abolition of various kinds of forced labour, as well as the granting of such rights as one would think could hardly admit of much dispute, such as marrying whom they pleased, without the necessity of asking permission of the lord, and, moreover, of *hanging* themselves, if they pleased, without affording the lord thereby a title to deprive their families of whatever goods and chattels they might leave behind.”—vol. ii. p. 107.

As we consider that nothing could give a better idea of the oppression under which the peasants laboured, than their demand to be permitted to hang themselves, we shall not give any of the reiterated proofs of it that are to be found in Mrs. Sinnett’s work. We are unwilling, however, to lose this opportunity of rendering a just tribute to her, for her sympathy with the oppressed. Her constant advocacy of their cause does her great honour.

We shall now proceed to give some extracts from the lighter portions of the book. The following picture of the manners and customs of the German nobles in the sixteenth century, affords a curious contrast with the present day :

“Noble young gentlemen, who would not, to save their lives, have employed themselves in any sort of useful art or manufacture, had no objection to lay cloths, carry up dishes, wait at table, hold horses and lead them to the stables ; and noble young ladies did not disdain to perform many of the offices of a chambermaid at a hotel, for a knightly guest.”—vol. i. p. 32.

The advantages conferred by a residence in the Free

Cities, of the rise and progress of which we find many interesting particulars, must have been very great, when banishment from one of them—Nurnberg—for a distance varying from 4 to 20 miles was considered a sufficient punishment for many offences. At a Factory in connexion with the Hanseatic league, established at Bergen, the following ridiculous ceremonies attended the initiation of novices:—

“ Sometimes the unhappy candidate was seized, tied to a rope, and hauled up to the opening over the fire, while barrels of such materials as were thought best adapted to emit a disgusting smell in burning, and which had been carefully prepared for the purpose, were kindled, and the victim was kept in the smoke to answer a long string of questions, until he was nearly suffocated; sometimes he was ducked repeatedly in the sea, and flogged every time he came up.”—vol. i. p. 102-3.

The following amusing story of the mode of choosing a site for the Abbey of Altenberg, is taken from a long account of the Abbey.

“ The highly honoured Neddy, (a donkey,) was conducted to the gate of the castle of Altenberg, laden with the money to be expended for the building, and with the insignia of the convent, and then left to take whatever way might in his wisdom seem good to him. Slowly and deliberately did he pace down towards the valley, the monks following at a reverential distance: now and then the sagacious animal stopped and cropped the thistle, doubtless to give himself time for reflection, and occasionally he stood still, and looked around, as if to consider the capabilities of the place. He went on till he entered a shady grove, that afforded a delicious refuge from the burning rays of the afternoon sun, and stopped where a bright rivulet, trickling from the Spechtshard, and marking its course by a strip of the loveliest green, fell into the beautiful Dhun. The monks watched him with breathless expectation; for here they thought would be a delightful spot, and they dreaded lest he should go further. The respectable animal, after due consideration, slowly stopped and tasted the water, and then, that he might omit no means of forming a correct judgment, began to try a little of the fragrant grass that grew in rich abundance on the banks. At length he lay down, and having apparently quite made up his mind, rolled over ‘heels upwards,’ and gave vent to his feelings in the trumpet-tones of a loud and joyful bray. His sonorous voice was drowned in the exulting psalms of the monks—and on this, the loveliest spot of the whole valley, the sacred edifice was erected.”—vol. i. p. 151-2.

A description of the German beggars of the sixteenth century—a body who, acting as spies, afforded no small assistance to the peasants—shows that they were not less ingenious in their impostures, than their successors in this less religious but equally gullible age.

"One who traded on the capital of a disease in the lower limbs, wore a tattered black tunic, and a black felt hat, and travelled under the sign, that is, the especial protection of our Lady of Einsiedeln and Saint Anna, and carried about upon a board images of his two patronesses. Another was a stout jolly-looking young fellow, more than half naked, who used to go along bawling for alms, for the sake of the holy Saint Cyriac ; he carried on business with an open wound in the right arm, which he would never suffer to be healed. A third had a little girl of seven years old, whom he carried with her feet tied up as if she had lost the use of them, and he had his hat stuck round with no less than eight images of saints, wore a long red beard, and carried a huge knotted stick, with a sharp iron point at the bottom, a hook at the top, and a dagger concealed within it. One was a dwarf, and the proprietor, moreover, of a very frightful eruption on the face. Another carried a knife and a large stone, by way of penance, as he informed the passers by, for having accidentally killed a woman by throwing a knife at her."—vol. ii. p. 43.

The following account of the stratagem to which Jess Fritz, one of the peasant leaders, was obliged to resort, in order to obtain a standard, besides being amusing, may give us an idea of the difficulties encountered by the peasants :—

"After much seeking, he found in the city of Heilbronn on the Neckar, a painter to whom he thought he might venture to make the proposal, but only under cover of a disguise. He assumed, therefore, as he well knew how to do, the manners and language of a Swiss, and went to the painter with a long story, which he told with an appearance of great simplicity, of how he had lately been in a battle, in which he had nearly lost his life ; and that at the moment of danger, he had vowed if he came safe out of it, to make a pilgrimage to Aix-la-Chapelle, and there dedicate a banner to the service of our Blessed Lady the Virgin Mary. He therefore begged the painter to paint for him a picture of our Lady and St. John the Baptist, standing near a crucifix, and beneath them, to represent a Bundschuh. The painter turned sharply round, and asked him what he meant by that ; but Jess put on an innocent look, and said his father had been a shoemaker, but that he now kept an inn, and had taken for a sign this emblem of his former trade, and that, therefore, he, the son, had wished to place it in his banner, that

every one might know from whom it came. The painter, completely duped by the clever acting of Jess, no longer hesitated to comply with his request, and painted upon the banner, not only our Lady and St. John, but the pope and the emperor, a peasant kneeling before the cross, and finally a bundschuh, with the inscription, "O Lord, assist the righteous!"—vol. ii. p. 47-8.

We shall close our notice of this work—which we can recommend as an exceedingly well-digested repository of many facts and views of society which have been altogether unnoticed by those who have travelled only on the highways of German history, but which, in the present tone of the public mind, may be deemed more useful, as well as more interesting, than details of carnage or diplomatic intrigue—with a description of one scene of revenge, among many, indulged in by the ferocious rulers after the final overthrow of the unfortunate peasants. What a melancholy contrast does the hideous barbarity of these *educated* men present to the moderation of the ignorant peasants, who never committed any excesses, but in one instance: and who can wonder that, with such an example, they should have been betrayed into *one* act of cruelty?

"The Landgrave, (Philip of Hesse,) and Duke George (of Saxony,) had a preacher and his chaplain brought to the wives of the prisoners, and told them to beat the priests to death with clubs, if they would obtain the lives of their husbands; and the women did so, and the heads of the preachers were smashed like a boiled herb, and their brains left sticking to the clubs; and the princes looked on and saw it done. (MS. chronicles of Erfurt.) It is most painful to draw aside the veil from such horrors, but it is necessary to remember what was really the 'life, character, and behaviour,' of men of whom several (the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, the Elector, John of Saxony, and others,) were allowed to take a part in a great religious reform, lest we should confound the Reformation itself with the evils that stained its course, and be tempted to turn from it with grief and loathing, and love darkness better than light."

We need scarcely repeat, that the authoress is a believer in the "light" of the Reformation.

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ART. VII.—1. *A Church Dictionary.* By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D. Vicar of Leeds. Fifth Edition, with many additional Articles, and carefully revised throughout. London : Rivington, 1846.

2.—*The Churchman's Theological Dictionary.* By the REV. ROBERT EDEN, M.A., F.S.A., late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Minister of St. Mary's Chapel, Lambeth. The Second Edition, revised. London : John W. Parker, 1845.

FUTURE historians will be not a little perplexed to give an adequate account of that system of opinion for which the Catholic faith in this country was abandoned. On the one hand it has a very learned appearance ; on the other it utterly despises all learning. One portion of its adherents quotes fathers and councils, and gives elaborate explanations of historical facts ; another, with a fluent tongue, and an English Bible, ridicules all the saints and doctors of the church, and in its heart doubts whether it be true that it is at the distance of 1800 years from the awful facts which it so wretchedly misapplies. Still there is a learned side of the established religion ; and probably that is the true point from which it should be viewed. If it cannot make out some pretensions to learning its case is hopeless, for it has no other gifts whatever : it has trained no saints, instructed no doctors, inspired no martyrs. It has avoided greatness in all its efforts, and whenever it draws near to an extreme, it is invariably the bad one. Accordingly its learning is captious, querulous, and overbearing, never profound, seldom accurate. Whenever a principle is stated, an exception to its rule is instantly forthcoming, and this exception supersedes in practice, what it apparently only corrected. Plain people are puzzled by its subtleties, while others despise them as mere tricks, and the poor who have need of guides are left as a prey to the first spoiler. Its learned defenders are learned only in negations : they give us no rule to follow, no clue to thread our way through the mazes of history. Isolated facts are sometimes explained, but more frequently contemptuously denied ; and the whole cumulative evidence against them they would rather ignore than deal with or admit.

Notwithstanding this defect in the established religion and its adherents, its strength has consisted in the belie-

that its cause is capable of proof. If there be enthusiasts among the members of the establishment, they are “church and state men,” and their love is kindled not by the contemplation of the Church, but by that of “the glorious constitution in church and state.” There are certainly enthusiasts of this school, and a very dangerous school it is. These, however, are not learned, for their studies are confined to Blackstone’s commentaries, and their synods are held at quarter sessions: but so far as the Church is concerned, we do not think they would bestir themselves very much, unless the parson of their parish was peculiarly obnoxious, in which case mischief might happen. As for the poor they understand nothing; the whole machinery of instruction, and even the prayers which some of them hear once a week, are absolute strangers to their understanding, and inspire no sentiment of devotion in their hearts.

The clergy alone understand their religion, but their understanding of it is according as individual taste decides. There is no unity of teaching, not even a hollow uniformity. What one parish is taught as a fundamental truth, another, perhaps the next to it, is instructed by its pastor to regard as a deadly heresy. In how many churches of the establishment is the true doctrine of baptism taught? In how many is it prudently reserved? In how many is it denied and branded as a ruinous delusion to those who hold it? Yet out of this modern Babel arises a school of theologians, which presumes once more to speak against the one Church, and to call attention to its own insignificance as a rival to the impregnable Rock.

“A familiar acquaintance with the works of the fathers, and the other monuments of antiquity,” says Mr. Dowling, “has always distinguished the leading writers of the better schools of Anglican divinity; and the constant allusions to the facts of ecclesiastical story, which enrich the pages of our most eminent theologians, show the extent to which they cultivated this branch of professional study.”\* Dr. Hook agrees with Mr. Dowling in this estimate of the learning of the great Anglican divines; are we therefore expecting too much when we expect from Dr. Hook some knowledge of the subjects of which he treats? He who undertakes a long and wearisome history may

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\* Critical Study of Eccles. Hist. p. 156.

occasionally fall into errors: but if such errors be not the result of mere carelessness, no one will very heavily blame him. The compilers of dictionaries may also themselves fall into errors: though upon the whole, there is less excuse for them. Each subject of which they treat is brought separately before them, divested of the circumstantial colouring which its historical place may have given it. In dictionaries we demand, as of right, that their contents be true, for the real use of such works is to give information briefly; which, if they do not give it accurately, were better not given at all. A dictionary cannot be a poem, or a romance, and if it fails in exactness of information, it fails in the fundamental law of its being. In such a case it is not only useless, but a positive nuisance, for it misleads those who consult it, and gives circulation to what is false.

Mr. Eden, in the preface to his dictionary, tells us plainly that "accurate information and freedom from misquotation are essential in a work professing to be impartial, and in order to supply the knowledge sought for in a book of reference. In both these respects the editor trusts that this volume will bear the scrutiny of a rigid examination." Dr. Hook says of his own work, that "it was designed merely to explain those terms and practices of the church, which are most important and interesting to persons who have neither time nor ability for learned investigations; and it has no pretensions beyond those of an elementary work." Notwithstanding this modest avowal of the worthy doctor, Mr. Eden is not satisfied with the "Church Dictionary;" and out of his dissatisfaction comes the "Churchman's Theological Dictionary," as a safer guide to the ignorant, through the intricacies of religious controversy.

These two dictionaries are rivals, and not friends. Mr. Eden is indignant with Dr. Hook, on the ground that the latter has insinuated his own views, which are not those of Mr. Eden, who "repudiates as disingenuous," so he tells us, "the artifice, which unhappily is no uncommon one, of insinuating opinions of things under the guise of an explanation of the meaning of words." How far Mr. Eden has observed the rule which he lays down for himself will appear by and by; but it is clear from his own words that Dr. Hook's conduct disturbed his repose, and compelled him to write a book. The high church theories of the

“Church Dictionary” brought forth the latitudinarianism of the “Churchman’s.”

Dr. Hook is, doubtless, well known to our readers, as a very energetic defender of the sect to which he belongs. Mr. Eden is not yet so greatly famous. He has entered the lists against a great man, and is therefore entitled to some consideration. We have joined these two divines together at the head of this article, according to the rule of contraries: a companionship, we allow, which neither of them would desire, and which both would gladly forego.

Dr. Hook’s work lies before us in the fifth edition: while Mr. Eden’s has on its title page “the second edition revised.” We have therefore the matured opinions of these writers on the subjects which they discuss. But before we proceed further, it is but justice to Mr. Eden to state that he has entered on his task somewhat unwillingly, compelled by his sense of duty. “Had there been already before the public any work fairly conveying information on such subjects as form the main contents of this volume, and free from an obvious bias towards some particular set of opinions, the editor would not have entered into competition with it.” Both the authors admit their obligations to those who preceded them in their learned labours. Dr. Hook has given “several articles, abbreviated from works of established reputation and authority;” and Mr. Eden “has received, throughout, many contributions of articles from writers of high and acknowledged ability.”

In some points Dr. Hook and Mr. Eden agree: but these are few: in general, they are at the opposite points of the compass. They represent the two sides of Anglicanism; learning and the want of it. Dr. Hook is the advocate of learning and of ecclesiastical studies generally: but Mr. Eden has a more compendious way of arriving at knowledge, and a very considerable contempt for those ancient men who had never the advantage of reading “Whately’s Logic.”

Dr. Hook, on the contrary, respects learning, and is in earnest when he speaks; but Mr. Eden belongs to a school which almost denies historical facts, and, under the pretence of candour and hatred of party spirit, would abandon every article of the Creed. We are not saying anything of Mr. Eden personally, for we shall show by and by that he has opinions of his own; at least, he holds the denial of some to be extremely perverse. Dr. Hook is a

fanatical believer in the practical infallibility of the Anglican establishment, Henry VIII. with him only came short of inspiration in his deadly sins ; but Mr. Eden looks on all authority in matters of religion as a great absurdity, and appeals to his own Church, as of the same mind with himself. "Our own Church," he says, "abstains from, and disallows all arrogant assumption of a right to be regarded, as in herself, a standard of orthodoxy : her articles declare, not only the possibility, but the actual occurrence, of error, both in Churches, and what are called general councils."—Art. *Orthodoxy*. On the word "Authority" he says, "The Universal Church has authority, that is, *deserves deference*, in all controversies of faith." This is but a very slight reverence for the Universal Church, but even this is to be abandoned, for "no opinions can be quoted as deciding authoritatively any disputed question, *unless our Church in her formularies has recorded such design.*" It might appear now, that Mr. Eden defers, at least, to his own Church ; nothing of the kind,—for under the head, "Office of the Church," we are taught how to escape from all control. Mr. Eden is apparently giving the opinions of others, but we cannot help suspecting them to be his own. He says :

"Never, if we would, in deed and in spirit, avoid the errors of Romanism, never should we appeal to Creeds, Liturgy, or Catechisms, for the proof of any doctrine, or the refutation of any error ; never must we admit as decisive such a syllogism as this. The doctrines of our Church are scriptural ; this is a doctrine of the Church, therefore it is a scriptural doctrine ; this must never be admitted without immediately proceeding to the proof of the first premiss."

So that Mr. Eden is at liberty to form his own theological opinions, and to draw them from any sources he may please to use.

Mr. Eden dispenses with the fathers, and the whole ecclesiastical theory connected with them. Even the "primitive Church," and the "primitive doctrine," are so spoken of as to lead us to doubt whether any such had once a being. Not so Dr. Hook ; he becomes poetical in the recollection of the fathers, who, in his mind, are shaking hands with Cranmer and Latimer :

"These," that is the fathers, "were familiarly known to the reformers of the Church of England ; and having taken the primitive Church as their model, and as the best witness of Catholic principles and usages,

they transfused its spirit not only into the Liturgy, but into the whole framework and superstructure of that venerable fabric they aimed to restore. How well they succeeded is evidenced in that fearless appeal which Catholics ever make, first to the Apostolic Church, then to those who drew their principles from it along with their infant breath, and flourished and died in an age when inspiration itself was scarcely extinct. That Church has nothing to dread which can lay its standards on the altar of antiquity, and return them to her bosom, signed with the glorious testimony of a Polycarp, an Ignatius, a Clement, and a noble army of martyrs; nothing has she to dread, but the possibility of declension and unfaithfulness to her sacred trust." —Art. *Primitive Church*.

It sounds marvellously fine to speak of the "altar of antiquity," where it seems some mythic bishops deposited the XXXIX. Articles of the Anglican religion, and received them again, subscribed by Polycarp, Ignatius, and Clement. Whenever Dr. Hook shall produce the particular copy so subscribed, or even an authentic transcript, we shall be ready to add our own humble name to the list. Still, notwithstanding this subscription on the "altar of antiquity," everything is not safe: a "possibility of declension," and "unfaithfulness to her sacred trust," are awkward things to contemplate, and take away much of the confidence people would wish to have in the religion they profess, especially when they oppose themselves, as in this instance, to the greatest number of Christians.

Mr. Eden, in general, is amiably modest in the expression of his opinions, and almost always fathers them upon others; "it is said," "they say," "some suppose,"—he thus avoids the special error which his school so greatly condemns, namely, certainty in anything. But this does not prevent him from giving his own opinions occasionally, and when he does so, they are found to be particularly obnoxious. When a cunning man would persuade a friend or foe to adopt his own views, he contrives to show them in an agreeable light, and perhaps as advantageous to him whose espousal of them he desires. Mr. Eden, pretty much in the same spirit, addresses himself to us on the use of the word Catholic. He does not like the word at all himself, and would be glad to be rid of it. He gives a reason to the protestant for withholding it from us, and another to ourselves for abandoning it, founded upon the most charitable solicitude for our welfare.

"There are others," he says, "who too carelessly concede to Roman-

ists the title Catholic : *now this is equivalent to acknowledging themselves heretics.* This concession may be harmless and innocent enough as far as protestants are concerned, *but it is most pernicious to those to whom the title is conceded ;* men in all times have an inclination to trust in names and privileges, and nothing has proved, or will prove, a greater obstacle to progress in Christian truth, than this feeling of being possessed of exclusive privileges—of being exclusively Catholics, that is, members of the Catholic Church—of that holy community that must secure a special share of divine favour to every member of it.”—Art. *Catholic.*

Mr. Eden hates certainty : what he loves is doubt, obscurity, and weak probabilities ; with him to be sure of anything, is to be without doubt in great error, if not in sin ; and a man ought not to be certain of anything, but that he is certain of nothing. There is a striking diversity between the two theologians on these matters. Dr. Hook has no difficulties, and is troubled with no doubts. His work is distinguished by a remarkable ease and breadth of statement, abounding in conclusions, the premisses of which lie hid in some undiscoverable land of history. On the word Catholic the learned doctor disserts as follows :

“ In ecclesiastical history the word Catholic means the same as orthodox, and a Catholic Christian denotes an orthodox Christian.

“ From this may be seen the absurdity of calling those who receive the decrees of the council of Trent, Catholics. The Romanists, or Papists, or Tridentines, belong to a peculiar society, in which Romanism, or Romish errors, are added to orthodox truth. When we call them Catholics, we as much as call ourselves heretics, we as much as admit them to be orthodox : and they gladly avail themselves of this admission, on the part of some ignorant protestants, to hold up an argument against the Church of England. *Let the member of the Church of England assert his right to the name of Catholic, since he is the only person in England who has a right to that name.* The English Romanist is a Romish schismatic, and not a Catholic.

It seems from this, that a man born in England is incapable of communicating with Christians abroad except under pain of schism ; and that if such a person, after living in France, or reconciled to the Catholic Church there, were to return to this country, he would forfeit his Catholicity at the custom-house as contraband, and turn into “ a Romish schismatic.” The worthy doctor rules it, “ that the papist in England is not justified in calling his the old Church, since ours is the old Church reformed, *his a sect in this country comparatively new.*” At all events, it is not newer than the reformation.

"The bishops and clergy accorded with the laity and government of England, and threw off the yoke of the usurping Pope of Rome. They at the same time corrected and reformed *all* the errors of doctrine, and *most* of the errors of discipline, which had crept into our Church during the reign of intellectual darkness and papal domination.....They stripped their venerable mother, [he reminds us of Noah's undutiful son,] of the meretricious gear in which superstition had arrayed her, and left her in that plain and decorous attire, with which, in the simple dignity of a matron, she had been adorned by Apostolic hands."—Art. *Church of England*.

We shall now examine what, on the doctor's own showing, is this "plain and decorous attire," and the "simple dignity" of this "stripped" mother. Under the title, "chasuble," the doctor tells us, "worldly fashions change, but the Church, *semper eadem*, retained, and *yet retains*, this dress. The Romish Church has altered it much by cutting it away laterally," &c. We hardly know how to characterise this way of writing; and if we knew, we should abstain from doing so. "Pious frauds," says Mr. Eden, "are artifices and falsehoods made use of in propagating what is believed to be useful in the cause of religion." Whether the Vicar of Leeds meant to pave the way for the chasuble, by pretending that he has always worn it, we leave to the charity of our readers to determine. It is clear and undeniable, that the chasuble in the establishment is the rarest possible "relic of popery," yet Dr. Hook represents it as being in constant use in its pure and primitive form. Mr. Eden adds, that "pious frauds" are "the offspring of sincerity and insincerity, of religious zeal combined with a defective morality, of conscientiousness in respect of the end, and unscrupulous dishonesty as to the means." We cannot find that Dr. Hook has treated of this subject himself.

We turn next to "Cope," where we learn that

"By the Canons of the Church of England, the clergy are directed to wear this vestment; *but out of tenderness to the superstition of weaker brethren, it has gradually fallen into disuse*, except on such an occasion as the coronation."

"The maniple is not retained in the ecclesiastical vestments of the Church of England.

"Incense has been disused by the Church of England since the reformation."

On the word "Crozier" he quotes a rubric which directs a bishop to wear, on certain occasions, "besides his rochet,

an alb, and cope, or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne by his chaplain.” Upon this the doctor gravely adds:

“The writer of this article does not remember to have seen an English bishop attired as this rubric directs. Most, if not all the bishops, probably omit this observance in condescension to the superstition of those whose consciences, *though not offended at a transgression of a command of the Church*, might be offended at ornaments, which many pious persons reverence as emblematical.”

This seems to be a melancholy state of things. The guides and rulers of the Church neglecting obvious duties for fear of giving offence to those who are only offended themselves when what is right is done; “weakness” and “superstition” seem to have had the upper hand over bishops and clergy, till that “venerable mother,” whom the reformers “stripped” at her first setting out into the world, has become so bare, that it might be prudent for her to retire into privacy till she can recover some of the pilfered garments.

Dr. Hook loses no opportunity of calling attention to anything whatever which he thinks desirable to be known, whether connected with his subject or not. Mr. Eden, owing to this peculiarity in his predecessor, is consequently driven to the same expedients. One would suppose that a very good account might be given of St. Bartholomew, without coming down to the sixteenth century, and describing events that occurred in Paris. Our worthy divines have determined otherwise, and we have therefore a history of the dreadful tragedy acted in Paris on St. Bartholomew’s day. Dr. Hook is very profuse in his description, but Mr. Eden has consulted brevity; at the same time he did not forget his obligations to Dr. Hook, for he brings the history of that day down to the seventeenth century, and reminds his brother lexicographer of another tragedy acted on that day in Protestant England. Thus we read:

“On St. Bartholomew’s day, 1662, the year in which the act of uniformity was passed, two thousand nonconforming ministers were ejected from their benefices.”

This tragedy was acted by the strict Protestants, fitly represented by Dr. Hook, with whom Mr. Eden as little sympathizes as the Vicar of Leeds with the actors in Paris.

Both of our authors occasionally relieve the heavier matter of their most original lucubrations by the singularity of the knowledge they convey. Dr. Hook tells us, that one of the “principal characteristics” of the Greek Church is, that “they *celebrate* the Eucharist in both kinds, and the bread is always leavened.” Are there any who celebrate in one kind? or is it a mistake for communicate? Again, we are told, that “they *reject* extreme unction and confirmation.” “The Roman number of the Sacraments was first taught by the Council of Trent, A. D. 1545.” How comes it, then, that the schismatical Greeks have seven Sacraments? Bramhall had more conscience than Dr. Hook, for that learned divine admitted that the number was “first devised by Peter Lombard,” who lived in the twelfth century. “Passion week” is “the week immediately preceding the festival of Easter;” Mr. Eden follows him in this, and says it is “the last week in Lent.” The “*ciborium* is a small temple or tabernacle placed upon the altar of Roman Catholic churches, and containing the consecrated wafer.” Mr. Eden, not willing to appear as a mere transcriber of Dr. Hook’s words, has given the substance of them in his own words, and according to his own understanding of them. With him the *ciborium* is “a kind of tent, used in the Romish churches to cover the sacred symbols at the Eucharist.” Mr. Eden dismisses “Rosary” abruptly as “a string of beads on which the Roman Catholics count their prayers.” Dr. Hook gives a very minute account of it, not without some ironical intermixture:

“Rosary,—Among the Roman Catholics is a *pretended* instrument, or help to piety, being a chaplet consisting of *five, or fifteen, decades or tens of beads*, to direct the reciting so many *Ave Marias* in honour of the Blessed Virgin. Before a person repeats his rosary, he must cross himself with it: then he must repeat the Apostles’ creed, and say a *Pater* and three *Aves*, on account of the three relations which the Virgin bears to the three Persons in the Trinity. After these preliminaries to devotion, he passes on to his decades, and must observe to let himself into the mystery of each ten, by a prayer which he will find in the books treating of the devotion of the rosary.”

We are quite satisfied that Dr. Hook has not helped his devotion by the use of the rosary.

“Nipter (Gr.) In Latin *Pedilavium*. The ceremony of washing feet. This is performed by the Greek Christians on *Good Friday*, in imita-

tion of our Saviour, who on *that day* washed his disciples' feet with his own hands."

The Vicar of Leeds is certainly not a Bible Christian.

On the subject of the mass Dr. Hook becomes grimly facetious: the offensiveness of his language is in some measure lost sight of in the contemplation of his skilful habit of blundering.

"As to ordinary masses, there are some which are said for the Christian's soul, and are supposed to contribute to fetch him out of Purgatory, or at least to ease him there. *Whosoever has his salvation at heart, must never forget this point.* A necessary fund must be left by will to the curate, to rescue him from the everlasting pains he has merited. In Spain, Portugal, and Italy, it often happens that the souls of the faithful are the first heirs of the wealth they leave behind them in this world. The dying man sometimes bequeaths twenty or thirty thousand masses to his soul, charging the pastor in whom he confides most, *to remit this stock to him in the other world,* immediately after his departure out of this. There are likewise private masses.....That said at sea is called dry mass, *the cup being retrenched,* for fear of spilling the consecrated wine by the ship's motion."

This is the way in which a grave divine, who boasts of a pure faith and a reformed Church, speaks of the most awful work which the servants of God may do. What wonder is it, when the Sacrament in which Christ Himself is present is made light of, that the state of a human soul in another world should be the subject of profane jesting, and described in sneering language, such as Gibbon himself might have used. It is probably a waste of expectation to look for seriousness in such a book as this, so we shall proceed.

"The mass of the presanctified," he says, "is peculiar to the Greek Church;" but in another place he tells us, and truly, that on Good Friday "this liturgy of the presanctified is offered in the Latin Church."

"Canonization of Saints was not known to the Christian Church till towards the middle of the tenth century." Leo III., however, in the very beginning of the ninth century, is said to have canonized Swibbertus, bishop of Werda, at the suit of Charlemagne. We are borne out here by Mr. Eden. This, however, is a matter of no moment, compared with the most marvellous reason which the doctor urges against the practice:

"It has been properly objected against canonization, that it is performed by human beings, who assume a power of rendering something

an object of divine worship, which, while in this life, was no more than mortal, and that it is a direct violation of the Saviour's command, judge not : and since it is contrary to scripture and antiquity, it is in any wise to be rejected."

It would be merely useless to tell the doctor that we do not make the Saints objects of "divine worship," he knows our religion far better than we do ourselves. But we may ask him for an answer to this reason, if any evil-disposed Socinian were to urge it, which he does, against worshipping the Son of God. The Socinian finds nothing in Scripture or antiquity which contradicts his own misbelief: to him our blessed Lord "was no more than mortal." He may object, too, that the adoration we pay to our blessed Lord "is performed by human beings;" nor will he acknowledge himself in error because Dr. Hook thinks otherwise. We wish people who take up Protestant arguments against the Catholic Church, to consider whether they have not a double edge; that those who decry the invocation of Saints may have no great sympathy with holiness; and those who revile the Virgin Mother, may be secret enemies to the Holy Child. Reasons are very subtle agents; they arise from a peculiar state of mind, and again they produce it: one age may go on, perhaps, quietly with dangerous reasons, but the next will apply them, and pursue them to their remotest issues. Mankind reasons much more by practice than speculation, and the true conclusions of admitted principles are brought out, not in books or philosophic converse, but in hardy exertion and in the practical business of life. Let Dr. Hook and others beware in time: their principles are infidel in their issues. Their greatest security is in their inconsistency, unless they will embrace the whole truth, which they now deny.

Mr. Eden has no scruples, and goes more practically about his work than Dr. Hook. He calls canonization "a ceremony in the Romish Church, by which persons deceased are ranked in the catalogue of Saints. *It is derived from the pagan custom of deifying heroes.*" Yet, by the showing of these two divines, the Church was 800 years old before she began to imitate the pagans, when the reasons usually given for such imitation had ceased. It is by no means improbable that, if we allowed the process of canonization to be a mere pagan ceremonial, we should in that case find evidence of it in the very earliest ages. But,

because it is “a corruption,” the later it is discovered the better. We shall say nothing further on this point except this,—that there are people who consider the doctrine of the Trinity to be “derived” from the Platonists; and it will be quite as hard for Dr. Hook and Mr. Eden to persuade these people of the contrary, as to persuade us to adopt their views of the reverence due to the Saints.

“So many superstitions,” says Dr. Hook, “had become connected with the use of holy-water, that it was obliged to be discontinued at the reformation.” Is not this objection equally in force against holy communion? had not that become so much involved in “many superstitions,” according to Dr. Hook? Do not the great body of evangelical clergy consider at this day that many superstitions have become connected with baptism, and with giving the communion to the sick? Were there not also, at the reformation, equally great superstitions about the holiness of churches and altars, and were not the altars thrown down for that very reason? why are the Churches then retained? Were there not foundations in Mr. Eden’s own college for saying mass? the “superstition” of the mass has been got rid of, but the annual payments for saying it are duly received. There is great superstition it seems, in doing the work, but none at all in being paid for it without doing it. Mr. Eden very quietly disposes of holy water by saying, “the use of it is evidently derived from Pagan rites.”

“The celibacy of the clergy was justly considered,” says Dr. Hook, “as a principal cause of irregular and dissolute living, and the wisest of the reformers were exceedingly anxious to abolish a practice which had been injurious to the interests of religion, by its tendency to corrupt the morals of those who ought to be examples of virtue to the rest of mankind.”

The anxiety of “the wisest of the reformers” did not last long: for no one of their practices was more eagerly adopted than marriage. Monks rushed from their cloisters and broke their vows; and that their sin might be doubled, infatuated nuns became their prey. Peter Martyr, in his last days, married a second wife; and the Elizabethan bishops, after they were appointed to their sees, took wives, a proceeding which even at this time causes no small scandal to be given. Dr. Hook, however, admits “that the arguments are forcible which are used ‘in favour

of celibacy,' but there is one general answer to them all : *the experiment has been made, and it has failed.* In a country where there are no nunneries, the wives of the clergy are most useful to the Church.' Why not have nunneries then ? Is it a secret consciousness that nunneries and a married clergy cannot co-exist ? A most respectable clergyman once admitted that the marriage of the clergy was the safety-valve of the establishment. A common way of defending the marriage of the clergy is to produce instances from antiquity of priests or bishops who were married. This really proves nothing, unless it can be shown that these marriages were subsequent to the ordination of the husbands. The Greek clergy are a married, but not a marrying, clergy : they are not allowed to marry after ordination ; not even if the wife died on that very day. Mr. Eden holds a middle course, and says that

“ Some advantages are possessed by an unmarried, some by a married clergy : both are lost by making celibacy compulsory ; because, even if there were any who would have voluntarily remained single, this can never be known.”

So that the great good of celibacy consists not in itself, but in its being known to others. Mr. Eden's school is well known for giving unheard-of reasons instead of ordinary ones, and we take this to be one of them.

“ In all the reformed Churches, the marriage of the clergy is left as discretionary as that of the laity, and though efforts have been made at different times to recommend celibacy, the proposal has been coldly received by most protestants.”

We are not surprised at it : for is it not an infringement of their Christian liberty? Could any other reception of it be expected in a religious system, begun by a doubly apostate monk, and patronized by the Landgrave of Hesse? That worthy son of the reformation told Luther that he must have two wives. “ If we take arms,” wrote the most pious Landgrave, “ in the cause of the gospel, I shall do so with a troubled conscience, in fear and trembling, for I cannot conceal from myself that if I am slain I shall go to the devil direct. *I have read, with great attention, the Old and the New Testaments,* and I can discover no other resource save that of taking another wife ; for *I neither can, nor will, change my course of life;* I call God to witness my words. Why am I not to be permitted that

which was lawful to Abraham, to Jacob, David, Lamech, and Solomon?" It is well known that Luther, Melanthon, and Martin Bucer, afterwards professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and the author almost of the English prayer-book, so far as the form of it is concerned, granted permission to this resolute reformer to break a law which our Lord himself had published. Leyser, a protestant Jurist of the last century, in his *Meditationes ad Pandectas*, considers Luther's permission to the Landgrave to be "pious, just, and prudent." Even Archdeacon Hare —a most respectable Anglican clergyman now living—pronounces that marriage a "hallowed union," and there we leave it.

Protestants have no right whatever to charge immorality on the mediaeval priests: for upon protestant principles they were married, as much as any member of the establishment. The wives of the priests were concubines in the eyes of the law, which forbade such marriages. The canons, both in the east and in the west, never allowed a person in holy orders to marry: and if he did, his marriage was no marriage.

At a time of great degeneracy in manners the priests set at nought the authority of the canons, and married wives as laymen. This marriage did not make their sin no sin, for to this they added the profanation of the sacrament; but in the opinion of protestants it was only an exercise of right which no law could restrain; and though the canons called these wives concubines, yet no protestant, who denies the power of the Church to constitute impediments of marriage, can honestly deny them to be lawful wives.

The case of the married clergy in the middle ages has been repeated in the protestant establishment of this country. During the reign of Elizabeth the marriages of the Anglican clergy, even of the bishops themselves, were against both the canons and the statutes then in force. Those marriages were, however, public and common, so were those of the mediaeval priests, and in both cases against the laws. We are not defending the conduct of the Catholic priesthood in breaking the laws by which they were bound: but when Popes and bishops did not enforce the canons, it is no wonder that parish priests considered such connivance to be a valid dispensation, and availed themselves of that liberty which their rulers did not abridge. The non-enforcement of a law is almost the same as its abrogation.

The state of things in this country during the Elizabethan reign, was such as to require royal interference; in the year 1559 the queen published an order that no priest or deacon should marry without the allowance of the bishop and “two justices of the peace,” who were to approve of the person chosen to be the wife: and if any clergyman acted otherwise he was to be suspended, and to be incapable of preferment. The wives of bishops, by the same order, were to be approved of by the metropolitan and certain commissioners appointed by the queen: heads of colleges were to have their wives subject to the approbation of the visitors of their houses. Mr. Eden, therefore, is not quite correct, when he says that in “the reformed churches the marriage of the clergy is left as discretionary as that of the laity.” Connected with this subject we find the following in Dr. Hook’s dictionary:

“A bishop empales his family coat with the arms of his see, to denote his spiritual marriage with his Church; but the arms of the see occupy the *dexter* side of the escutcheon, or the side of greater honour. When a bishop is married he empales the arms of his wife with his own family coat on a separate escutcheon, and this escutcheon is placed by the *sinister* side of the shield, empaling his own coat with the arms of the see.”—*Arms*.

We turn now to the account of the Breviary given us by these two divines. The Breviary certainly is not a rare book, and few books are better known throughout Christendom. We shall give Mr. Eden’s account first; whose “accurate information and freedom from misquotation,” he trusts himself “will bear the scrutiny of a rigid examination.”

“Breviary.—The book of daily divine service used in the Romish Church. It contains the *matins*, *lauds*, *first*, *third*, *sixth*, and *ninth vespers*, and the *compline*, or post-communio. The Breviary of Rome is general, and may be used in all places; but on the model of this have been constructed various others, peculiar to each diocese. Formerly all persons were obliged to recite the Breviary, but this obligation was gradually relaxed; and was at last confined to the clergy, who are strongly enjoined to recite it at appointed periods. The services of the Breviary are quite distinct from the mass, which is, &c.”

This comes of following blind guides: Dr. Hook had before Mr. Eden given his account of it as follows.

“Breviary, a daily office, or book of divine service in the Romish

Church. It is composed of matins, lauds ; first, third, sixth, and ninth vespers : and the compline or *post-communio*, i. e. of seven different hours, on account of that saying of David, ‘seven times a day will I praise Thee.’ Whence some authors call the Breviary by the name of *Horæ Canonicae*, Canonical Hours.

“The Breviary of Rome is general, and may be used in all places ; but on the model of this have been built various others, appropriated to each diocese, and each order of Religious.”

“The Greek Breviary consists of two parts ; the one containing the office of the evening called *μεσονύκτιον*, the other that of the morning divided into matins, lauds ; *first, third, sixth, and ninth vespers*, and the compline.

“Originally every person was obliged to recite the Breviary every day ; but by degrees the obligation was reduced to the clergy only, who are enjoined under pain of mortal sin, and ecclesiastical censures, to recite it at home when they cannot attend in public.”

We acquit Mr. Eden of all responsibility here ; his only exercise of private judgment consists in the very gentle interpretation which he puts on the words “under pain of mortal sin :” this he understands to mean “strongly” only. “Ecclesiastical censures” he omits probably as not thinking them worth mentioning. It is to Dr. Hook alone that the merit of this account is due : and we believe him alone capable of conceiving it. Dr. Hook has had a learned education, and is a member of the University of Oxford, and yet makes *Prima, Tertia, Sexta*, and *Nona*, to be adjectives whose substantive is *Vesperæ* : accordingly prime is the first vespers, tierce is the third, sext the sixth, and nones the ninth vespers, of the day. We are almost sure that many a hard working priest, on the eve of a great festival, would be most grateful to Dr. Hook if he can prove, that when the overworked missioner has said prime, he has, at the same time, said the first vespers of the coming feast. Nor will his gratitude be less on the next morning, when saying the *post communio* at the conclusion of mass, he has also fulfilled the obligation of compline at night. “Casuistry is useless,” says Mr. Eden, “when it only displays a teasing subtlety ;” but is capable of being employed to the most valuable purposes, when, in connexion with important subjects, it exhibits a “philosophic depth.” Here, then, is an opportunity for it to be employed upon, to show that compline and *post communio* are one and the same thing. There is a general suspicion abroad that many of the clergy of the establishment are in the habit of “saying office ;” we have no

means of confirming or dispelling this suspicion, but we are quite certain that Mr. Eden and Dr. Hook are perfectly innocent in the matter. We pass over the other blunders, for it would be endless to expose them.

Here are two respectable clergymen, with the best education and of fair abilities, without any temptation to go astray : for the true account of the Breviary would not make anything against their opinions, nor the true account of the use of it, and by whom it was to be used. Yet the original sin of the reformation, misrepresentation of the Catholic Church breaks out, in the persons of its spiritual children, into involuntary falsehoods and ludicrous mistakes? We would put it to any honest man who takes for granted what such as Dr. Hook tell him of the “ primitive Church” and of “ancient doctrine,” whether the probabilities are in favour of the true account being given him ; when on matters of comparatively no moment, but connected certainly with the subject of the controversy, such strange perversions as this are continually made.

If, when there is no temptation to misrepresent the Catholic service, a misrepresentation is actually made, what must be the case when that temptation is too strong for resistance ? If the Breviary is thus described, are men sure that they have a true account of the Missal ? Are men, who are ignorant of the contents of a book which may be seen anywhere, in constant circulation and general demand, which yet they deliberately describe amiss, qualified to speak of what perhaps they have never seen, and if they have, cannot understand ? Are these to be heard when they blaspheme the mass, and revile the memory of the saints, pronounce the Catholic religion idolatry, and dishonour the Mother of God ?

So far is Mr. Eden from understanding the Catholic religion that he does not understand his own. He tells us that the Church of England “ expressly asserts that the intention of the minister does not affect the efficacy of ministration. See xxvi. Art. of Religion ;” that article says nothing of the kind. It merely tell us, and truly, that the sacraments are equally valid, whether administered by immoral men or by saints. On the Apostolical succession Mr. Eden says that “ there is not a minister in all Christendom who can thus trace up with certainty his own spiritual pedigree,” that is, up to the Apostles ; “ the fact probably does not exist in some cases, and the proof

of it, even where it does exist, never can possibly be established." He says, further on, "that, independently of its having no warrant from scripture or from the formularies of the English Church," the Apostolic succession "is much more easily asserted than proved." And, beside this, he denies that his Church has even "entered on the question," whether the Apostolic succession be necessary to a valid administration of sacraments. Dr. Hook, on the contrary, says "the Apostolical succession of the ministry is essential to the right administration of the holy sacraments."

Here are two divines, two ministers of the same religion, at issue on a fundamental question. One holds the Apostolic succession to be essential: the other says it "is much more easily asserted than proved," which means that it cannot be proved at all, and is of no consequence whatever. Mr. Eden denies, in effect, that Anglicanism is a church; Dr. Hook, on the contrary, maintains that it is: and the only Church in this kingdom. Though these two divines can thus dispute about their own misbelief, and maintain each of them the contradictory of the other; yet when they come to speak of the Catholic religion, which alone is true, they are wonderfully agreed to revile it: Herod and Pilate became friends when the Son of God must die.

"*Proses. A part of the Popish Mass in Latin verse.*"

Such is Mr. Eden's account of the *Proses*. He has consulted Dr. Hook as usual, but has been unable to understand that learned doctor, who said truly that they are in prose, as their name shows. The doctor, however, must blunder for himself; accordingly he tells us that the *Proses* "being sung after the *Gradual or Introit*, were likewise called *Sequatio*. Of this kind is the beautiful *Stabat Mater*." Where he found the word *Sequatio*, is beyond our skill to discover: and probably those who consult his dictionary will be quite as well satisfied with *Sequatio* as with *Sequentia*. Here comes the extraordinary part in this account: the doctor proceeds,

"An uncharitable inference having been drawn from the epithet 'beautiful' having been applied to the *stabat mater*, as if the idolatry of that composition, in spite of the contrary principles every where prevailing in this dictionary, had been approved, it is necessary to state that the epithet has reference only to the music."

If we had not had the doctor's word for it, we certainly should have applied the "epithet beautiful" to the words of the *Stabat Mater*, and not to the music of which nothing had before been said. "Of this kind," says he, "is the *Stabat Mater*, ordinary people would understand the kind of composition." It would be uncharitable to suggest that the explanation of the epithet is an afterthought, and somewhat difficult to reconcile with the form of the explained expression. Let all people, therefore, understand that the *Stabat Mater* is an idolatrous composition, but the music which sets out that composition, to the greatest advantage, is "beautiful." Idolatry is a wicked thing, but the ceremonious pomp of its celebration is not affected by the use it is put to, and we may like it, and call it beautiful!

We have put an uncharitable construction upon this explanation, carrying on the difficulties in which the author has involved himself. Those who drew the first "uncharitable inference" will, we are persuaded, draw a second, of the same character, from the laborious explanation he has here given us. We are the more confirmed in our opinion of the doctor's honesty, by the following fact: While defending the use of lights in the church, he produces the Apostolical canons as authority, which he says, "expressly mention oil for the lamps;" but when he speaks of "incense," he says, "the use of incense in connection with the Eucharist, was *unknown* in the Church until the time of Gregory the Great, in the latter part of the *sixth century*." Incense having been discarded at the reformation, it is obviously necessary to make the use of it as late as possible. But the truth is this: Dr. Hook, anxious for his candles, discovers "oil for the lamps" in the Apostolical canons, but when he speaks of incense, considerably shuts his eyes, lest he should see it. *Oleum ad luminare*, oil for the lamp, he sees clearly; but the very next words, *et incensum tempore sanctæ oblationis, incense at the time of the holy oblation*, he does not see at all. The old saying is true, none so blind as those who will not see.

Dr. Hook labours hard for candles and flowers. "Strewing with flowers is a very simple and most innocent method of ornamenting the Christian altar, which is enjoined indeed by no law, but which is sanctioned by the custom of some Churches in this kingdom, in which also the protestant Churches in Germany agree." This mention of the

protestant Churches is adroit, but it will not succeed in making people look on flowers as anything short of “popery.” In the discussion on “lights,” the doctor very ingeniously slips from lights to candles. The authority for candles requires these candles to be lighted, but the practice of Dr. Hook’s communion has been to keep them, but not to use them. Dr. Blomfield, we believe, allows candles, provided they are not made to burn; and indeed, the Vicar of Leeds is content with this simple and economical use of them. Mr. Eden is of opinion, that it is “more suitable to remove the candles,” on the ground that he has no “altar;” but admits, that if candles may be had at all, “they ought to be lighted.” Dr. Hook denies that the “reformers removed them from the altar;” perhaps not, but the reformers having removed the altar itself, cared very little for the “candles.” The learned doctor knows well that the reformers were distinguished for their zeal against altars, and among these, Ridley was the most conspicuous in the unholy work. Dr. Hook finds instances of lights in all Churches that are not a Church; the Greek Church, and the Syrians, with the Lutheran or protestant, “all these Churches agree with the Anglo-Catholic Church in this matter,” that is, in the use of unlighted candles. The number of lights comes next under discussion. “The western Church seems generally to have used *seven* lights.....In the Greek Church the number five.....The number two, which is specially Anglican, refers doubtless to the two natures of Christ.....And by being strictly limited to two—whereas so far as we know, there is no absolute limitation to that, or to any other number, in any other Church—it is obvious to remark, that we of the Anglo-Catholic Church, can scarcely fall into the error of lighting them as a part of the service of any other except God.” Certainly not, for they are never lighted at all.

This extravagant praise of Anglicanism meets us on every page; the reformers were endowed with supernatural wisdom, when they broke forth into deliberate sin. Their learning was beyond all possibility of mistake, and the only reason that religious respect is not offered to them, is the rigid prevalence of their own principles, that no man is worth thinking of after he is dead.

\* Dr. Hook’s way of seeing things is somewhat peculiar; he tells us, “In England *the Catholic Church is the establishment.*” Again, “The property of the Church

remains with those who have descended in an unbroken line from the clergy to whom it was originally granted.” And again, “With respect to the *Roman Catholic dissenters*, we know that, instead of being descended from the original grantees, their line of succession began at Rome, scarcely more than two centuries ago.” He has, however, some slight misgiving as to the certainty of his views, and gives another reason if the first should turn out to be insufficient, and it is this: “Admitting then that we may differ in some *particulars of practice* from our ancestors, yet certainly we do not differ from them so much as the modern Romanists.” The man who could write this is past the reach of reasoning.

“By popery,” he says, “we mean the peculiar system of doctrine, by adopting which the Church of Rome separates herself from the rest of the Catholic Church, and is involved in the guilt of schism.” And again, at the Council of Trent, “the Church of Rome incurred the guilt of authoritatively sanctioning heresy.” In another place he adopts these words as his own, “the sect—the sect of English papists or Roman Catholics—*arose* in the reign of Elizabeth.” These strange assertions are gravely put forth as a true statement of the facts in dispute; we have nothing to say to them; their untruth is lost sight of in the profound abyss of their absurdity.

The indissoluble nature of marriage seems to have been held only in the Catholic Church; the Greek schism tolerates divorces, and pronounces them even on the most frivolous grounds. In this country divorces may be had for money; and no cry is raised against the sin by the prelates and clergy of the state religion; on the contrary, some of these have taken advantage of the legal divorce to contract marriage anew while the other party to the first marriage is alive. This is a state of things which is notorious to every one; not only may the innocent party to the divorce marry, but the guilty parties, whose sin caused it to be sued for, may themselves be married to each other. The House of Lords inserts a clause in the bill, by which the divorce is decreed, to the effect that the guilty party may not marry; but the House of Commons rejects it, and the Lords concur in their amendment, which it was never intended to abide by. In the face of these facts, which are known throughout the kingdom, and without instances of which scarcely any session of parliament is held.

Dr. Hook has the hardihood to say, “on a divorce for adultery, *some* acts of parliament have allowed the *innocent* person to marry again.” The natural inference from these words is, that not every act of parliament allows marriage at all after divorce; and that the guilty person may never marry, much less may the marriage of both the offenders be allowed. The words of the honest writer are perfectly true, and the impression they convey to the reader may be one which the writer never intended to convey.

Dr. Hook, like other men, has his own especial hallucinations, not dangerous, but highly amusing: it should be said, however, that it is by no means clear that he labours under them himself, for it may be, that he is like Brutus in ancient Rome, acting folly, that he may be believed. He says “that the bishops have united with the state in affirming the principle, that the state has a right to rearrange the revenues of the Church.” He admits it to be a dangerous principle; but nevertheless the principle being affirmed he is no longer afraid; the bishops having, as he says, deprived certain of the clergy of their property to enrich another portion of them. The good doctor adds, “the bishops, *we may be sure*, will carry out their principle, and yield half their estates, or at least a third, for the endowment of new bishoprics.” At present there is no sign of it.

In another place he speaks of daily service, and the rules that enforce it in the Churches of the establishment, as follows:

“As this is not only a direction of the Church, *but also part of an act of parliament*, any parishioners desirous of attending daily prayers, might compel the clergyman to officiate, by bringing an action against him, as well as by complaining to the Bishop. For this of course there can seldom be any necessity, *as most of the clergy would be too happy to officiate*, if they could secure the attendance of two or three of their parishioners. By the general practice of the clergy, it seems to be decided, that they are to say the morning and evening prayer in private, if they cannot obtain a congregation; though even under those circumstances, the letter of the rubric seems to direct them to say the offices at Church if possible.”

We, of course, cannot be presumed to know what is the “general practice” of the established clergy, but it does surprise us to hear that the “general practice” is to use the services of their prayer book in private. If it be so, we are certain that the privacy is so great that it escapes

the observation even of those who use it. The great majority of the Anglican clergy condemns the practice as worse than useless, and we believe a great many of them are not aware even of the obligation which is upon them. As to the readiness of the clergy to open their churches for prayer we have nothing to say, but appeal to the common sense of the whole kingdom whether this be true. If the clergy are so ready to fulfil their obligation, why does Dr. Hook hint that parishioners should have recourse to “an action” against their pastor? This does not look as if every thing was as the doctor represents. The truth is, Dr. Hook is anxious for the success of his own opinions—and we do not blame him—and knowing the materials he has to work with, throws out most turbulent principles, and appeals to that fund of affection which too often subsists between a rector and his parish. In short, he suggests a law-suit, and a general stirring up of ill-will, malice, and discontent, as an exercise of Christian charity, and a fitting preparation for “daily prayers.” Verily this is the true Church!

Mr. Eden’s view of the matter is what we have given above: “the manifest unsuitableness of reciting in solitude a form of common prayer, joined with the tendency of such a practice to the superstitious notion of the people worshipping by proxy, is the reason why this part of the rubric has been left to fall into desuetude.” Here, at all events, we have a clear denial of Dr. Hook’s “general practice,” and a clear reason to support it; we say nothing of the reason ourselves: it is Mr. Eden’s, and he is one of those gifted men who can see through a millstone at midnight. Mr. Eden, throughout his book, discards as superstitious all acts of devotion which are not founded on reason and addressed to the intellectual faculty: he sees no advantage in acts of religion to any one who does not himself perform them. It is an inconsistency in him that he tolerates the baptism of infants. “In the Church of England,” he says, “the minister does not pretend to impart any blessing;” it seems he only “prays” that good effects may follow. Indeed, Dr. Hook himself, on the words ‘Power of the Keys,’ seems to have no higher notion of it than Mr. Eden. “The power of the keys is *only a ministerial power*,” are his words, and then coolly adds, that the changes of the reformation were “ratified in heaven.”

We come now to a much more serious part of these two theological dictionaries; we begin with Mr. Eden, who says that “the conduct of the Third General Council *cannot be too highly censured*: it was certainly the utmost presumption to anathematize any individual for declining to use a title not to be found in Scripture.”

“The title of Sabellian,” he says, “is applied to those who are careful to point out that the word Person, *in the theological sense*, is widely different from the modern colloquial sense.”

On the word “Person,” he gives explanations, or rather evasions, which makes it very difficult to believe that he is not a Sabellian himself. He says in another place, “The Scriptures describe God—though *manifested in a three-fold relation to man*—as one.”

“All the different representations which our Lord gives of Himself.....are inconsistent with the belief of three Gods, or of any division in the Divine nature in itself, but reconciled with, and leading to, the belief of a *Godhead revealed to us in three persons, standing in varied relations*: and therefore there can be no doubt that *this is what was conveyed*—and therefore must have been intended to be conveyed—to ordinary *unphilosophical, but candid, pious, and teachable Christians*.” And in another place he speaks of God’s *three-fold manifestations of Himself*. We leave Mr. Eden here: if he be orthodox, we are sorry he should be so unhappy in his way of showing it, and his frequent references to Dr. Whately make it doubtful. We turn to Dr. Hook who, cautioning people so very earnestly against popery and superstition, makes us involuntarily remember that there are some who busy themselves about outward rites, while forgetting the weightier matters of the law.

“On the death of our Lord, His soul—His *human* soul—went to this ‘place of departed spirits.’” These are the doctor’s words, who himself puts *human* in italics; thereby insinuating a separation of the humanity from the Divinity, contrary to the Articles even of his own religion. After insisting on this, he adds, “one great use of the system of catechizing, is the opportunity it affords of inculcating on the people *such distinctions as these*.”

Curiously enough, the next words are, “Heresiarch—a leader in heresy.”

“Piscina—a perforation in the wall of the church,

through which the *water is poured away with which the chalice is rinsed out*, after the celebration of the Holy Eucharist.”

This reminds us of an event in the ministerial career of Dr. Hook, soon after he settled at Leeds. It happened one day that he had used too much wine, of which a good deal remained after all had communicated. It seems it was too much to drink as the rubric directs, and the Vicar of Leeds was perplexed what to do: we give his own words:—“In my church there was no *piscina*, and therefore I made one for the occasion, and *poured away the wine at the side of the chancel.*”\* Is it conceivable that Dr. Hook believes in the real presence? If he does, we have no words to express what his conduct implies. The more charitable and true supposition is, that he does not; and that he well knew that he poured away nothing but wine into his extempore *piscina* on that occasion. The wine that he “poured away” was, according to his own confession, consecrated; and yet he poured it out like water. All the “errors of Popery,” yea, even all the immoralities charged against popes and priests and monks, vanish out of sight at this act of Dr. Hook, if what he threw away was anything else but wine. It is too horrible to conceive even for a moment that he “poured away” the blood of our Redeemer.

No one can be surprised after this, to find in Dr. Hook’s writings the most determined hostility to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist; of which he says that “we know moreover that it was not authoritatively received, even by the Roman Church, till the Fourth Lateran Council in the year 1215.” He repeats the same assertion in another place. Dr. Wordsworth, in his Letters to Mr. Gondon, also says, “Scotus tells us that before the Lateran Council under Innocent III., Transubstantiation was not an article of faith.” In a note he pretends to produce the original words of Duns Scotus. We give the note as a curiosity.

*Scotus in 4 Sentent. Dist. xi. 9. 3. “Ante Lateranense Concilium. (A.D. 1215.) Transubstantiatio non fuit dogma fidei.”*

Scotus has written commentaries certainly on the Sentences, but the Dist. xi. on the fourth book, contains only

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\* Dr. Hook’s Letter, British Magazine, July 1838.

seven questions ; Dr. Wordsworth has therefore discovered a ninth. Possibly in that ninth question the words he produces may be found, for they are not to be found in the whole of the writings of Scotus at this day known to the world. The learned Doctor, with his usual skill in blundering, saw somewhere this pretended quotation from Scotus ; and mistaking the mode of citing it, turned the letter q before 3—the third question referred to—into the figure 9. The error is not worth much : but it is a grave offence to attribute words to Scotus which he did not write, and upon them to found a charge against the Church. Bramhall preceded Dr. Wordsworth in this matter ; who, by misunderstanding a passage in Cardinal Bellarmine, and altering the form of the expression, gave his readers to understand that he was quoting from Scotus himself, whose writings probably he had not even consulted on the subject.

That Dr. Hook does not believe in the Real Presence, is certain from his own acknowledgment ; and consequently is not chargeable with any great irreverence in that memorable act of throwing away the wine. He takes the definition of the Presence, from the Homilies of his Church, where it is defined to be, “a Communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord in a marvellous incorporation, which by the operation of the Holy Ghost, is through *faith wrought in the souls of the faithful.*” The Presence, therefore, which the Anglican Communion teaches, and which Dr. Hook believes, is in the souls of the faithful, and not on the altar, under the figures of bread and wine. Dr. Hook produces a passage from the reformer Ridley, which he considers to state “admirably” the difference between “the Ancient and Catholic doctrine,” and “the doctrine of the Church of Rome.” By “the Ancient and Catholic doctrine,” is meant Dr. Hook’s doctrine ; or that which he conceives to be held in the establishment. Ridley “confesses” our Lord’s “a natural Body to be in the Sacrament indeed, *by spirit and grace, because* that whosoever receiveth worthily that *bread and wine*, receiveth *effectually* Christ’s Body and drinketh His Blood ; *that is*, he is made *effectually* partaker of His passion.”

Here again is the same shuffling, the same clouding of the truth under a multitude of words ; why not state plainly that there is no Presence at all, not even to the

communicants themselves, unless they have faith? The solemnity of their worship and their form of consecration have no effect except through the faith of those who receive. This is clearly the doctrine of Dr. Hook, and yet he shrinks from stating it; and we are quite certain that it is the doctrine held by the great bulk of his co-religionists.

We have finished our intended task. Two most respectable men, of unblemished reputation; who would scorn a lie, and hate theft, robbery, or fraud, in the common matters of this world, make no conscience whatever of the most extravagant blunders, the most prodigal utterance of untrue statements, in matters of the highest possible moment. Men who would not injure their neighbour by saying anything untruly of his habits or character, make the most unfounded statements and scandalous insinuations against the Catholic Church. Whence is this perverseness, this moral blindness, this insensibility to shame, and whole forgetfulness of truth? There is somehow or other, in Anglican writers, an excess of confidence when they speak against the Church whom they hate at once and fear. They will not believe the clearest denials of the accusations they bring against us, nor understand the most lucid explanations of what we hold. They will give us no credit for honesty; and when outward appearances and private habits give the lie to calumny, and illustrate the truth we teach, they will then attribute the whole to hypocrisy and craft: and not unfrequently Satan himself is introduced as the source of his own destruction. Surely this is what the Apostle speaks of, when he tells us that upon those who do not love the truth, God will send the strong power of error, so that they shall believe a lie.

The dignity of the establishment consists in its wealth and in its learned men. Its riches are great we readily admit, but it owes them to habits of life to which it has become a stranger now. Its theological learning we altogether deny. Whom has the establishment produced to compare with S. Thomas, Scotus, and Richard Middleton? We will come down to the reformation, and search for men who can be compared with Vasquez and Suarez, with Bellarmine, Baronius, and Bona, with our own English controversialists, Stapleton, and Knott, and Southwell, and the founder of the English Mission, Cardinal Allen. Anglican Divines have recourse to the prodigious theory,

that for 800 years the truth was not known. We, on the contrary, have continued the same: we have not forgotten the faith, and our teachers have not been hid. God raised them up from age to age, and each generation has heard their voice, the living voice of a living guide: from Paul the Doctor of the Gentiles, and Peter the Ruler of the Church, in all succeeding time, we have had our one unbroken divine succession in a long line of illustrious Pontiffs, Saints, and Doctors, down to our present father, servant of the servants of God, Pius IX.

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- ART. VIII.—1.** *Layamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain, a Poetical Semi-Saxon Paraphrase of the Brut of Wace; now first published from the Cottonian Manuscripts in the British Museum; accompanied by a Literal Translation, Notes, and a Grammatical Glossary.* By SIR FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. London: Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London: 1847.
- 2.** *Galfredi Monumetensis Historia Britonum. (Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Britons.)* London: D. Nutt, Fleet Street: 1844.

HUNDREDS and hundreds of years before the Christian era, rumours were spread amongst the civilized men of the earth, that some such lands as those which we designate the “British Islands” were to be found, far, far away in a distant sea. What a strange country, we can well imagine, must not England then have been deemed by those enlightened nations from which it seemed to be separated by a world of waters—a barrier to them nearly as impassable as that space which separates earth from its satellite! Merchants, and sailors, and even philosophers, must then have talked of the dark, stormy seas of the north, and of their cluster of islands, inhabited by a fierce race of men; of lands that were covered with forests, and often concealed by mists, and on which the sun shone dimly and fitfully; of the earth on which they trod, glittering with a shining white metal, that seemed to spring, as if it were herbage, out of the soil—of its strands, rich with white pearls and pellucid amber—of shoals of fish circling around its coasts—of its denizens in the gloomy

woods, or of those who gathered in caves on its white cliffs—of men daring, dauntless, bold, and free, seemingly governed by no laws, acknowledging no lord, recognizing no king, and bowing down before no superior. Imagination must have lent its aid to misinformation, until at length the imperfectly known assumed in the fancy of Eastern minds a substantiality which there was no experience to control, and no well-ascertained facts to contradict. The barbarian race of the British Isles came to be thought of as giants—their land as a land of magic, in which the dying were watched over by spirits of the air, and the dead evoked to abandon their former dwellings, and, bodiless and unseen, to press down to the water's edge the boats that were to bear them to some more distant region, in which they were to abide for ever. Again, the British Isles were the “Fortunate Islands,” in which the good live eternally, and around which clustered amongst infidel nations those traditions that had descended to them of the gardens of the lost Paradise, and to which they assigned in the British seas a perpetuated existence.\*

The facts that were known to a few Phœnician traders, and of which they made a mystery, as appertaining to the profitable craft of commerce, † dwindled, and dispersed away, as trade was interrupted, and the traffic with the British Isles discontinued, until, at last, the very position of these countries may have become a tradition, on which may have been based many a tale to amuse the evening hours of the wandering Asiatic in his migratory expeditions, or the rough Roman soldier in his encampment. What strange stories of that wild, wonderful, and distant country, may not have been told in the tents of Alexander by those who crossed the Granicus! What strange notions may not have been entertained about our islands amongst those dusk warriors who marched with Hannibal to the battle of Cannæ!

And then, as the British Islands emerged from the doubtful, the obscure, the uncertain, and the unknown—as they came to be recognized as a fact; and that the invasion of Cæsar brought them within the grasp of minds

\* See Camden's *Britannia*, vol. i., pp. xlix-lxxvii.

† See Lingard's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 11.—Lappenberg's *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, vol. i., pp. 1, 2.

that were learned, astute, and intelligent, and, for a moment, cleared away the mystery that surrounded them,—even then, the region of fact did not extend beyond the Roman highway, and was confined within the Roman wall. Outside of that wall, where civilization dare not place its foot, and the strength of the Roman eagle had been stricken down—where the life of the Roman legionary was not safe, the imagination of the Roman citizen revelled, shaped frightful forms, and dreamed horrid dreams.\*

To Rome and its pagan emperors, Great Britain gave willing martyrs and rebellious subjects. The title of "Britannicus" did not at all times denote a victory gained, nor a revolt subdued in Britain,† but it tended to remind the haughty Roman, that his arms had penetrated to a place which he could never completely overcome, and that, whenever the deep forests of Germany should send their multitudinous man-slayers across the Rhine, the iron legions would be compelled to abandon in England a rampart which marked the boundary of an empire; but could never be esteemed as a trophy of victory over a conquered nation.

And then, when the over-swollen Roman empire did collapse, and enveloped in its destruction those Britons who had acknowledged their fealty to Roman emperors or Roman soldiers; and when the fierce Pict, with his woad-painted body (the emblem, in his estimation, of old British independence), crossed the Roman wall, and came to punish those who had abjured the customs, *the blue colours*, and the habits of their fathers; when that which was the assertion of the ancient rights of Britons, came as a spoiler, an invader, and a murderer into British homes; and Britons, in their despair, sought the aid of idolatrous Saxons, and unbelieving Angles, and miscreant Jutes, and, doing so, only invited new invaders and more fierce spoilers amongst them; and when, as the fitting punishment on Christians for allying themselves with infi-

\* Procopius De Bell. Goth., Lib. iv. c. 20.

† "Appellatus est Commodus etiam. Britannicus ab adulatori-  
cus, quem Britanni etiam imperatorem contra eum deligere volue-  
rint." Lampridius. Commod. Ant. vol. i., p. 495. (Hist. August.  
Script.)

dels,\* they were finally driven from England, and found on the rude coasts of Brittany a home, a refuge, and a resting-place; what recollections, what traditions, what records did they not bring with them to a strange country of their mighty men in the olden time, of their heroes, of their christian martyrs, of their great warriors, who had lived, who had suffered, who had fought, and who had won mighty triumphs, in homes and in lands that they should never, never see again!

At any age, at any time, or amongst any nation, there never did occur a more extraordinary or a more remarkable emigration than that which took place in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries from England to Brittany. The surface of the old country was laid waste with fire and sword; a war against christianity was proclaimed; to profess a faith in our Lord was to be visited with death; to be a Briton was a crime to be punished with the axe or with slavery, and to avoid either fate exile was indispensable. There was no security for the Briton from the Angle and the Saxon in that glorious country which they afterwards called "England;" and hence those who had the means of doing so repaired to Brittany, whilst those who could not procure shipping fled to the fastnesses of Wales, or hid themselves in the distant region of Cornwall.† The hatred which the Pict had brought with him against their fathers, they carried with them, across the sea and the Severn, against the Saxon; and with it a detestation of him as a pagan, as a cruel spoiler, as a merciless persecutor. Bitter thoughts of the present commingled in the hearts of the exiles with sweet recollections of the past. They carried away with them wondrous unwritten traditions, which had sprung up amongst the Roman veterans, whose children were Britons, and who talked so long and so constantly of Troy, and Æneas, and Lavinia, and probably of some brave Brutus who loved freedom overmuch, that at last their grandchildren discovered that there must be some rich golden chain of connexion between Troy and Rome and Britain, if poets would but link it together. These, and a thousand traditions like these, were gar-

\* Gildas, Hist. § 23.

† Gildas, Hist. § 24, 25.—Beda, Hist. Lib. ii., c. 14.—Rog. de Wend., vol. i., pp. 89-90.

nerved up in the hearts of the exiles, and with them all that British *tyerns*, or priests, had gathered from the songs of the bards in banqueting halls, or that the monk had collected in the guest-room from the wandering harper, and afterwards transferred to the parchment-roll in the *Scriptorium*.

And what precious things are these old memorials and traditions! How these marvellous tales of England having once been a land of giants—of its great hero, who gave his own name to the country, being an immediate descendant of him who had bled with Hector, and fought his way from out the burning ruins of Troy—of its glorious christian empress, St. Helena, the discoverer of the true cross—of its Constantine, who made the cross itself the proudest emblem of supreme dominion—of its Arthur, the most generous hero of chivalry, before chivalry itself had a name, and the record of whose deeds tended to humanize warfare, and uplifted to that pinnacle, from which they have never since descended, female purity and female loneliness. How must the thoughts of these things, the narration of these things have tended to soothe the sad hours of high-born princes, of holy priests, and of landless men, who had once been mighty leaders in their homes beyond the sea; but who had lost their all because they were true christians, and would not bow their necks to slavery.

There was a time when all these traditions—these wild legends and wondrous tales, which circulated in the home-steads, and were recounted in the castles, and recited in the monasteries of the exiled Britons, in Armorica, in Wales, and in Cornwall—were believed to be the invention of a single author,—Geoffrey of Monmouth; that they had been fabricated *by him*; that he asserted a falsehood when he pretended to have derived them from a British manuscript, which had been placed in his hands for the purpose of translation into Latin, by Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford.\*

*The character* of Geoffrey of Monmouth is one point for consideration; *the statements* he makes another. Let us for the moment confine ourselves to the first; for, if we cannot maintain and uphold that, then all that we possess in the writings of Wace, of Layamon, of Robert of Gloucester, &c., are but figments piled upon figments.

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\* *Historia Britonum*, Lib. i. c. 1.

"The greatest reason," says Mr. Wynn, in his Preface to Caradoc, "that I can think of, why the British History is attributed to the invention of Geoffrey is, that almost upon its first appearance in the world, William of Newborough, and Giraldus Cambrensis, exclaim against it and seem to lay the whole imposture to the charge of Geoffrey.....It is apprehended, that Newborough thought that the British History was solely owing to the contrivance and invention of Geoffrey; whereas nothing is more evident than that the only thing he lays to Geoffrey's charge is, that he augmented, and of his own head, made additions to the copy he received.\* And seeing that Newborough expressly mentions Geoffrey's translating into Latin, some ancient figments of the Britons concerning king Arthur, and unwarrantably adding to the same; it is manifestly apparent that he never took Geoffrey to be the contriver of the whole of that he had published, otherwise, it is hardly conceivable, that such an inveterate enemy of that history would conceal any thing that might derogate from the truth and authority of it.....The other reason why Geoffrey is thought to be the author of the British History, is grounded upon a passage in Giraldus Cambrensis, who speaking of the etymology of Wales, rejects the denomination of it, from either Duke Wallo, or Queen Wendolen, (as falsely affirmed in Geoffrey's fabulous history of Arthur,) 'Sicut fabulosa Galfredi Arturi mentitur historia.' Now this is thought an invincible argument against Geoffrey, and a palpable detection of his insincerity, since Giraldus, his own countryman, strikes at him, and accuses him of forgery; whereas upon nicer examination, we may easily discover how that Giraldus quarrels only with the history which Geoffrey published, and which, upon that account, bore his name. For had Giraldus thought it to be only a contrivance of Geoffrey's, had he suspected that Geoffrey falsely pretended to have received an ancient British manuscript, and by that means to have imposed upon the world; can it be supposed that upon so plain a conviction of falsehood, he would believe and give credit to an history, which he was satisfied was altogether a fable? But on the contrary, we find him assenting to the story of Brutus, and the division of the island betwixt his three sons; and, in short, excepting in this one place, he expresses himself to be an absolute votary of the British History, whence it is evident, he apprehended Geoffrey to be no more than a faithful translator of an ancient British Copy. ....But, besides, Geoffrey dedicates his translation to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, son to king Henry I., which in all likelihood he never would have ventured to do, had the original been of his own contrivance, for fear, lest that the cheat being discovered, he should be found to put upon a person of eminent quality, with whom the British History was then in great

\* "Gaufridus hic dictus est, agnomen habens Arturo ex priscis Britonum figurantibus sumptas, et ex proprio aucta per superductum. Latini sermonis colorem, honesto historiae nomine palliavit."

esteem.....It was a very easy matter for the Earl of Gloucester to find out Geoffrey's integrity, by inquiring of the Archdeacon (who, by all accounts, is reckoned his co-temporary,) whether he had delivered such an ancient British Copy into Geoffrey's hands, and whether the translation justly answered the original. These inquiries were natural upon the publication of any new history, which made such considerable noise and clamour in the world, and which gave such an account of the ancient Britons, as was never before thought or heard of among the English nation.....I cannot see upon the whole, the least reason why the contrivance and invention of this history should be attributed to Geoffrey, or that the authority of it depends any way upon him more than the fidelity of his translation.”\*

“We must suppose,” says Herr Lappenberg, in his History of the Anglo Saxon Kings, “this extraordinary writer (Geoffrey of Monmouth,) to have used ancient works no longer in existence.”†

The objection to which Geoffrey of Monmouth is liable, is not that he invented a book and called it a translation, but that he did not confine himself as he ought to have done to the original work; that he endeavoured to make his translation more perfect than the original by availing himself of the works of Gildas, of Nennius, and of Bede, and embodying extracts from, or adopting statements to be found in their pages.‡

It is not, we conceive, necessary to enter further into that long disputed question—the authenticity of the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth; for if any hesitation were still felt as to the veracity of his assertion, that the *Historia Britonum* is in all material points a bona-fide translation of the “*Brut y Brenhïnd*,” the doubt must be removed by the volumes, now for the first time published by Sir F. Madden.

We repeat the observation we have already made—*the character* of Geoffrey of Monmouth is one point for consideration: *the statements* that he makes another, and a

\* Preface by W. Wynne to Caradoc's History of Wales. See also Preface by Mr. A. Thompson to his translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

† Vol. i. p. 45. note 2. In his literary introduction, Lappenberg remarks, “many of his accounts are supported by narratives wholly unconnected with, and independent of Jeffrey.”—p. 29.

‡ See Lappenberg's Literary Introduction, p. 30., and notes 4. 5.

very different thing. Whether we believe or disbelieve those statements, whether we accept some of them as *true statements*, and reject others as *mere fables*, still there is great value in them all as *traditions of an ancient people*, if we be convinced that they are traditions, and that we are indebted for them to the translation of Geoffrey. In this manner *their value* is based upon his integrity. Now, the character of Geoffrey of Monmouth has suffered because mankind do not generally mark the distinction between that which they believe to be *historically true*, and that which others accept as *true history*. It does not follow, because we will not believe in ghosts, that when another tells us a ghost-story, with all the manner and solemnity of a firm believer in apparitions, that he is a fabricator of that, which in its circumstances, seems to us false, but that yet may be impressed upon his mind, and his honest conviction as an indisputable truth.

We cannot destroy facts by our disbelief, nor pervert the moral to be derived from them, as it may accord with our whims, nor suit our fancy. The honest narrator is entitled to a patient hearing. We can afterwards test his statement by collateral evidence, and contemporaneous circumstances. We can do so, with perfect respect for him, whilst at the same time we bear in mind, that there is nothing so difficult to ascertain as “what is *the truth?*” “What is *the fact?*” What should be believed to be the one—what should be assumed as the other? Why, there are at this moment hundreds of sensible, shrewd, clever—aye, and witty persons too, living in France, to whom it is a matter of marvel how the Duke of Wellington could have survived for so many years the shameful strategic defeat he experienced at Waterloo! Facts remain though they may not be acknowledged—facts mould events and control the current of circumstances, even though the very existence of such facts may be disputed. In the latter case they are like the hidden sand-banks at the mouth of a river, turning and guiding its flow of waters, as it hurries onwards to the ocean.

There is a vast difference between that which is assumed, or believed to be *historically true*, and that which is *true history*. And the great error into which the narrators or commentators on past events fall is this—that each sets up himself, in his own judgment, a tribunal, by which, according as it pleases his fancy, his notions, his

passions, and his prejudices, he determines by his own “ipse dixit” *what is true history*, and rejects as fabulous, as false, and as fictitious, thousands of things which may be, and some of which certainly are, historically true. The deist, guiding himself by the narrow standard of his own contracted reason, and influenced by his own selfish heart, rejects all evidence which is corroborative of the Redemption—the self-sacrifice of God himself—encircled as it is with the glory of numberless miracles at His Birth, in His Life, and with His Death. The deist denies that the gospels are true history, because to believe them includes the doing of that which his dominant passions assure him to be impossible—their control, their mortification, their ultimate and entire annihilation. The Sectarian rejects “the Lives of the Saints,” because those “lives” are narratives of the miracles achieved by the supreme majesty of self-abasement, by the might of humility, the wonder-working powers of faith, and the boundless energies of charity. The man of the world, knowing well what is his own life, its sordid avarice, its mean jealousies, its petty envies, its foul indulgences, and its accursed thoughts which make of moments, epochs of sin—the man of the world, feeling selfishness clinging as closely to all his impulses and actions as the epidermis to the cutis, is told of the lives of the monks—of their unceasing toil, their never-ending prayers, their long fasts, their severe vigils, their endurance of cold, of hunger, their avoidance of ease, of repose, and of every thing that can give satisfaction to the senses—he is told these things—his bad heart is the monitor to his head, and he concludes that the monks are impostors; and he adds sin upon sin—he persecutes them, when he is powerless, with slanders; he robs them of their property, when he has power; and when he is endowed with the potency of a despot, he massacres them.

And yet the facts remain. Christianity, punished as an imposture and a crime, overthrew the philosophy and the dialectics of paganism. Catholicity still continues to work miracles although infidels deny, and heretics would discredit them. Monkery creeps from beneath the ruins of the monastery, in which fanaticism had hoped it was buried for ever—it comes forth bleeding from the pile of its massacred and martyred brethren,\* it comes forth again

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\* See Chron. Petriburgens, ad an. 870, Ingulphus, pp. 14, 24.

to teach the ignorant, to console the heart-broken, to suffer willingly many mortifications, to endure new persecutions, and to outlive, and to pray for mercy on those who have assailed, and afflicted, and slandered, but who can never overcome it. Christianity, Catholicity, Monasticism, each in turn denied to be historically true, have proved themselves to be true history, and have moulded events, and made facts, and fashioned mens' hearts, and guided mens' actions; and if there were not in each, and all of these, the very things which were denied to be *truths*, which were actually declared to be *falsehoods*, they never could have advanced as they have done, and never could have so changed the state of every society in which they have appeared.

We refer to that which is so notorious, that no man can make denial of it. We do so for the purpose of inducing self-styled philosophers, pseudo-historians, and would-be critics, to look with humility on what they cannot possibly know to be untrue—to warn them, because what they read for the first time is not in accordance with what they heard before, that they should not therefore hastily, and at once conclude, that it must be positively false.

There is, what we may be allowed to designate as a “materialist—utilitarianism” in the composition of books, and a “materialist utilitarianism” in criticism, which are alike dangerous to the advancement of truth, and to a complete knowledge of it. The first develops itself in writers who sit down with the fixed purpose of establishing some preconceived notion, or of working out some favourite theory. Of all classes of men these are the most pernicious when they place their unhallowed hands on history. As far as they are concerned, and their influence over the minds of their readers can extend, they perform again the deeds of the Vandals, and the atrocities of the Northmen—they destroy, or they mutilate the records of the past; and from the same motive, it may be said, which actuated the barbarians—a hatred of christianity—a detestation of the holy saints, of the doctors, confessors, and martyrs of the Catholic Church. It is in vain that libraries are opened to these men, that the facility of reference to original documents is given to them. Ancient charters are blotted out—ancient manuscripts neglected or repudiated, that only is prized which serves their particular purpose, which can be misinterpreted with facility, and garbled with

ease. They cog, they juggle, they suppress, they exaggerate, they omit, they invent, they fabricate a fraudulent brief to sustain a false plea, and they call it "a history." They write prettily, because they have selected their own theme, and they will not introduce any thing, which may interfere with *their* "moral," nor mar the harmony of their style.\* They are popular with the world, for they play with its inclinations, pander to its prejudices, and plead for its passions.

The "materialist-utilitarianism" of criticism is not so mischievous nor so dangerous as this; but it is, in its own small way, a great impediment to the advancement of real knowledge. It is so very anxious to have within its grasp the hard, dry husks of facts, that it not unfrequently casts away the sweet fruits of truth; and this simply because they are fair to look upon, bear upon them the fresh bloom of genuine poesy, and are savoured with the aspirations of noble and generous natures. With them, traditions and Sagas, and Märchen, and old stories, and older ballads, and even legends of the saints are nought—because they tell us of what these ultra-wise, and over-cautious men choose to regard as impossibilities, and that *therefore* cannot be facts. They are so severe, so stringent, and so exacting on this point, that if an author, writing on English history, will but presume to refer to Geoffrey of Monmouth for statements illustrative of his subject, they immediately denounce him as careless in the collection of facts, as giving that as an authority which is no authority, because, say they, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum* is "a collection of fables" and not "a true history."

We differ altogether from these over-cautious, and ultra-wise men, when they affirm that Geoffrey of Monmouth's book is "a collection of fables, and not a true history." It would, we believe, be as utterly incorrect to affirm that it was *all* "a collection of fables," as that it is *all* "a true history."

There are, if we may so express ourselves, two descriptions of facts. First, *the positive fact*; second, *that* which is believed to be a positive fact, and which, as *a matter of belief*, influences the actions, sometimes of indivi-

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\* See description of Hume as a historian, in *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxiii. pp. 536-592.

duals, sometimes of communities, and sometimes of entire nations. The *belief* of things, which may be absolutely untrue, thus influencing a small, or a large portion of mankind is, in itself, *a positive fact*; and he who omits in his account of a nation such a fact, may fancy he is writing a history, when he is, in truth, only putting together a Chronology, and a very bad Chronology too, for he is omitting an item, which is of far more importance to the reader, than to know in what particular year, before or after the Christian era, one individual with a barbarous name succeeded to another individual with a polysyllabic designation.

Let us now suppose that there was not from the first page to the last, in Geoffrey of Monmouth, a single germ of truth—and we, on the contrary, think there is much truth—truth too that is to be found in no other author: \* but permit us to admit, that every incident mentioned in that book, as pure a piece of fancy as “Goody two Shoes,” still it is, in our estimation, a most valuable work; for it is a *true work*—that is, it is a true record of that which the ancient Britons, the Cornish refugees, and the Armorican exiles, believed to be the genuine, and the veracious history of their dearly loved country. That portion of it which professes to be history was *their consolation* for past misfortunes: that portion of it, which professes to be the prophecy of Merlin,† constitutes their hope for

\* “In conclusion we will venture to express the hope of one day seeing what is historical in Geoffrey of Monmouth separated from that which is fabulous; the latter honoured as a pleasing relic of the times of old, and the rest exalted into useful matter for the national history.” Lappenberg, vol. i. p. xxxi.

† The following, which is the title page of a very rare work, will demonstrate the importance, at one time, attached to the prophecy of Merlin :

“Prophetia Anglicana, Merlini Ambrosii Britanni, ex incubo olim (ut hominum fama est) ante annos mille ducentos circiter in Anglia nati, Vaticinia et prædictiones; a Galfredo Monumetensi Latinè conversæ una cum Septem Libris Explanacionum in Eandem Prophetiam, excellentissi sui temporis Oratoris Polyhistoris, et Theologi, Alani De Insulis, Germani, Doctoris (ob admirabilem, et omnigenam eruditionem cognomento) Universalis, et Parisiensis Academiæ, ante annos 300 Rectoris Amplissimi. Opus nunc primum publici juris factum, et lectoribus historiarum, præcipue vero Britannicæ, cognitionem, non parum lucis allaturum. Francofurti, typis Joachimi Bratheringii, MDCIII.”

the future. If then we look to these traditions, we cannot but respect the men who cherished, and who believed in them for their attachment to the old Catholic faith ; and we cannot but admire them for their credulity as to other things, for its inspiration was a keen sense of honour, and a noble veneration for all that is grand and beautiful. We admire, and we respect these ancient Britons, because we are assured as to what they believed. In their traditions we can trace out their customs, distinguish their virtues, and discover their domestic manners. Call the entire mass of details to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, nothing more than the “*Volks-marchen*” of the ancient Britons, and even then they will be found to constitute a body of legendary lore, such as no other people on the face of the earth ever possessed. Regard them but as the remnants of bye-gone superstitions, and still they are more worthy of being known, and studied by an Englishman, than the superstitions of ancient Greece and Rome, in which the fancy of the poet will be found defiled but too frequently with the nauseous suggestions of the sensualist.

The first embodiment in a language universally read of the old British, Welsh, and Armorican legends, was their translation into Latin by Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his “*Historia Britonum*:” their most perfect and complete development is to be found in “*Layamon’s Brut*,” of which, and its author, an interesting account is given in the introduction, by the profound scholar and able antiquarian, Sir F. Madden, to whom the world is indebted for its publication.

From that introduction, as bearing upon the old British legends, we make the following extract :

“ That Layamon was indebted for some of these legends to Welsh traditions, not recorded in Geoffrey of Monmouth or Mace, is scarcely to be questioned, and they supply an additional argument in support of the opinion, that the former was not a mere inventor. Many circumstances incidentally mentioned by Layamon, are to be traced to a British origin. From these, and other passages, it may be reasonable to conclude, that the author of the poem had a mind richly stored with legendary lore, and had availed himself, to a considerable extent, of the information to be derived from written sources. We know that he understood both French and Latin ; and when we consider that these varied branches of knowledge were combined in the person of an humble priest of a small church in one of the midland counties, it would seem to be no unfair inference, that the body of the clergy, and, perhaps, the upper classes

of the laity, were not in so low a state of ignorance, at the period when Layamon wrote, as some writers have represented."—Preface, pp. xvi. xvii.

Sir F. Madden shows (vol. i. pp. 20-21.) that Layamon's poem must have been written at the commencement of the thirteenth century.

With this book then before us—the poem of an humble, obscure, shorn, black monk,\* we have in the most attractive form the pure old British "*aurea legenda*," of which this country may well boast. From out of these Milton, with all his hatred of Popery, sought facts, and within these Shakspere found plots for his noblest plays, and may have enriched even his fancy with their imaginary beings.†

And here now, if we could—if a volume, and not a certain number of pages were assigned to us—we would open up all that rich vein of traditional lore which is to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, in Nennius, in Wace, in Layamon, and in so many others. Even the curious gossiping of the scribbling Rossius or Rous should not be omitted.‡ As it is, however, we must give—and these but a few—extracts from the work, which the care and diligence of Sir F. Madden have rescued from obscurity; which his learning has illustrated so profusely, as to render it an indispensable companion to all who study the ancient history of England, or would trace the language we now speak and write through its various changes and modifications.

Most reluctantly we admit, do we confine ourselves to three extracts, for these do not suffice to illustrate the subject which we desire to discuss—the apocryphal history of England. In making the selection of these three, we have been influenced with the desire to interest the Irish reader, first, by the description—(and a strange description

\* "In the initial letter of the Cotton MS. Cal. A. ix., there is a small miniature representing the author writing his book, in the habit of a black monk, with a shaven crown." Kemble, Preface, p. ix., note 1.

† See Layamon's Brut, vol. ii. pp. 384, 463, 876, vol. iii. p. 144. See also a most valuable and interesting series of papers in the Athenæum, entitled, "The Folk-lore of Shakspeare," by Mr. W. J. Thoms, the secretary of the Camden Society.

‡ *Historia Regum Anglicæ*, pp. 10-20.

it is)—of the manner in which the ancient Irish fought their battles. The second and third extracts allude to that heroic character,—Arthur, whose very existence is denied by the hypercritical, and yet whose achievements form the substance of thousands of Romances.\* The extracts from Layamon give *his* description of the formation of the celebrated Round Table, and the transportation of Arthur to Avalon.

The translation of these extracts is based upon that of Sir F. Madden. So much of his is adopted, that we should not venture to claim one particle of merit for our own, and we would not refer even to the variations from his literal translation, if we did not fear that fault might be found with them, and we would save him from a censure which should justly fall on our own shoulders.

With this apology we place the extracts before the reader:

#### BATTLE BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND IRISH.

“Up arose Uther, the wise and the wary, and ordered his knights forthwith to horse, and to march quickly towards Meneve—for all, he declared, should make preparation for battle. In his foremost troops he had seven thousand, brave, active, well-chosen knights. His centre too was composed of stalwart knights, and seven thousand brave thanes, and in his rear were eighteen thousand knights, and of foot soldiery, so many thousands that the speech of man could not well tell them.

“All these troops marched on quickly until they came to Meneve.

“Gillomaur (the Irish King) as soon as he saw the army of Uther advancing against him, commanded his knights on the instant to take up their weapons. The Irishmen speedily threw off their breeches (*and of mid here breches*)—strange were their looks! as they grasped their knives—as they clutched in their hands their long spears, and hung on their shoulders great battle-axes.

“At this moment a strange thing was spoken by King Gillomaur. ‘Here,’ said he, ‘cometh Uther the brother of Aurelie; he will, I know, ask peace from me—he will never dare to fight against me. I see there are swains in his foremost ranks—let us march against them, for ye need never fear to slay such wretches. Now if Uther, the son of Constantine, will become my man, and give to Pascent

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\* As to the historical character of Arthur, see Milner’s *Antiquities of Winchester*, vol. i. pp. 55-60.

his father's realm, I will grant him peace, let him live, and in fair bonds conduct him to my own land.'

" Thus spoke the king, but far worse befell him than he ever had supposed could occur ; for on the instant Uther's knights were in the town where the Irishmen lay, and then they set it on fire. There did they fight fiercely; for with their swords they cut down the Irish, who were all naked. The Irish too fought furiously with the British ; but they fell in great numbers ; yet as they fought they thus called out to their king : ' Where art thou, coward ? Why wilt thou not come hither ? Thou lettest us be all destroyed here. Where, too, is thy comrade, Pascent ? He sees us falling here. Come, come ye both, with all your strength to help and to aid us.'

" Gillomaur heard these words, and his heart was sore. With his Irish knights he then advanced to the fight, and Pascent too came with him. Both were fated !

" When Uther saw Gillomaur advancing, he instantly rode at him, smote him in the side with the spear, and it glided to the heart, and pierced through the Irish king. Uther rode forward quickly until he overtook Pascent, and then Uther the Good spoke these words :

" ' Nay, Pascent thou must now abide, for here cometh Uther riding after thee.'

" And with these words Uther smote Pascent on the head, so that Pascent fell to the ground, and the sword of Uther was in his mouth and its point was in the earth. Such meat was strange to him, I ween !

" Then thus spake Uther : ' Lie thou there now, Pascent. Thus hast thou Britain all under thy hand. Such has been thy hap, and therein art thou now dead. Dwell here now, thou and thy companion Gillomaur. Thus do ye both possess Britain ; thus do I deliver it to you both—thus may both abide here. It may never be a cause, a dread to either of you, whom you shall have to feed.'

" Thus spake Uther, and then speeded he onward until he drove the Irish over the waters and over the fens, and slew all the host that had come to land with Pascent."—Vol. ii. pp. 330-334.\*

### THE ROUND TABLE OF ARTHUR.

" It was on a holiday that Arthur in London lay ; and there came to him men of all his kingdoms, of British land, of Scotland, of Ireland, of Iceland, and of every land that Arthur had in hand ; and all the highest thanes, with horsemen and with swains. There came seven kings' sons, with five hundred knights, without mentioning the folk that obeyed Arthur. Each of these had in his

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\* See note by Sir F. Madden, vol. iii. p. 366. on vv. 18022-18121.

heart proud thoughts, and esteemed himself to be better than his neighbour. From many lands they came, and each envied 't other's fame; and if one accounted himself high, the other thought himself much higher. There blew the trumpets, and then were the tables spread. Water men brought on the floor, in golden bowls; and next soft clothes, all of white silk. Then Arthur sate down, and beside him Wenhaver, the queen; next sate the earls, and thereafter the barons; and next then the knights, as men disposed them. Then high-born men bore the meat forthright to every brave knight, then to the thanes, then towards the swains, then toward the porters forth at the board. The people became angered, and blows there were rife. At first, whilst they lasted, they threw loaves, and then silver bowls filled with wine, and afterwards they fought with fists.

"Then leaped there forth a young man, who out of Winet-land had come. He was given to Arthur to hold as a hostage. He was the son of Rumarette, the king that was of Winette. Thus said the knight then to Arthur the king:

"Lord Arthur, go quickly into thy chamber, and thy queen with thee, and all thine known relations, and this combat we shall decide with these foreign warriors.

"And as he said the word, he leaped to the board, where lay the knives, before the great king. Three knives he grasped, and with one smote the knight who first begun the fight, that his head on the floor fell to the ground. Soon slew he another, who was the knight's brother, and before the swords came, he had felled seven down.

"Then there was there an exceedingly great fight; each man smote another; there was much blood shed; and mischief was amid the people.

"Then came the king out of his chamber, and with him an hundred nobles, helmeted and in armour, and each bore in his right hand a white steel brand. Then cried out the noblest of kings, Arthur: 'Sit, sit ye down quickly, each man on his life. He that will not do so shall be put to death. Take for me there the man who this fight first began. On his neck put a swithy, and drag him to a moor, then put him in a low fen, there shall he lie. And take ye all his next of kin that ye may find, and strike off their heads with your broad swords. The women that ye may find of his nearest kindred cut off their noses, so that they may lose their beauty; and thus will I destroy all the race of which he comes. And if I evermore hear that any of my folk, of high or of low degree, shall excite strife on account of this same slaughter, then nought shall ransom him, neither gold, nor treasure, nor fine horse, nor war-garment—nought shall save him from death—from being torn in pieces by horses. That is the doom of the traitor. Bring ye the relics, and thereon shall I swear this. So shall you,

each knight who was present at this fight; my earls, and my barons, ye too shall swear not to break it.'

"The first that swore was Arthur, the noblest of all the kings; then swore the earls, then swore the barons, then swore the thanes, and then swore the swains, that they never more that strife would revive.

"Then took men all the dead, and in a burial place laid them.

"Afterwards the trumpets' loud noise was the signal for renewed joys; was one willing, was one loath, each there took water and cloth, and sat down reconciled to the board, and all from dread of Arthur, noblest of kings. There cup-bearers thronged; there gleemen sung, there the harps resounded, and there pleasures abounded. Thus, for full seven nights, did the folks live in delights.

"Subsequently, (sayeth the tale,) the king went to Cornwall, and there came to him one of the most crafty workmen, who, upon the king meeting, did say with fair greeting: 'Hail! to thee, Arthur, noblest of kings! I am thine own man, through many a land have I gone; I know of the tree-works, and of many wondrous crafts. I heard beyond the sea strange tidings told, how thine own knights, at thy board begun to fight, and that on mid-winters' day many there were slain; and that through their mickle pride they murderous deeds wrought, as for his high lineage sake each would be within. But I will work for thee an exceeding fair board, that thereat may sit sixteen hundred and more, all turn about, so that none may be without, but without and within they be, man opposite to man. And wherever thou wilt ride this may be brought with thee, and thou canst place it as thou wishest, and never thereafter canst thou have any dread, even to the world's end, that ever any moody knight at thy board may make a fight, for there will the high be even with the low.'

"Timber then was brought, and the table it was wrought, in four weeks from the time it first had been begun. Upon a high day the folk were assembled, and Arthur himself approached to the board, and ordered every knight to take his seat forthright. Then were seated all the knights to their meat; then spoke each with the other as if he were his brother, and they all sat about, and there was none without. Every sort of knight was disposed there aright. Each was seated one by one, the high as well as the low; and none there could think that he had better drink than any of his comrades who were at the same board.

"This was the self-same board of which Britons boast, and say many a leasing of Arthur their king." (vol. ii. p. p. 532, 540.\*)

\* See notes by Sir F. Madden, vol. iii. pp. 282, on v. 22,565, and 22,735.

## DEATH OF KING ARTHUR.

"Upon the Tambre, at the place called Camelford, the opposing armies of Arthur and Modred encountered. Upon the Tambre they encountered. There were the standards elevated, there were drawn forth the long swords, that on the instant smote helmets, and sent forth the flashing fire. There were spears splintered, shields shivered, shafts smashed; and there fought in one thick cluster an innumerable folk, whilst there was poured into the fair waters of the Tambre a red tide of blood. There was a fight in which no warrior could be distinguished, nor who did best nor who did worst, in such confusion was the commingled strife; for each slew, where he could, every one before him, was he swain or was he knight.

"There was slain Modred, and all his days in this life ended. There too were slain all Modred's knights. There too were slain all the brave warriors of Arthur, the high as well as the low; all the Britons of Arthur's board, and all his dependants from many a kingdom.

"And there too lay Arthur, wounded with a broad slaughter spear! Fifteen wounds he had, in the least of which one might thrust two gloves!

"Two hundred thousand men there lay hewed in pieces, so that of all that fight there remained no more alive than Arthur, the king, and two of his knights.

"Arthur was wondrously much wounded. There came to him one of his kindred, a young lad, the son of Cador, earl of Cornwall, and this lad was named Constantine, and he was one very dear to the king. Arthur, as he lay on the ground, looked on him and said:

"Constantine, thou art welcome. Thou art the son of Cador. I here give thee my kingdom. Ever during thy life defend thou my Britons. Maintain them in all the laws that stood in my days, and in all the good laws that stood in the days of Uther. I will now away to Avalon—to the fairest of all maidens,—to Argante, their queen—an elf that is most fair; and she shall make my wounds all sound, and whole shall she make me with healing draughts. At a future time I will come again to my kingdom, and dwell with much joy amongst the Britons."

"And as he spoke these words, there came up from the sea, floating with the waves, a little boat, and in this boat were two women, that were wondrously formed; and they took up Arthur, bore him hastily to the boat, laid him softly down, and then were seen to depart.

"Then was accomplished that which had been said by Merlin, that great would be the grief after the departure of Arthur.

"The Britons believe that Arthur is still alive, and that he

dwelleteth in Avalon, with the fairest of all elves ; and the Britons yet expect that Arthur shall return."—Vol. iii. pp. 140, 145.\*

Such were the "Sagas" of a noble, generous, gallant, and pious race of men, who brought with them the gospel wherever they went, uplifted the cross wherever they encamped, and gathered around their exiled priests, wherever they abode, a Christian congregation, and thought how by holy works of charity they might alleviate the sufferings of the poor.† Amongst them might be found what we suspect to be an ancient British land-law, and which, if modified so as to suit the circumstances of Ireland, might be rendered a pacifying Landlord and Tenant bill.‡

Such were the Sagas which cheered the sufferings, alleviated the sorrows, and warmed the hearts of the brave Breton exiles, and induced them, as independent men, and as lovers of freedom, to shake their spears against the white shields of the Franks.§

Such were the Sagas of those who lived in a land which was not their own, who would not learn the language of the foreigner, who stood by their cradle, and was doomed to dig their grave. Such were the Sagas of those who clung with a child-like love to the words of their mother tongue, and thought that its sounds were the most holy for home prayer, and the most sweet, the most melodious, and the most expressive for verse. Such were the

\* See notes by Sir F. Madden, vol. iii. pp. 408, 412. From these notes we shall content ourselves with a single extract :

"It will be seen," observes Sir F. Madden, "by a comparison of Wace with Layamon's text, how greatly the latter here differs from his original, and it is impossible not to recognize in this, and in the parallel passage, vol. ii. p. 546, the influence of *British traditional tales, derived from other and more ancient sources than Geoffrey of Monmouth.*"—vol. iii. p. 410.

† See De Courson's 'Histoire de Peuples Bretons,' vol. ii. pp. 215, 217.

‡ Upon "the tenant right" in Brittany, or "domaine congeable," see De Courson, vol. ii. p. 219.

§ "Scuta mihi fucata, tamen sunt candida vobis,  
Multa manent, belli non timor ullus adest."

Ermold Nigell. Carm. de Reb. Gest. Ludov. Pii.  
Lib. iii. vv. 243, 244.

Sagas of British princes, and bishops, and priests, and people, and that filled them with the enthusiastic vigour of patriotism, as they fought against a Frankish king in Gaul, and a Saxon king in England. Can it be that Britons feel no interest in these things, or that they are of no more worth in their estimation than the ballads of the land of Oc, or the ditties of the Minnesingers of Germany, or the liedboekje of the doleful Dutch?

We hope that it is not so; but that even our observations may aid in inducing a fitting attention being bestowed upon the truly valuable work of Sir F. Madden which heads this article. It is a book of priceless worth as a study to philologists, peculiarly valuable to antiquarians, and as far as knowledge of ancient traditions is concerned, a book that cannot be dispensed with. It establishes a new claim upon the general respect which Sir F. Madden has long since deservedly obtained, and so worthily enjoys.

We feel that we have not done full justice to this subject; first, because we have left untouched some of the most interesting incidents in the Apocryphal History of England; secondly, because we have not shown how much of *true* English history may be gleaned from these legends.

To the latter point, (and it is a most interesting one,) fuller time, a more fitting opportunity, and larger space may be afforded; and should such be the case, we hope so to avail ourselves of them, as to employ them, if not to the amusement of our readers, at least to the development of that which we conceive to be the truth,

“ And it is wisdom for to wytten  
The state of the land, an haf it wryten,  
What manere of folk first it wan,  
And of what kynde it first began.”\*

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\* Robert of Brunne’s Prologue to his Chronicle.

ART. IX.—*ANNALUÍ LIOSÍHACHTA EINNEÁINN.*—*Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland. By the Four Masters. From the earliest period to the year 1616. Edited from the Autograph Manuscript, with a Translation and copious Notes. By JOHN O'DONOVAN, Esq., M. R. I. A., Barrister at Law. 3 Vols. 4to. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1848.*

**T**HREE is a story told by Pliny of a Roman farmer named Cresinus, who, when his poor little farm was found to produce more than the much larger and richer tenements of his neighbours, was brought before the edile on the charge of sorcery. The honest farmer, accompanied by his daughter, well-clad, healthful, and vigorous, produced in the forum, as his best reply to the accusation, his entire stock of agricultural implements—his well-shaped hoes, his massive spades, his deep and ponderous plough-shares—above all, his sleek and well-fed oxen. “These are my magic arts, O Romans!” he said. “But there are others which I cannot exhibit—my sleepless hours, my watchings, and the sweats I have endured.”

If the enterprising publishers of the magnificent volumes now upon our table, were taxed by some jealous rival with similar malpractices in the typographic art, they would be placed, as far as their defence is concerned, in the same difficulty which embarrassed this honest farmer. They might point to the various appliances of their art—their improved presses, their new-cast type, their patent ink, and glossy paper—to the acknowledged learning of their editor and translator, and the success of his previous literary undertakings; but all this, though it is impossible to gainsay its truth in each and every particular, would go but a very short way in accounting for the manifold excellencies of this truly princely publication. There still remains much behind, of which the publishers can give but a faint and imperfect idea—much that the public are but little disposed to consider, and, for the most part, but ill qualified to understand or appreciate. There are some things, indeed, which it is impossible to overlook. The most superficial cannot fail to be struck by the outward splendour of the work—the beauty of the typography—the simple and substantial elegance which is everywhere displayed—the extent and seeming variety of the annotations, and the general evidences of learning which the volumes bear upon their very

front. But—except with those who will encounter the trouble of a long and careful examination of its very minutest details, who are to some extent familiar, at least with the sources, of Irish antiquarian science, and who are enabled to judge, by a comparison with what had been done by previous investigators—the real merits of this admirable translation of “The Four Masters,” and the labours of its accomplished editor, are as little likely to be estimated at their true value, as were the “sweats and watchings” of Cresinus in the instructive analogue of Pliny. For our own part, even in a professedly critical notice, we can but hope, within the limited space at our disposal, to render a scanty and imperfect measure of justice to a work of such vast extent and of so various and profound erudition; nor can we propose to do more than explain its general character, and direct attention to a few particulars from which the reader will be enabled to form a judgment for himself.

The celebrated compilation of “The Four Masters,” has attracted so much attention during the last ten years, among all who pretend even to a superficial knowledge of Irish antiquities, that we are spared the trouble of entering at any length into an account of its history, or a description of its contents. It will be quite enough to mention, for the benefit of those who are less informed, that it is a compilation of the ancient annals of Ireland from the earliest period, down to the year 1616, undertaken under the auspices of Fergal O’Gara, lord of Moy O’Gara and Coolavin, and completed in the Franciscan convent of Donegal, between January 1632, and August 1636; that the principal authors of the compilation were four in number;—the brothers Michael O’Clery and Conary O’Clery, (the former a Franciscan friar, the latter a layman;) their kinsman, Cucogry (or Peregrine) O’Clery, head of the Tirconnell Sept of O’Clery, and Cucogry O’Duigenan, a native of the county of Leitrim; that they were assisted for a short time by Feargus O’Maolconary, (O’Conary,) and Maurice O’Maolconary, of Roscommon, hereditary historians of the kings of Connaught; that they used, in their work of compilation, all the existing historical documents which they were enabled to collect after long and diligent research, digesting the materials and arranging them according to the order of time, but retaining for the most part the precise language and form of each of the originals which they followed; and that their

name, “The Four Masters,” is a title not selected by themselves, but applied to them by Irish writers generally, since the days of Colgan, who appears to have been the first to adopt it.

The Annals are commonly\* divided into two parts; the first embracing the history prior to 1172—the second, that of the period from 1172 to 1616. Of the original Irish text, the First Part, as far as the end of the year 1171, was published (in Italic characters, however,) with a Latin translation at the foot of the page, by Dr. O’Conor, in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*. It occupies the entire of the third volume of that great work, the text being printed from the autograph manuscript, which is preserved in the Stowe library. The patriotic publishers of the present volumes, long distinguished by their ready and enterprising munificence in all that concerns our Irish literature, proposed to complete the annals by printing the Second Part, if not uniformly with Dr. O’Conor’s First Part, at least in the same shape and general appearance. They resolved, however, that the Irish character should be preserved; that the translation should be in English, and not in Latin; and that it should be accompanied by such notes and illustrations as would render it—what can hardly be said of the First Part—accessible to every student of Irish history. After the translation had been completed, and in part, we believe, printed, the design was most injudiciously forestalled by the appearance of an English translation unaccompanied by the Irish text. But, although this publication has, as might have been anticipated, been the cause of heavy pecuniary loss, both to its own proprietors and to those of the present edition, it has not, as for a time was feared, prevented the completion of the latter. On the contrary, according to the original design, it was intended to comprise the work in two volumes. But in the progress of the publication, the materials for its illustration were found to grow so far beyond expectation,

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\* It would appear, however, from the dedication prefixed to the (autograph) MS. from which the present edition has been printed and translated, that the division adopted by the compilers themselves, brings the first part as far down as 1208, (Preface, p. xxxvii.) Nevertheless, the editor, for obvious reasons, commences with the year 1172, the point at which the portion published by Dr. O’Conor terminates.

that it became necessary to add a third volume, the whole work now extending to above 2,500 quarto pages. We have heard too, with very great satisfaction, that it is intended to publish a fourth volume, which shall contain not only the whole of the First Part, (thus completing the Annals,) but also a full general index of the entire work, without which, indeed, it can hardly be considered available for any of the ordinary uses of historical study.

The MS. from which the text of the present edition has been printed, is that which is in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, and which is clearly proved by Dr. Petrie, (in a paper read before the academy, and inserted in the introduction of the first volume,) to be most probably the first, but, at all events one, of the autograph copies made by the hands of the Masters themselves. It seems beyond all doubt, that several MS. copies of the work, were simultaneously prepared by the authors of the compilation. Thus, the First Part, which is in the Stowe library, corresponds in every respect with the Second Part, which is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, so that they appear to be the two volumes of the same copy. The copy in the library of the Academy, contains the entire of the Second and a portion of the First Part, but it differs in many respects from the copies already named; while a third copy, (the First Part,) in the library of the convent of the Irish Franciscans of St. Isidore at Rome, though it bears the same attestations, and is equally authentic and original, cannot, judging from internal evidence, be regarded as the counterpart of either of the copies preserved in Dublin.

It might appear at first sight, however, that the task of editing a work, in which the editor has had the advantage of more than one authentic copy of the autograph MS. could not have presented many difficulties, at least difficulties of a serious kind. If any person be disposed to entertain this idea, we would beg of him to examine almost any single page out of the two thousand five hundred of which the work consists, in order that he may learn what is the true nature and extent of Mr. O'Donovan's editorial labours. Let him see the numberless minute verbal criticisms; the elaborate topographical annotations, with which the page is loaded; the historical, genealogical, and biographical notices; the lucid and ingenious illustrations drawn from the ancient laws, customs, traditions, and institutions of Ireland; the parallelisms and discrepancies of

the narrative with that of other annalists, both native and foreign; the countless controversies which are examined and adjusted; the errors which are corrected; the omissions and deficiencies supplied; in a word, the curious and varied learning which is every where displayed;—above all, let him remember that the mine from which all these treasures have been drawn is for the most part new and unexplored; that the materials thus lavishly applied to the illustration of the text are in great part manuscript; manuscripts, too, of which Ussher and Ware, even Wadding and Colgan, not to speak of Lynch and Lanigan, had never seen, or had left unexamined, many of them in a language which is to a great extent obsolete, in which all existing dictionaries and glosses are entirely valueless, and in which the words and phrases can only be illustrated and explained by the general analogies of language, eked out by such comparisons with each other, as these incomplete and scanty materials will permit;—let him remember all this, and he will understand, without difficulty, the long and toilsome preparation which has been expended on this admirable work, and will cease to wonder how, commenced in January 1832, it is only after fifteen or sixteen years of patient study and investigation that it is at last given to the public.

To all this we must add the difficulties which the mere work of translation presented. The language in which these annals are written, being not only obsolete in its words, but still more in its structure and peculiar forms, is for the most part obscure, and, in many places, is entirely unintelligible, even to those who are most practised in the modern Irish. Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, in his letters to the Chevalier O'Gorman, assures him that the task of translating the Annals of the Four Masters cannot be undertaken with any hope of success, but by those “who are skilled in our old classic phraseology;” that any version “not executed by a man who has a critical knowledge of the ancient Irish language, and with the changes made therein from the sixth to the tenth centuries, will not only frequently misrepresent the sense, but will really be worse than none at all.” He repeatedly declares that he does not know, “in his own province of Connaught, a single scholar, himself excepted, who can read these annals, or explain many of the terms, though they could read them;” indeed, he declares that he is sure

there is no such person ; and he expresses his strong apprehension that, if the precaution of printing the text with a literal translation be long neglected, "the treasures still preserved in the language will be as certainly lost as those which have already perished." Happily for our literature this prediction has not been fulfilled ; the patient (though, we regret to add, ill-requited and imperfectly appreciated) labours of a little knot of friends, have averted the calamity which this eminent scholar and antiquarian had anticipated ; and not alone the annals to which he thus despondingly referred, but many other equally interesting remains of our literature, of whose existence even he was not aware, have been not merely rescued from destruction, but have been illustrated and explained with a degree of learning, liberality, and taste, which he had never dreamed of, even in his most sanguine aspirations.

If we have given the credit of this happy result to the zeal and industry of a few friends, it is not because we would underrate the merits of the veterans of our literature, or the services of the many who have been toiling of late years in its various departments ; but because we feel assured that we speak the common and affectionately unanimous opinion of them all, when we attribute the regeneration of the study of Irish literature and antiquities, pre-eminently, to three friends, who have laboured so much in common that it is difficult to separate them from each other,—George Petrie, John O'Donovan, and Eugene Curry.

Of the two former it is unnecessary to speak. As regards Dr. Petrie, we believe there are few, even among those who might be regarded as his early rivals, who will not cordially acknowledge the author of "the History and Antiquities of Tara," and of "The Round Towers and Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," as the founder of the true science of Irish Antiquities ; and if any thing were wanting to Mr. O'Donovan's earlier reputation—if his fame had not been already sufficiently established by his profound and most scholar-like "*Grammar of the Irish language*"—by his publications for the Archaeological Society—the "*Battle of Magh-Rath*;" "*The Circuit of Ireland*;" "*The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*;" "*The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach*;"—and by his numberless miscellaneous Essays and Dissertations on almost every subject connected with Irish Antiquities ;—if all these were unknown or

forgotten, the single publication now before us would place him, beyond all dispute, in the very first rank of the antiquarians of this or any other country.

The third member of this most meritorious triumvirate has been less before the public; but his services, though less striking, have been scarcely less important. For those who are acquainted with the internal economy of the Irish Academy, the Archæological Society, the Celtic Society, and, in general, with the working department of Irish Antiquities, it is unnecessary to say a word regarding the merits of Mr. Eugene Curry. But the public generally, whose observation seldom reaches beyond the title-page of such publications as those to which we allude, knows nothing of his merits; and even the few who are acquainted with his name, have learned to look upon him in the light of a pioneer for our more distinguished scholars—a mere transcriber of Irish manuscripts, a reviser of Irish proofs, and, in a word, a man-of-all-work in the lowest and most mechanical department of our literature. We gladly avail ourselves, therefore, of this opportunity to offer a few words in explanation of the services of this really remarkable man; to whom every single one of our recent Irish publications owes many and most important obligations.

Mr. Curry's first public connexion with Irish literature, we believe, originated in his introduction to the Antiquarian department of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, about the year 1835. He was selected to assist his friends, Dr. Petrie and Mr. O'Donovan, in the investigation of Irish historical and topographical MSS. for the purpose of illustrating the labours of the Survey; and, in a short time, this department was entrusted principally to his care. The results of these minute and laborious researches remain, through the narrow economy of three successive administrations, locked up among the unpublished MSS. of the Survey; and there is one especially, the suppression of which must be a subject of the deepest regret to every student of ancient Irish literature. When Mr. Curry and his associates entered in good earnest upon the examination of the older Irish MSS. they soon found that, as we have already observed, the modern dictionaries and glossarial compilations were of little value. To supply this important deficiency, Mr. Curry undertook the compilation of an original glossary, not alone of all the words

which are not to be found in published dictionaries, but also of those words which, in the published compilations, are explained loosely and inaccurately; or which, in the more modern books, are used in a signification materially different from that which they bore in the primitive language of the earlier annals. To this tedious and toilsome task he devoted, for nearly two years, every moment of his official time which he could subtract from the regular task-work of his department. But the premature and unexpected suspension of the labours of the Survey, interrupted the work ; and since that time the fruits of all this toil have shared the fate of the other manuscripts of the Survey, with the single exception of the Antiquities of the Parish of Templemore, and Dr. Petrie's admirable Essay on the Antiquities of Tara.

Fortunately, however, Mr. Curry did not abandon the idea of completing what he had commenced. Immediately after the unexpected suspension of the researches connected with the Survey, his services were engaged for the Royal Irish Academy, and soon afterwards by the Archaeological Society, which was just then being organized. His connexion with these learned bodies has placed within his reach all the MSS. in the libraries of the Academy, and of the Dublin University, as well as in the private libraries of the leading members of both : and by that steady and persevering industry for which he is distinguished, he has contrived, amid his manifold occupations, to compile for his own private use, a glossary of the early Irish language, drawn from its most ancient existing remains—from the *Brehon Laws*; from the *Book of Leinster*; from the *Leabhar-na-Huidhre*, the *Book of Lismore*, the *Book of Ballymote*, the *Leabhar-Breac*, the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, the *Book of Lecan*, the *Book of Feenagh*, the *Annals of Ulster*, the *Annals of Kilronan*, the genealogical work of *Mac Firbis*, the *Annals of Tighearnach*, the *Annals of Innis-fallen*; in a word, from every existing source—not alone larger works, such as those which we have here enumerated, but also the countless smaller poetical and prose pieces, lives of Saints, ancient calendars, and other fragments, amounting to nearly a thousand in number. The compilation, of which we are enabled to speak from our own inspection, already extends to eight hundred folio pages. It is arranged on the plan of the larger dictionaries ;—the interpretations of the several words being

supported and illustrated by authorities extracted from the ancient MSS. to which we have referred ; and if it be fair to argue from the extent and variety of these authorities, it may be regarded as furnishing a complete key to all the difficulties of the ancient Irish language, as well as of the entire existing collection of our Irish MSS.

Another of Mr. Curry's labours, less interesting to students generally, but of infinite value in the examination of the MSS. in these collections, has been the compilation of topographical and nomenclatory indexes for several of the most ancient and important of these MSS. The value of such indexes, for the purposes of reference, cannot be too highly estimated, when it is recollectcd that many of the MSS. themselves, are sealed books even to our most distinguished Irish scholars.

We have dwelt thus long upon this purely private and personal work, because we regard it as a very remarkable example of unostentatious perseverance, of modest and unaspiring research, and of devotion to literature for its own sake ; and because we are not without hope that the knowledge that there are some at least who sympathize with, and appreciate his labours, may induce the humble author to complete what he has commenced, to reduce to order the vast compilation which he has thus prepared, and, by publishing this invaluable glossary, to secure for posterity the fruit of so many years of a research so laborious, and for which, if it once be lost, so few can ever hope again to possess, the same capability, or to enjoy the same advantages and opportunities.

With materials such as these at his command, it will hardly be matter of surprise that Mr. Curry has taken a leading part in the preparation of all the Irish publications of the Archaeological and Celtic societies, in which he has acted as assistant general in the editorial (Irish) department. His province has been, in the first place, to transcribe the oldest and best copy which could be found of the tract intended for publication ; then the second best, if a second were found ; and in some cases even more than two copies were placed at the Editor's disposal, for the greater facility of collation. In the next place, his duty was to select from the text all obsolete, difficult, or obscure phrases or words, and to procure, if possible, collateral authorities for the meaning which his research enabled him to suggest. His histo-

rical and topographical stores, too, were freely placed at the disposal of the several Editors; and it is gratifying to know that all, with one voice, both in their private communications, and in their published editorial acknowledgments, bear the highest testimony to the extent, the variety, and the importance of the information which he was enabled to furnish. As an example of the nature of these labours, we may mention the precise part which he had in the preparation of one of these publications with which we happen to be acquainted—we refer to the *Leabhar-na-g-Ceart*—the first publication of the Celtic Society. He not only transcribed the Irish text, and lengthened out the contractions with which the original is over-loaded, but he also read and examined the Editor's translation, considering, in company with him and Mr. Hudson, every sentence in the entire tract. He supplied authorities for the meaning of all the unusual or obscure words, and many of the historical and explanatory notes owe much to his assistance. In the Introduction, too, which is an essay of extraordinary learning and research, many of the authorities were supplied by Mr. Curry; and in general he may be regarded as having assisted and directed the labours of the Editor throughout the entire publication.

In addition to these contributions to the publications of the learned societies to which we have referred, Mr. Curry's assistance has also been freely accorded to the publications of his private friends. We need but refer to the warm and affectionate acknowledgments of Dr. Petrie in his "Essay on the Round Towers,"—of Mr. Evelyn Shirley in his "History of the Principality of Farney,"—of Mr. Reeves in his "Antiquities of Down and Connor,"—of Dr. Wilde in the "Census of 1841,"—of Dr. Madden, Dr. Neligan, and many other writers in the "Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science;" and when it is recollect that all, or the greater part of the time devoted to these pursuits, is stolen from what may be regarded as the business of his life—the occupation on which he is dependant for his precarious and scanty income—from the duty of transcribing Irish MSS., of collecting and copying rare documents and extracts bearing upon particular subjects,\* of drawing up descriptive cata-

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\* We may instance a curious and interesting collection illus-

logues of Irish MSS.,\* of preparing fac-similes, &c., the reader will be enabled to form some estimate of the abilities, the acquirements, the energy, the untiring perseverance, and above all, the love of his adopted profession, and devotion to Irish literature and antiquities, which are united in this retiring but remarkable scholar. We shall only add our hope that the day is not far distant, when, his merit being more fully known and recognized, we shall meet him in the character of an independent literary man; enjoying in his own name and in his own person, the honours, and we trust we may add, the advantages, of that varied and ready familiarity with our literature, the fruits of which he so freely communicates to others.

It is time, however, to return to the "Annals of the Four Masters." If the reader has taught himself to look forward to this long expected work for a continuous, complete, and well digested history of Ireland, he will be grievously disappointed. He will find, at least in the earlier Anglo-Irish period, little more than a series of historical entries, arranged in the order of years, recording, in brief and meagre words, a succession of births and deaths, of wars and peaces, of plunderings and reprisals, of battles and banquets, of forays and pilgrimages, of crimes and penances, of buildings and pullings-down of churches, of endowings and plunderings of monasteries, of trials of arms and trials of learning, of contests of knights and contests of minstrels—in a word, of the most striking and prominent events, such as might have been expected in a country invaded by a foreign enemy, and divided against itself in its internal governments. And if perchance he be disposed to entertain a sentiment of surprise, and perhaps of humiliation, at the seeming indications of barbarism and want of civilization which these entries display, he must only console his national pride by comparing them with those of any other nation under circumstances of

trating the History of the Geraldines, drawn up for the Marquess of Kildare; a collection of rare MSS. for Dr. Todd, F.T.C.D.; of Sacred Poetry posterior to the Reformation, for Rev. Professor Kelly, of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, and many other similar collections.

\* For example, the magnificent catalogues of the MSS. of the Royal Irish Academy; of the Collection of Messrs. Hodges and Smith, &c.

an analogous character. The “Anglo-Saxon Chronicle” which the recent reprint of Bohn’s Antiquarian Library has rendered so accessible, will supply an excellent parallel. Its staple materials will be found to be strikingly similar to those of our own “Annals;”—the style in which they are recorded is not very different, and the picture which they present is not a jot less wild and dark in its main character, while it wants many of the cheering and redeeming lights which soften down even the gloomiest strokes of the Irish Masters’ pencil.

“The Annals of the Four Masters,” then, are to be considered not as history, but as materials of history. Viewed in this light, it is difficult to over-estimate their value. The judgment may appear paradoxical; but we do not hesitate to say that we consider these bald and meagre records infinitely more valuable than would be a digested and so-called philosophical history of the period, drawn up by the same authors. In the latter case we should have had their views of the facts. As it is we have the facts themselves. As it is, there is history in every entry which they contain—in their selection of the facts on which they dwell, and of the points of character which they commemorate—nay, in the very events and circumstances which they omit or overlook. The reflecting student will learn much from what to a heedless or flippant reader will appear wearisome and unimportant. He will gather knowledge of the habits, the usages, and the social condition of an age, from what others might deem a silly or unmeaning fact, or an empty and redundant epithet; and, from the undigested and disjointed records which are crowded together in the disorderly page of the primitive annalist, he will collect, by analogy, by comparison, or by deduction, views of the true history of those times, more valuable, and if he work honestly, perhaps more accurate and more instructive, than he could hope to have derived from the speculations of the contemporary authors themselves.

The history of Ireland during the years embraced in these Annals presents two phases—its internal history, and its history in its relation to England and English rule. The latter phase of the history, we need hardly say, is the one which almost all modern historians, native as well as foreign, have laboured to exhibit. In their bearing upon this view of the history, the Annals cannot but be regarded as of exceeding importance; and Mr. O’Donovan, in his histori-

cal annotations, has done a great deal to facilitate the labours of the future historian, whose task it will be to compare the conflicting accounts of the English and Irish historians, to confront the narratives of the invader and the invaded, and to strike the balance of truth according to the evidence. It is amusing to place the native and foreign chroniclers side by side, and to check their narratives by each other ; though it would be idle to conceal to which side, in a conflict of views, our judgment as well as our feeling must incline us. There is no good Irishman who will not wish to compare Cambrensis's account of the battle of Thurles [1174] with that of the Four Masters (p. 16), as well as those of the various annalists whom he will find cited in the notes. We also recommend to his perusal the native history of the battle of Callainn Gleanna o Ruachtain [1261], in which, even according to Hanmer's account, "the Carties plaied the Divells in Desmond" (p. 383) ; of the battle of Ath-an-Chip, upon the Shannon [1270] p. 412 ; of the great confederation against the invaders under Brian O'Neill in 1258, and of the slaughter of the English at the Brosna by Art O'Melaghlin in 1261. (p. 395.) Many a so-called act of Irish treachery will prove to have been an exercise of the legitimate rights of war ; while, on the other hand, in the native record, the glories of the conquerors will be found sullied by many a foul and dastardly treason. It would be a curious task to pursue the contrast through the entire period which these annals embrace, from the death of the ill-fated Tiernan O'Rourke (1172), whom the Irish annals describe as "treacherously slain" (p. 5.), whereas Cambrensis makes *him* the traitor, down to the celebrated massacre (1577) of Mullagh-Mast (p. 1695), the reality of which has been called in question altogether by some of the English historians.

Such an enquiry as this, however, would be quite foreign to our present purpose ; and, in truth, to regard this comparative, and as it were extrinsic, use, as the chief and more important application of these Annals, would be a gross and most unphilosophical blunder. They form, pre-eminently, a native history ; and indeed it is in some sense amusing to observe how completely, and almost exclusively, Irish, their character appears. The entries regarding foreign history, even that of England, and what is still more wonderful, of the Pale, are rare, meagre,

and seemingly without interest in the eyes of the authoress. A few words to say that “in this year the King of England was crowned,” or, as the case may be, “died;” that “the English governor arrived in Dublin,” will often be the sum of what we are told of a period which is full of interest in English history. And the same is equally and perhaps more true, as regards general history—even those events which it might naturally appear almost impossible to overlook. Thus, for example, we have looked through the whole period of the great Schism of the West, with the view of discovering something of the feeling entertained in Ireland, as to the claims of the rival obediences, but without finding the most remote allusion to the existence of the schism. There is no notice taken of the removal of the papal residence to Avignon, or its restoration to Rome; none of the great councils of Constance and Basil, which kept all continental Europe, and even England, so many years in turmoil. Even the great movement of the Reformation obtains but slight notice. Neither the name of Luther, nor that of Calvin, much less of Melancthon or minor lights of the new learning, is, as far as we are aware, even once mentioned; there is no allusion to the Reformation in its earlier stages: it is never referred to till the year 1537, and, even then, the following is the sum of the notice which is bestowed upon the event.

“A heresy and a new error sprang up in England, through pride, vain-glory, avarice, and lust, and through many strange sciences, so that the men of England went into opposition to the Pope and to Rome. They at the same time adopted various opinions, and among others, the old law of Moses, in imitation of the Jewish people; and they styled the king the chief head of the church of God in his own kingdom. New laws and statutes were enacted by the king and council, according to their own will. They destroyed the orders to whom worldly possessions were allowed, namely, the Monks, Canons, Nuns, Brethren of the Cross, and the four poor orders, i. e. the orders of the Minors, Preachers, Carmelites, and Augustinians, and the lordships and livings of all these were taken up for the king. They broke down the monasteries, and sold their roofs and walls, so that from Aran of the Saints to the Iccian Sea, (between England and France,) there was not one monastery that was not broken and shattered, with the exception of a few in Ireland, of which the English took no notice or heed.”

And after detailing the outrages committed in the destruction of images and relics, especially the image of

our Lady at Trim, and the staff of Jesus (the crozier of St. Patrick so called) at Dublin, the notice concludes :

" They also appointed bishops and sub-bishops for themselves, and though great was the persecution of the Roman Emperors against the Church, scarcely had there ever come so great a persecution from Rome as this : so that it is impossible to tell or narrate its description, unless it should be narrated by one who saw it."—Vol. ii. pp. 1445-1449.

The annals, therefore, are purely Irish. Nor indeed are they to be regarded as a complete body of Irish annals. It must not be forgotten, that the O'Clery's were the hereditary *seanachies* of Tirconnell, and that hence their collection is chiefly made with a view to the history of the O'Donnell and his tributaries or allies. For them, therefore, the annals of Ulster and of North Connaught were of paramount interest ; and though the rest is not neglected, yet the favoured district comes in for more than its due share of notice. As a specimen of the obituary notices of the great chiefs with which these volumes abound, as well as of the praises of the O'Donnell, which their loyal *seanachies* delight to heap together, we transcribe the entry of the death of the lord of Tirconnell, Hugh Roe O'Donnell, " son of Niale Garv, son of Torlough of the Wine," which is given under the year 1505. After detailing all the tribes from which he " obtained hostages" during his life, the annalist proceeds.

" This O'Donnell was the full moon of the hospitality and nobility of the North, the most jovial and valiant, the most prudent in war and peace, and of the best jurisdiction, law, and rule, of all the Gaels in Ireland in his time, for there was no defence made [of the houses] in Tirconnell during his time, except to close the door against the wind only ; the best protector of the Church and the learned ; a man who had given great alms in honour of the Lord of the elements ; the man by whom a castle was first raised and erected at Donegal, that it might serve as a sustaining bulwark for his descendants ; and a monastery for Friars, de observantia, in Tirconnell, namely, the monastery of Donegal ; a man who had made many predatory excursions round through Ireland, and who may justly be styled the Augustus of the North-West of Europe. He died after having gained the victory over the devil and the world, and after (Extreme) Unction and good Penance, at his own fortress in Donegal, on Friday the fifth day of the Ides of July, in the 78th year of his age and 44th of his reign, and was interred in the monastery of Donegal."—Vol. ii. p. 1283.

We may notice as one of the curiosities of the autograph MS. from which the text is printed, that this entry contains a manuscript note, nearly two centuries old, by some reader who has underlined, as a *bneuz spáimeáinil* [“*a disgusting lie,*”] the passage in which it is asserted that O'Donnell had taken hostages “from Firmanagh, Oriel, Clannaboy, and the Route, and from the O'Kanes;” concluding his strictures by declaring “A partial sentence for O'Donnell is thy book! *Thou art indeed a Tirconnellan!*”

Mr. O'Donovan, however, has left nothing undone to supply the deficiencies which these partial views of the compilers of the Annals have induced. He has drawn largely, in his notes, upon the general Annals of Ireland; and in many passages where the “Tirconnellians” contented themselves with so much of the history as bore upon the fortunes of their great chieftain and his principality, he has called in the Annals of Ulster, of Kilronan, of Innisfallen, the book of Mac-Brody, of Mac-Firbis, and the other original sources, to fill up the gap in the general narrative. We refer especially to the years, 1261, 1268, and 1278, in which he has supplied from the Annals of Innisfallen, several important facts in Munster history, overlooked by the Four Masters.

There is one of the omissions thus supplied by Mr. O'Donovan for which we shall never forgive the Four Masters—we mean the singularly characteristic, and strikingly beautiful account of Margaret O'Carroll, wife of O'Conor Faly, who died in the year 1451. The entry of the Masters under that year is as follows.

“Margaret, daughter of O'Carroll (Teige), and wife of O'Conor Faly (Calbhach), the best woman of her time in Ireland, for it was she who had given two invitations of hospitality in one year to those who sought for rewards, died, after the victory of unction and penance, triumphant over the world and the devil; and Felim O'Conor, son of Calvagh by this Margaret, and heir to the lordship of Offaly, a man of great fame and reverence, died, having been a long time ill of a decline. Only one night intervened between the deaths of both.”—p. 973.

Contrast with this cold and prosaic record the following simple, but, we cannot help thinking, exquisitely touching and poetical, passage from the “*Annals of Ireland from 1443 to 1468,*” translated by Duard Mac Firbis, and pub-

lished in the *Miscellany of the Archaeological Society.* Vol. I. pp. 200-263.—We retain the old orthography.

" 1451.—A gratiouse yeare this yeare was, though the glory and solace of the Irish was sett; but the glory of heaven was amplified and extolled therein; and although this is a yeare of grace (Jubilee) with the Roman Church, it is an ungratiouse and unglorious yeare to all the Learned in Ireland, both philosophers, poets, priests, strangers, Religious persons, souldiers, mendicant or poore orders, and to all manner and sorts of the poore in Ireland, also for the generall support of their maintenance's decease, to wit, Margerett, daughter to Thady O'Carole, King of Ely, O'Conner fialy, Calwagh's wife, a woman that never refused any man in the world for any thing that she might command only besides her own body. It is she that twice in one yeare proclaimed to and commonly invited, (i. e., in the dark dayes of the yeare, to witt, on the feast day of Da Sinchell, [26 March,] in Killachy,) all persons both Irish and Scottish, or rather Albanies, to two generale feasts of bestowing both meate and moneyes, with all manner of gifts; whereunto gathered to receive gifts, the matter of two thousand seaven hundred persons, besides gamesters and poore men, as it was recorded in a Roll to that purpose, and that accompt was made thus, *ut vidimus*; viz: the cheife *kins* of each family of the Learned Irish, was by Gilla-na-neemh Mac Ægan's hand, the cheife Judge to O'Conner, written on the Roll, and his adherents and kinsmen, so that the aforesaid number of 2,700 was listed in that Roll, with the arts of *Dan*, or poetry, musick, and antiquities. And Mælin O'Mælconry, one of the chiefe learned of Counaught, was the first written in that Roll, and first payed and dieted or sett to supper, and those of his name after him; and so forth every one, as he was payed he was written in that Roll, for fear of mistake, and sett down to eate afterwards. And Margerett, on the garrots of the greate churche of Da Sinchell, clad in cloath of gould, her deerest friends about her, her clergy and Judges too. Calwagh himself on horse-back by the churche's outward side, to the end that all might be done orderly and each one served successively. And first of all she gave two chalices of gould as offerings that day on the Altar to God Almighty, and she also caused to nurse or foster too [two] young orphans. But so it was, we never saw nor heard neither the like of that day, nor comparable to its glory and solace.

" And she gave the second inviting proclamation (to every one that came not that day,) on the Feaste day of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady Mary in harvest, at or in the Rath Imayn, and so we have been informed that that second day in Rath-Imayn was nothing inferior to the first day. And she was the only woman that as made most of preparing high wayes, and erecting bridges, churches, mass books, and all manner of things profitable to serve God and her soule, and not that only, but while the world stands, her very

many gifts to the Irish and Scottish nations shall never be numbered. God's blessing, the blessing of all saints, and every one, blessing from Jerusalem to Inis Gluair be on her journey to heaven ; and blessed be he that will reade and hear this for blessing her soule ! Cursed be he that sore in his breast that killed Margarett!" —pp. 972-3.

Here is a picture of a true Irish matron of the middle age ! Would that, *mutatis mutandis*, we could place her character as a model before each of our fair countrywomen even now ! Many such models will they find in the annals now before us—Christina, daughter of O'Naghtan, and wife of Dermot Mac Dermot, (1269), her descendant, Gormlaith Mac Dermott, wife of Manus O'Conor, (1327), Fionnguala, wife of O'Donnell, and Kathleen O'Neill, and Rose O'Boyle, and Celia O'Fallon, and Eveleen Mac Carthy, and Judith Mac Guire, all, in their generations, "charitable, humane, friendly, and pious matrons"—all "renowned in their days for piety and hospitality"—all "bountiful in bestowing, chaste of body, ingenuous and witty in the delivery of their mind, devout in their prayers, and inferior to none for any good parts requisite in a noble gentlewoman." We know no more attractive subject than would be the character of the Irish female of the middle age ; and on this, as on most other points of our social history, the Annals will supply abundant and most interesting materials for careful and judicious investigation.

Of course the reader will perceive that we have not thought of following any fixed order in our notices of this vast compilation. Our object is simply to present, as far as may be possible within the space at our disposal, which circumstances render very limited, a few specimens of the most characteristic portions, as well of the original work, as of the learned and voluminous annotations of the editor. It would be unpardonable to overlook the following record, under the year 1224.

"A heavy and awful shower fell on a part of Connaught,—namely, on Hy-Many, Sodan, in Hy-Diarmada, and other districts, from which arose murrain and dreadful distemper among the cattle of the aforesaid territories; after they had eaten of the grass moistened by this shower ; and the milk of these cattle produced a variety of inward maladies in the people who used it. It was no wonder that these ominous signs should appear this year in Connaught, for great was the evil and affliction which they suffered

this year, viz.—the death of Cathal Crov-derg, son of Turlough More O'Connor, king of Connaught, a man who of all others had destroyed most of the rebels and enemies of Ireland ; he who had most relieved the wants of the clergy, the poor, and the destitute ; he who of all the Irish nobility, that existed in or near his time, had received from God most goodness and greatest virtues, for he kept himself content with one married wife, and did not defile his chastity after her death till his own death ; in whose time most tithes were lawfully received in Ireland ; this just and upright king —this discreet, pious, and just-judging hero—died on the 28th day of the summer (on Monday) in the habit of a Grey Friar, in the monastery of Knockmay, (which monastery, together with its site and lands, he himself had granted to God and the monks,) and was interred there nobly and honourably.”—pp. 213-15.

Upon this entry we find the following curious and interesting note, which may supply an example of Mr. O'Donovan's mode of dealing with the traditions still preserved among the people.

“Cathal Crov-derg was the son of Turlough More O'Connor,\* monarch of Ireland, and the brother of Roderic O'Connor, the last of the Irish monarchs. According to the traditional story told about him in the neighbourhood of Ballintober, in the county of Mayo, he was the illegitimate son of King Turlough by Gearrog Ny-Moran, of the territory of Umhall.”

He proceeds to detail the circumstances of his birth, as they are represented in the traditional story. The queen, who was herself barren, jealous of the fertility of her rival, had recourse to a spell in order to prevent the birth of the infant. She procured from a celebrated witch of Ballytoberpatrick a magical string, the possession of which was to ensure her against the possibility of her rival's being delivered of the hated child. The spell was eventually defeated, but its partial success was the cause of a blood-red stain upon the babe's right-hand, “from which he received the cognomen of *Cnoibh dearg*, or ‘*The Red-handed.*’” The story proceeds :

“The Queen of Connaught, who was of a most powerful family,

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\* It was by order of this Turlough More that the beautiful relic, known as the Cross of Cong, now preserved in the Museum of the Irish Academy, was made. See a very interesting and able notice of the “Annals,” in the Dublin University Magazine, March, 1848.

continued to persecute the red-handed child and his mother, with all the perseverance of a jealous barren woman ; but the child, who had all the appearance of royalty in his countenance, was sheltered by the clergy of the province ; and when the queen discovered that he was lurking in one monastery, he was secretly sent away to another. In this manner was he sheltered for three years in the monasteries of Connaught. At last, the queen's fury rose to such a height against the clergy, that they gave up all hopes of being able to protect the child any longer. His mother then fled with him into Leinster, where, for many years, disguised, she supported him by labouring work. When the boy grew up, although he was constantly told of the royalty of his birth, and of the respectability of the O'Morans, still, having no hopes of being able to return to his native province, as long as the queen lived, he was obliged to apply himself to common labouring work for subsistence ; and it was observed by the clowns of Leinster, that he exhibited no appearance of industry, or taste for agricultural pursuits, but was constantly telling stories about kings, wars, and predatory excursions.

" Time rolled on, and the poor boy with the red hand was necessitated to pass his time in misery, in the society of Leinster clowns and buddaghs, whom he held in the highest contempt. At length a Connaught Bollscaire, or bearer of public news, passing through Leinster, happened to come into the very field in which Crovderg was employed, with several others, reaping rye. They immediately recognised by his dress that he was a Bollscaire, and, therefore, inquired what proclamation he was publishing. He replied in the set words of his commission, that the king of Connaught was dead, and that the people, assembled in council, had declared that they would have no king but Cathal Crovderg, his son ; and, he added, I, and many others, have been for several weeks in search of him, in different parts of Ireland, but without success ; some, who wish to support the claim of rivals to the throne of Connaught, have reported that the queen, his step-mother, had him secretly assassinated—but others are of opinion, that he lurks in some obscure place, disguised in humble garb, and that he will return home as soon as he will hear of this proclamation. He will be at once known by his right hand, which is as red as blood from the wrist out.

" The heart of Cathal bounded with joy at the news, and he stood on the ridge, for some minutes, in a reverie. His comrades told him to get on with his work, that he was always last, and that there never was a good workman from his province. Hereupon, Cathal pulled off the mitten, with which he constantly kept the red hand concealed, and exhibited it to the Bollscaire ; and his eye beamed, and his countenance glowed with all the majesty of his father's, when he first mounted the throne of Connaught. The Bollscaire recognising him at once by his resemblance to his father, fell prostrate at his feet. Cathal cast the sickle on the ridge, saying : ' *Ylán leat, & cappáin, Anois do'n cloideam,*' i. e., ' Farewell,

sickle, now for the sword.' And to this day, ' Ìlan chàrtail pàor àn Tìreaghl,' i. e., 'Cathal's farewell to the rye,' meaning a farewell never to return, has been a common proverb among the Sil-Murray and their followers.

"He returned home without delay, and was solemnly inaugurated king of Connaught, on Carnfree, near Tulsk, in the presence of the twelve chieftains and twelve coarbs of Sil-Murray; and though he found many rivals in the province before him, he put them all down by his superior wisdom and valour. When he had restored his native province to tranquillity, he did not forget his old friends the friars, who had made such efforts to save him from the fury of the queen. He erected several monasteries for them on an extensive scale, and in magnificent style, namely, the monastery of Ballintober, in Mayo, which was three years in building, and which was roofed and shingled with oak timber; the monastery of Athlone, on the Shannon; and also that of Knockmoy, in the county of Galway."—pp. 211-213.

One can hardly help a feeling of regret at being obliged to add, that this singularly striking and romantic tradition, though still vividly preserved and generally current in Mayo and Galway, is nevertheless in great part fabulous; that Turlough More had no less than three sons by his married wife; and that the grounds alleged for the queen's jealousy of Cathal the Red-handed are entirely without foundation. Few, even of the best legends of classic story, surpass this native tradition in interest and beauty; nor, among the endless poetical materials which our history supplies, can we conceive a nobler subject for a national ballad than is here found ready to the poet's hand.

Let us turn, however, to something more closely connected with real life, as it existed among our fathers in the olden time. We shall transcribe a few of the many annotations explanatory of the usages and institutions of ancient Ireland. We take them, almost at random, from the overflowing stores so lavishly spread over these pages, merely selecting those which regard institutions peculiar to Ireland, and which have no exact parallel in the history of the other European kingdoms, as those of the *erenagh*, the *biatagh*, the *brehon*, the *bard*, the *seanchie*, &c., &c.

The following note on the office of the *erenach*, will illustrate a great deal of what we have said regarding Mr. O'Donovan's qualifications for the task of editor; and it has the further advantage of embodying a curious extract

from the ancient MS. known under the name of "Cormac's Glossary." The mixture of languages, all written in the same character, is not a little curious.

"The term, erenagh, is explained as follows in Cormac's Glossary—  
 Ἀρχινδέκ — ἀρχενδάς ἀρχος Ζρεε, excelsum Latine, dicitur.  
 Αἰρχίνδεκ διν. i. ἀρχενδ ὁγ, i. e. αρχινδεκ comlkn. 'Airchin-dech, i. e., areendach, *archos* Grece, *excelsus* Latine, dicitur, Archindech, then, i. e., *erchend ogh*, i. e. a noble, perfect head.' In the *Leabhar Breac*, fol. 76, a. b. the term is used to denote a president or superintendent, and is applied to Satan, who is styled 'Airchinnech of hell, and prince of death'—Αἰρχίνδεκ ἱψιπτ, Αζυρ ταῖρεις in ὅλῃ. The first mention made of this office in these Annals, occurs at the year 788; thus 'Doimhteach, archinneach of the great Trevet, died.' From this period forward, however, all the annalists frequently mention this office. Ussher, in his 'Treatise on Corbes, Herenachs, and Termon Lands,' published in the second number of Vallancey's 'Collectanea,' asserts that the office of Herenach and archdeacon was the same; and Connell Mageoghegan, in his 'Translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise,' always renders Αἰρχίννεκ by archdeacon. In this, however, it is more than probable that both Ussher and Mageoghegan are mistaken. The annalists have another term to express the office of archdeacon; and it is quite certain that the archdeacon was always in holy orders, whereas the *airchinnech* was always a layman, or at least one who had merely received *primam tonsuram*. The origin and duties of the Herenach are stated as follows by Sir John Davies, in his Letter to the Earl of Salisbury: 'For the Erenach: There are few parishes of any compass or extent, where there is not an *Erenach*, which being an office of the Church, took beginning in this manner: when any lord or gentleman had a direction to build a church, he did first dedicate some good portion of land to some saint or other, whom he chose to be his patron; then he founded the church and called it by the name of that saint; and then gave the land to some clerke not being in orders, and to his heires for ever; with this intent that he should *keep the church clean and well repaired, keep hospitality, and give alms to the poore, for the soul's health of the founder*. This man and his heirs had the name of Erenach. The Erenach was also to make a weekly commemoration of the founder of the church; had always *primam tonsuram*, but took no other orders. He had a voice in the chapter when they consulted about their revenues, and paid a certain yearly rent to the bishop, besides a fine upon the marriage of every of his daughters, which they call a Lough inipy; he gave a subsidy to the bishop at his first entrance into the bishoprick, the certainty of all which duties appears in the bishop's register; and these duties grew unto the bishop, first because the Erenach could not be created, nor the church dedicated, without the consent of the bishop.'— Vol. i. pp. 47-48.

The institution of *biataghs* was still more peculiar.

"Biatagh, biatac a public victualler. Sir Richard Cox thought that this term was the same as Buddagh, a clown or villain; but the two words are essentially different in their application and derivation; biatac being derived from biatd food, and boatac which is a name of contempt, from a different radix. The Biatagh was endowed with a quantity of land called a batile biatliz or ballybetagh, which was the thirtieth part of a *triocha ced*, or barony, and contained four quarters, or seisreaghs, each containing four hundred and twenty acres of land. The ancient Irish had two kinds of farmers, the one called Biataghs, and the other Brughaisds, (Brooees), who seem to have held their lands of the chief under different tenures; the former, who were comparatively few in number, would appear to have held their land free of rent, but were obliged to entertain travellers, and the chief's soldiers when on the march in their direction; and the latter would appear to have been subject to a stipulated rent and service. According to the *Leabhar Buidhe*, or the Yellow Book of the Mac Firbises of Lecan, preserved in the Manuscript Library of T. C. D., it appears that the Brughaidh, or farmer, called bpuzatd cedatc, was bound by law to keep one hundred labourers, and one hundred of each kind of domestic animals."—vol. i, pp. 218-19.

We would gladly extend to still greater length our extracts from this portion of Mr. O'Donovan's annotations, which, when the index shall have been added, will form a complete repertory of Irish antiquarian knowledge. The topographical and genealogical annotations, especially, are beyond all praise; and the former possess the rare merit of being, in great part, original, the result of the editor's personal examination of the several localities. Fortunately for the completeness and accuracy of this department, the editor had finished his translation before he commenced his labours in connection with the Survey. He was thus enabled to examine, and to compare with the several entries in the work, the existing remains of the localities which they regard, and the local names and traditions still preserved in their vicinity. In the course of this detailed examination, he has succeeded not only in identifying numberless places, the names of which had been lost or overlooked, but also in detecting an infinity of errors in the conjectures of previous topographical writers. Our limits, however, prevent our entering farther into this part of the subject; and, indeed, we are consoled for the necessity of passing it over, by the impossibility of doing justice to it by any moderate number of extracts, however

varied or extensive. It is only by a careful examination of any three or four consecutive pages, no matter where selected, that the reader will be enabled to estimate the success of Mr. O'Donovan's topographical researches, and the extent and completeness of his topographical illustrations of the Annals of the Four Masters.

It is with greater reluctance, however, that we feel ourselves compelled to postpone those considerations on the moral and social state of Ireland during the Middle Ages, which are suggested by the perusal of these Annals. We would gladly linger for a time over their simple records. If they chronicle, as it would be folly to disguise, many a barbarous and bloody event, they present also abundant compensation in the pictures of heroism, of generosity, of hospitality, of deep religious feeling, of domestic virtue, of love of learning, and respectful veneration of its professors, with which they abound. Every page you open tells of some "beaming lamp of peace and war"—some "brilliant star of hospitality and valour"—some "tower of grandeur, splendour, hospitality, and protection"—some "sage, illustrious for intelligence, mildness, magnanimity, piety, and wisdom"—some "ollave, famed for his poetry, hospitality, and nobility"—some chief, "who never earned reproach"—some "open-handed bestower to the poor," or some "free-hearted lover and patron of poets and learned men;" and even of the most lawless of them all, the annalist seldom fails to record that they died in the peace of God and the Church, "after the victory of repentance," "the victory of extreme unction and penance," or "the triumph over the world and the devil."

But for these, and many more interesting and substantial evidences of the true character of the Middle Ages of Irish history, we must at present be content to refer to the annotations, and even more to the text, of Mr. O'Donovan's most learned work. We shall only observe before we close, that the history of the original work itself conveys a most instructive lesson to the lovers of Irish literature. It is not alone that a work so extensive, so elaborate, and so full of difficulty, produced in those days of tribulation by a few persecuted friars in their secluded and poverty-stricken convent, puts to shame the coldness and indifference of an age like ours, rich in resources, when nothing is wanting for the success of our literature but the disposition and

the will to encourage it. This contrast, no doubt, is, in many respects, pregnant with instruction. But there is a still more important consideration which it suggests—we mean the frail and precarious tenure by which we hold those portions of our literature which still continue in MS. especially the smaller and more fragmentary remains. The testimonial prefixed to the MS. of the Four Masters enumerates the more important of the works which were used by them in the compilation of their history. Now, out of the nine larger manuscript annals which the Masters had in their hands, and which, by their circumstances, would seem to be placed beyond the reach of ordinary contingencies, the texts of no less than six appear to have been lost within the two brief centuries which have elapsed since the termination of their labours ;\* while, of the numberless smaller pieces to which they had access, it would be impossible to estimate the proportion which has been destroyed since their time. We would fain believe that there are still at least a few of our countrymen, in whose eyes the remains of our literature which have escaped this wreck, are but rendered, like the Sybil's books, the more valuable because of their diminishing number ;—and on these we cannot help urging, with all the earnestness of a solemn warning, the duty of preserving from destruction, by the comparative security of the press, the precious residue which is still spared to us, in the hope that a generation may yet arise which will gratefully appreciate the fruit of our exertions.

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ART. X.—*Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains.* By G. F. BUXTON, Esq. John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1848.

THE title of this book does not belie its contents, for we have never read a volume more full of perilous and exciting adventures. The picture which the author gives us of the present condition of Mexico, though occasionally too highly coloured and tinctured with the usual amount of prejudice where priests are concerned, has been evidently

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\* See Preface, pp. xxv.—xxix.

drawn by an eye-witness, and in the main exhibits only too truly the actual condition of that unhappy country. We were not prepared to find the "land of Cortes" in so utterly hopeless a condition as this book represents it to be, and we must confess that it has considerably revolutionized our ideas regarding the war which is at present carried on between the two transatlantic republics. We do not mean that the condition of Mexico, however wretched and deplorable, could justify the "United States," in taking advantage of her weakness, to rob her of her territory or of her independence; but we do sincerely believe that any change would be better than the miserable anarchy which has reigned there uninterruptedly ever since she took up arms against the mother country. The Americans are indeed so thoroughly hated by the Mexicans, that of all the people in the world they seem the least qualified to effect their regeneration. They every where stigmatize them as *los barbaros*, (the barbarian,) and *burros*, (Jackasses,) and Mr. Buxton admits that the specimens of "the native raw material," with which alone they come in contact, almost justify these not very flattering appellations. He was once attempting to persuade his female friends at Guagoquilla that the Americans were a very civilized people, and a great portion of them of the same religion as their own," when, unfortunately for the efficacy of his argument, "a Missourian, six feet high in his mocassins, stepped over the head of a dark beauty who was sitting on the sill of the gate." "Ni saludan las mugeres!" she exclaimed—"they do not even salute the ladies—you see it yourself. 'Ah, no, por Dios, son burros, y muy sin verguenzas'—ah, no, for God's sake, they are jackasses, and entirely without shame." The rudeness of the backwoodsmen, the difference of religion in most instances, and the present violent invasion of their territory, has created in the minds of the Mexicans a feeling of deep detestation against the Americans. Their pride, their prejudices, their love of country and of religion, are all armed against them. But where their feelings are not so strongly excited, the Mexicans show that they are fully sensible of the miseries which afflict their country, and that they would make any sacrifice to rescue her from her present deplorable condition of anarchy and confusion. Some are anxious for a reunion with Spain, (which would be only "going out of

the frying-pan into the fire,'') others desire a monarchy, whilst even the humblest people exclaim,—“Ojala por los días felices del reyno,”—“Alas for the happy time of kings,”—and it would be indeed most wonderful if this feeling did not exist, when it is known that since the declaration of its independence the country has passed through *two hundred and thirty-seven revolutions*.

Yet there is scarcely a finer country on the globe than Mexico; whether we regard the vast extent of its territory, the richness and fertility of its soil, the inexhaustible treasures of its mines, or the advantages of its geographical position. It is about equi-distant from Europe and Asia, and communicates with the Atlantic on the east through the Gulf of Mexico, whilst its western shores are washed by the waters of the mighty Pacific. It contains nineteen splendid States, and even, exclusive of the vast territories of Texas and the two Californias, extends through twenty-five degrees of latitude. Its area is estimated by Mr. Buxton at 312,850 square miles, and by Humboldt at 118,478 square leagues.\* It is equal in extent to France, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Great Britain and Ireland, and does not contain above eight millions of inhabitants, that is about half-a-million less than the latter country alone. Chihuahua, one of its chief cities, is distant 1,250 miles in a direct line from the capital, and the nearest seaport, which is Guaymas, in the Gulf of California, can only be reached by a journey of 600 miles over an almost impracticable country.

Of the 118,478 square leagues contained in Mexico, 82,000 are in the temperate zone, and 36,478 are within the tropics or torrid zone. “On the ascent, from Vera Cruz, climates (to use Humboldt’s expression) succeed each other in *layers*, and the traveller passes in review, in the course of two days, the whole scale of vegetation. The parasitic plants of the tropics are exchanged at a very early period for the evergreen oak, and the deadly atmosphere of Vera Cruz for the sweet mild air of Jalapa; a little farther the oak gives place to the fir; the air becomes more piercing; the sun, though it scorches, has no longer the same deleterious effect upon the human frame,

\* See Ward’s Mexico, to which book we are indebted for much valuable information. This general acknowledgement will save the trouble of numerous references.

and nature assumes a new and peculiar aspect. With a cloudless sky and brilliantly pure atmosphere, there is a great want of moisture and little luxuriancy of vegetation; vast plains follow each other in endless succession, each separated from the rest by a little ridge of hills, which intersect the country at regular intervals, and appear to have formed at some distant period, the basins of an immense chain of lakes.”\* Buxton confirms this view of the general features of Mexico. He says that it “embraces all the varieties of climate of the temperate and torrid zones, with a rich and prolific soil capable of yielding every natural production of the known world.” It must, however, be acknowledged, that it labours under great disadvantages; for “a glance at the physical geography of Mexico, will show that the extensive and fertile table lands of the central region are isolated, and, as it were, cut off from communication with the coast by their position on the ridge of the Cordilleras, and the insurmountable obstacles to a practicable traffic presented by the escarpments of the *terraces*, the steps, as it were, from the elevated table lands to the maritime districts and the tropical regions of the interior. The country is also destitute of navigable rivers, and possesses but two of even moderate size—the Rio Grande del Norte, which runs into the Gulf of Mexico, and the Rio Grande, or Colorado of the west, which falls into the Pacific Ocean. The tropical region subject to fatal malaria, is almost excluded to the settlement of the white population, and consequently its natural riches are almost entirely neglected and unappropriated. Its eastern coast is swept by fearful tempests, and presents not one sheltering harbour or secure roadstead.”—(p. 104.) From Acapulco, however, to Guaymas in the Gulf of California, there are a series of magnificent ports on the western coast, many of which no vessel larger than a fishing boat has ever entered. They are, since the country separated itself from Spain, quite useless; there being no trade carried on even in Acapulco, which is one of the finest harbours in the world.

There is scarcely any internal communication between the vast regions to the North of Mexico. The roads (where there are any) are in the most wretched condition, and so beset at first by banditti, and afterwards by Indians, that, a

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\* Ward, Vol. i. pp. 9, 10.

journey can only be made at the head of a small army. This was the case even when Mr. Buxton travelled through the country in the autumn of 1846, and whilst the Mexican authorities still nominally, at all events, governed it. Now, however, when even that control, such as it was, has been removed by the seizure of the capital by the United States' troops, travelling must be even more hazardous and difficult than it was at that time. This state of things of course entirely prevents the development of the resources of the country, and nothing perhaps could show its wretched state more clearly than the fact, that in a country where every hill shines with a metallic scurf, which shows that it contains the precious metals, and whose mines produced in the year 1802, eight millions sterling, the currency in Queretaro, the chief city of the department of that name, and the place to which the Congress retired after its expulsion from Mexico, should be made of *soap*. When Mr. Buxton arrived at this town, there being nothing eatable in the house, he and his companions sallied out to the stall of a tortillera in the market-place, where they took a standing supper, and on presenting a silver dollar in payment, "I received," he says, "eight cakes of soap in exchange—current coin of Queretaro." "Valgame Dios," I exclaimed, as the saponaceous medium was piled into my sombrero. "Virgin Purissima," returned the unmoved tortillera, "y javon el mas blando," —and the softest of soap too.

There is every variety of climate in Mexico, and the transition from one to another is often exceedingly rapid on account of the hills and mountain chains which intersect the country. The natives divide the territory into the Tierra Caliente, hot country; the Tierra Fria, cold country; and the Tierra Templada, temperate region. The first includes all those places which produce the fruits and the diseases of the tropics; the second the mountainous districts which rise above the level of the capital up to the limits of eternal snow; and the last the remainder of the country. The hot country is subject to rain, storm, and fever. When Mr. Buxton was returning one night to Vera Cruz, he saw a dull yellowish haze hanging over the town. He asked the boatman who was rowing him, what it was; and the latter, taking his cigar from his mouth, answered quite seriously, "Senor, es el vomito,"—Sir, it is the fever. The rest of the country is perfectly salu-

brious, and although Vera Cruz is a dangerous place during the sickly season, it almost compensates for this by its abundant fertility; for that State alone is capable of supplying all Europe with sugar. Coffee, indigo, and tobacco, are produced in a ratio almost equally extraordinary. It may be said of Mexico, in one word, that so various are its climates, that every production of the old and new world is produced in it and arrives at full perfection.

The population of Mexico is miserably disproportioned to its vast and fertile territory. The entire is, as we have said, about eight millions—of which three-fifths are Indians or of Indian origin, and Indios Bravos, or barbarous tribes—scattered over an area of 1,312,850 square miles, in departments widely separated. There were formerly seven distinct castes among the population, but all are now equally entitled to the rights of citizenship, and many persons of pure Indian extraction have been deputies and members of the supreme tribunals of justice. The Christian natives, who form so large a proportion of the population, show the efficacy of the Catholic missionaries in converting and reclaiming savages. Wherever Protestant missionaries were followed by colonists, the natives quickly and utterly disappeared; whilst we have here the native population still tilling their own soil, and sharing in the government of their native country, after the lapse of three centuries. But this by the way. The insufficiency of the population has, of course, caused the cultivation and improvement of the country to be neglected. The fact is, that towards the North and West, a vast space intervenes between the last settlements of the Mexicans and Americans, which are inhabited by Indians, who, incredible as it may appear, are desolating Mexico, and reclaiming it once more for a hunting-ground, with this difference, that the game which they now pursue is man instead of wild beasts. With the exception of a narrow belt in California, and the isolated province of New Mexico, the whole country contained between  $28^{\circ}$  and  $40^{\circ}$  of North latitude, is unappropriated by any white population, and it is conjectured that in this vast space there are cities which no christian eye ever beheld.

It may help towards a right understanding of the present melancholy condition of Mexico, to take a rapid view of the principal events which have occurred in it since the

breaking out of the revolution. The usurpation of Spain by Buonaparte, and the revocation by the Central Junta of the decree which granted free trade to the colonies, joined with other grievances, and the success of the French arms in the Peninsula, caused Caracas, Buenos Ayres, Bogota, Cartagena, Chili, Upper Peru, and Mexico, to depose within the short space of five months, in the year 1810, the European authorities, and to transfer the reins of government to juntas composed almost exclusively of native Americans. In Mexico the Cura Hidalgo, being joined by Allende, a Creole officer, and ten of his own parishioners, unfurled the standard of revolt in the little town of Dolores on the 16th September, 1810. The people flocked to his standard in such multitudes, that on the 17th he took the town of San Felipe, and on the 18th San Miguel el Grande, each of which contained 16,000 inhabitants. On the 28th he assumed the title of *Captain General of America*, and as his army, which was chiefly composed of Indians, now amounted to 20,000 men, he assaulted and took by storm Guanajuato, the capital of the Province, and the emporium of the treasures of the Spaniards in that part of the country. The city contained 75,000 inhabitants. The Indians put all the Europeans and native white inhabitants, or Creoles, to death with the utmost ferocity, and the booty which fell into their hands was estimated at five millions of dollars. On the 17th of October he took possession of Valladolid, where he was joined by the regiment of Provincial Militia and the dragoons of Michoacan, both well-armed and disciplined, and by the Cura Morelos, who afterwards played so distinguished a part in the revolution. On the 28th of the same month, Hidalgo reached Toluca, a town within twelve leagues of the capital, at the head of an army of 50,000 men.

The Spanish Viceroy, Venegas, who had been installed but two days before the insurrection of Dolores, had collected 7,000 men for the defence of the capital. Colonel Truxillo and Lieutenant Iturbide—afterwards Emperor—were sent out towards Toluca with a part of this force, but were defeated by Hidalgo at Las Cruces, on the 30th of October. The insurgent chief then advanced to within sight of the capital, but the Viceroy had adopted such judicious measures for its defence that he did not dare to assault it. Hearing that the Spanish General, Callega,

was advancing towards the city of Mexico, he ordered a retreat; but on the 7th of November his advanced guard most unexpectedly fell in with that of the enemy. A battle ensued in the plains of Aculco, in which Hidalgo was completely defeated, ten thousand Indians being left dead on the field. The insurgent chief himself, with most of his officers and a small band of fugitives, fled with precipitation to Valladolid, where he remained only three days, and then continued his retreat to Guadalaxara, which had been taken by one of his lieutenants on the very day of his own discomfiture. Whilst at Valladolid, he was joined by the Advocate Rayon, another of those whose name was rendered famous by the revolutionary wars.

Hidalgo arrived at Guadalaxara on the 24th of November, and was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the Indians. As for the Europeans, he had them privately taken out of the town and massacred in the dead of the night; and a letter was afterwards produced at his trial, addressed to one of his lieutenants, in which, after advising him to seize on as many Spaniards as possible, he adds: "and if you should have any reason to suspect your prisoners of entertaining restless or seditious ideas, or discover amongst them any dangerous intentions, bury them in oblivion at once, by putting such persons to death, with all necessary precautions, in some secret and solitary place where their fate may remain for ever unknown." Yet, strange enough, this monster is praised by Buxton as the "one honest Mexican of whom the country can boast."

The contending armies did not again meet until the 17th of January, 1811, when the insurgents were once more defeated by Callega at the bridge of Calderon, which Hidalgo had fortified with numerous batteries. After the battle he fled to Saltillo with about 4,000 men, where he left Rayon in command, whilst he himself and Allende pushed on towards the frontiers of the United States. They were captured on the 21st of March, and Hidalgo, having been previously degraded, was shot towards the end of July. "The unfinished convent of San Francisco, at Chihuahua," says Mr. Buxton, (p. 151,) "commenced by the Jesuits prior to their expulsion from the country, is also a conspicuous mass of masonry and bad taste. It is celebrated as having been the place of confinement of the patriot Hidalgo, the Mexican Hampden, who was executed in the yard behind the building in 1811. A monu-

ment to his memory has been erected in the Plaza de Armas, a pyramid of stones, with an inscription eulogistic of that *one honest Mexican*."

After the death of Hidalgo, the war assumed a thoroughly guerilla character, and was not at all dissimilar in its general features to that by which the Mexicans of the present day are offering a feeble opposition to the progress of the Americans. Not only the provinces but the valley of Mexico itself swarmed with guerillas, so that all communication between the capital and the interior was cut off. Rayon attempted to combine all these scattered elements by assembling a Junta, or Central Government, which met at Zitacuaro on the 10th of September, 1811. It consisted of five members elected by the farmers of the district, in conjunction with the inhabitants of the town. This Junta offered the crown of Mexico to Ferdinand VII. provided he would reside in his American dominions; and in March, 1812, transmitted to the Viceroy Venegas, proposals for peace or war, which he caused to be burnt by the common hangman in the Plaza Mayor of Mexico. Zitacuaro was captured by Callega on the 2nd of January, 1812, and the Junta was merged in the revolutionary Congress, when that body assembled at Chilpanzingo on the 13th of September, 1813. But as this important event was accomplished by Morelos, it is necessary to trace his career from the time when he joined Hidalgo in Valladolid, in October, 1810.

As soon as Morelos embraced the cause of the insurgents, Hidalgo appointed him Captain-general on the South-western coast; and he set out accompanied by only five servants armed with old muskets, promising to take Acapulco within the year. Being afterwards joined by a large number of slaves, and by the brothers, Don Jose and Don Antonio Galeana, he advanced in November against Acapulco, at the head of about 1,000 men. He was met by Don Francisco Paris, the Commandant of the district, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed body of troops. Morelos surprised the enemy's camp on the night of the 25th of January, 1811, gained a complete victory, and besides a large sum of money, made the valuable acquisition of a quantity of ammunition, eight hundred muskets, and five pieces of artillery. He took 700 prisoners, whom he treated with great humanity. After this battle he was joined by the Cura Matamoros, and the en-

tire family of the Bravos, one of whom survived the revolution, and, in conjunction with Victoria, was at the head of the Mexican Government in the year 1827.

The year 1811 was occupied by a series of petty engagements, but in January, 1812, Tasco, a town famous for its mines, and only twenty-five leagues from Mexico, was taken by Galeana and Bravo. In February, Morelos advanced within three leagues of the capital, and Callega was summoned to its defence. The insurgents retired to Cuautla Amilpas, a town distant about twenty-two leagues from Mexico, and there awaited his approach. On the 19th of February, Callega made a general attack upon the town, but, after a desperate engagement, he was obliged to retire, leaving five hundred dead upon the spot. After a siege which lasted to the 2nd of May, the town was evacuated between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, Galeana commanding the advanced guard, Morelos the centre, and the Bravos the rear ; and such was the silence preserved, that they passed between the enemy's batteries without being perceived. The alarm, however, being given shortly afterwards, the insurgents were attacked on opposite sides by the troops of Llano and Callegas. Morelos gave the signal previously agreed on for a general dispersion, which was effected with such promptitude, that the two columns of Spanish troops fired on each other, killing many before the mistake was discovered ; and when Morelos reached Izucar, the place of rendezvous which he had appointed, he found that only seventeen of his men were missing, among whom, however, was Don Leonardo Bravo. Morelos quickly recruited his army, and after various successful expeditions against places of minor importance, set out in the beginning of November on his famous expedition against Oaxaca, a town situated in the finest part of one of the finest provinces of Mexico. Brigadier Regules attempted to defend the town by making a last stand on the edge of a deep moat which surrounded Oaxaca, the only passage over which was a drawbridge, defended by the royalist troops. The insurgents paused ; but Victoria, who was in the front rank, threw himself into the moat sword in hand, swam across, cut the ropes of the drawbridge without receiving a wound, and opened a passage for the troops of Morelos, who instantly rushed on, and made themselves masters of the town. By the 20th of August, 1813, the whole of the province was in the

hands of Morelos, who forthwith proceeded to assemble a congress. This body, which consisted of the original members of the junta of Zitacuaro, the deputies elected by the province of Oaxaca, and others elected by those as representatives for the provinces in the possession of the royal troops, met at Chilpanzingo on the 13th of September, 1813. Its most famous act was the declaration of the INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO, which it published on the 13th of November, 1813.

The years 1812 and 1813 were also distinguished by the victory gained by Don Nicholas Bravo over Juan Labaqui, the commandant of the regiment of the patriots of Vera Cruz, at the head of a strong detachment. The engagement lasted three days, when, on the 20th of August, 1812, the village in which the Spaniards had taken refuge, was carried by storm. Three hundred prisoners, who were taken in the action, were offered by the general to the Viceroy Venegas, in exchange for his father, Don Leonardo Bravo, who was then under sentence of death in the capital. Instead of being accepted, Don Leonardo was immediately executed; and his son, "wishing," as he said, "to put it out of his own power to avenge on the prisoners the death of his parent," instantly set them all at liberty, "lest in the first moment of grief, the temptation should prove irresistible." The greatest blow however was struck against the Spaniards by Matamoros, who, on the 18th of October, 1813, defeated at the Palmer the regiment of Asturias, composed entirely of European troops, who, because they had fought at the battle of Baylin, were called "the invincible victors of the victors of Austerlitz."

Bravo, who had fortified the Cerro of Coscomatepec, in the province of Vera Cruz, defended it for two months against Colonel Aguilá at the head of three thousand men, and being at length forced to evacuate it by want of provisions, he retired in the night, at the end of October, 1813, and rejoined Morelos in Oaxaca, without the loss of a single man. Here, also, the division of Matamoros shortly afterwards joined Morelos, who was then concentrating his whole force at Chilpanzingo, in order to prepare for an expedition against Valladolid, which would bring him into immediate contact with the insurgents of the interior, and enable him, with their co-operation, to strike a decisive blow against the capital itself. He set out on the 8th of

November, 1813, with seven thousand men and a large train of artillery, and after marching across three hundred leagues of country, which no one had ever traversed before, arrived at Valladolid on the 23rd of December, where Brigadier Lane and Colonel Iturbide had gathered a formidable force to oppose him. He immediately assaulted the town, and was repulsed with loss. On the following morning, Matamoros ordered a general review of the troops within half-a-mile of the walls, in the midst of which Iturbide attacked them and threw them into confusion ; and an insurgent party under Navarrete and el Pachon, which had just then arrived, being fired on by their own friends through mistake, made a furious charge on them in return, and completed their defeat. Morelos, being completely routed, with the loss of his best regiments and all his artillery, retreated to Turnaran, where Iturbide again defeated him on the 6th of January, 1814, and made Matamoros prisoner. Morelos endeavoured to save his life, by offering in exchange for him a number of Spanish prisoners who were confined at Acapulco ; but Callega, who had succeeded Venegas as viceroy, ordered him to be shot, in consequence of which the insurgents executed all their prisoners.

Misfortunes now thickened around the cause of the insurgents. Morelos never made a stand but he was defeated ; Oaxaca was retaken on the 28th March, 1814 ; Don Miguel Bravo was made prisoner, and executed at La Puebla ; Galeana died in battle on the 27th of June, 1814 ; and the congress of Chilpanzingo was driven to the woods of Apatzingan, where it completed and sanctioned the constitution of that name on the 22nd of October in the same year. Morelos himself was attacked on the 5th of November, 1815, in a mountainous part of the road near Tesmala, by the nearest commandant, Don Manuel Coucha. He ordered Don Nicholas Bravo to make his escape with the main body to protect the congress, saying, " My life is of little consequence, provided the congress be saved ; my race was run from the moment that I saw an independent government established." His orders were obeyed, and the main body escaped, whilst he himself and a few companions remained to check the progress of the royal troops ; nor was he taken prisoner until but one man was left living by his side. He was immediately conducted to the capital, and degraded, which was the only thing that

seemed to affect him. Having confessed his sins, he marched to the place of execution, and uttered this short prayer: "Lord, if I have done well, thou knowest it; if ill, to thy infinite mercy I commend my soul;" he tied the handkerchief on his eyes, gave the signal to the soldiers, and died with the greatest composure on the 22nd of December, 1815. The congress, to save which he had sacrificed his life, had been previously dissolved by the military leaders of the insurgents on the 15th of the same month, just seven days before his execution.

From this moment all concert ceased amongst the leaders of the revolution, who were successively crushed by the royalist troops, and either made prisoners or chased into the mountains, where they lived on carrion. The history of General Victoria's wanderings is scarcely less romantic than that of the pretender in Scotland. The Padre Torres was indeed still in the possession of three fortified places, and Guerrero maintained himself in the fastnesses of the Sierra Madre until the year 1821, when he joined Iturbide; but there could be no communication between them, and they had no force at their command sufficient to make head against the royalists. The brief but brilliant career of Mina, from his landing in Mexico in April, 1817, until his execution in November, 1818, forms rather an episode than a part in the history of the revolution, for his object seems to have been merely to gain a constitution, and not entire independence. He wrote to General Linan shortly before his death, "that if he had ever ceased to be a good Spaniard, it was erroneously, and not intentionally; and that he was convinced that the independent party could never succeed in Mexico, and must occasion the ruin of the country." How fearfully has this prediction been verified! The Padre Torres was involved in Mina's ruin, and after leading a wandering life for some months, was run through the body with a lance by one of his own captains whom he had attempted to deprive of a favourite horse. In July, 1817, not one of those who took a leading part in the revolution remained in arms, with the exception of Guerrero, who was still at the head of a small force on the shores of the Pacific, which was so inconsiderable that the Viceroy Apodaca wrote to Madrid that the revolution was at an end, and that no additional troops were required.

The insurrection might indeed be said most truly to be

at an end about the beginning of the year 1820. But just at this time, Don Augustin Iturbide, a creole officer, whom we have repeatedly mentioned in this sketch as one of the most distinguished and successful defenders of the royal cause, conceived the design of usurping the crown of Mexico. He was entirely in the confidence of the viceroy, and was placed by him at the head of a small body of troops for the purpose, it is said, of overturning the constitution, and of re-establishing the absolute authority of the king. The European troops in the country consisted but of eleven regiments, and the total number of Spaniards scattered over the vast territory of Mexico did not exceed eighty thousand, and these could not resist seven veteran and seventeen provincial regiments of natives, aided by the great mass of the population of the country. If, therefore, he could gain over the native troops, especially the creoles or whites, who had been the main support of the royal cause, he looked upon success as certain. This he attempted to effect by the famous plan of Iguala, which put an end to all the distinctions of castes, to the despotism of military commanders, and at the same time guaranteed to such Europeans as chose to remain in the country a full participation in all the rights and privileges of native Mexicans. The three great features of this plan were,—1. Independence; 2. The maintenance of the Catholic Religion; and 3. Union. By article VIII. the crown was offered to Ferdinand VII., and, in case of his refusal, to the Infants Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paula, provided any of them would consent to occupy the throne in person. This plan was proclaimed at the little town of Iguala, Iturbide's head quarters, on the 24th of February, 1821. The army, the clergy, the people flocked to his standard, so that, before the end of July, the whole country recognized his authority with the exception of the capital. The old constitutional viceroy had been deposed by a revolution, and the new one, O'Donoju, had arrived at Vera Cruz just as Iturbide reached Queretaro, on his road to Mexico, where all the European troops were concentrated. He allowed O'Donoju, who could not go outside the wall of his fortress, to advance as far as Cordova for the purpose of a personal interview. Here he proposed to him the adoption of the plan of Iguala, which the viceroy accepted, and, in the name of the king his master, recognized the INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO, and

surrendered the capital without a blow on the 27th of September, 1821. This is what is called the Treaty of Cordova, by which was consummated revolution number one. The first Mexican Cortes met on the 24th of February, 1822. The Cortes of Madrid had already declared the treaty of Cordova null and void, by a decree dated the 13th of February, 1822, and on the 18th of May in the same year, Iturbide was declared emperor, under the title of Augustin the First, by a crowd of leperos (beggars), led on by a sergeant of infantry,—revolution number two. Before the close of the year, the now notorious Santa Anna, then governor of Vera Cruz, declared against the emperor, and being joined by a Spanish officer, who was sent to besiege him in his fortress, and by others who wished to have a share in the spoils, Iturbide was obliged to abdicate on the 19th of March, 1823, and revolution number three was complete.\*

We have no notion of inflicting upon our readers the history of the 237 Mexican revolutions; but the following brief extract from Buxton (p. 18.) will show with what perfect indifference such events are now regarded in that country: “August 17th. (1846.) We had an *emeute* amongst the Vera-Cruzanos. As I was passing through the great plaza, a large crowd was assembled before the Casa de Ayuntamiento, or town-hall. Accosting a negro, who, leaning against a pillar, was calmly smoking his paper cigar, a quiet spectator of the affair, I enquired the cause of the riotous proceeding. ‘No es mucho, caballero; un pronunciamiento, no mas,’ he answered—‘Nothing, Sir, nothing; only a revolution.’” On another occasion, in the state of Mexico itself, and almost at the gates of the capital, the traveller came upon the bivouac of a large party of arrieros (muleteers), who asked for the novedades (news) as usual. Mr. Buxton was about to enlighten them concerning revolutions and counter-revolutions, but they quickly undeceived him as to the purport of the enquiry, which they said did not regard such matters, about which they never troubled their heads, but the state of the roads, which was the only thing that concerned them. And truly, a poor arriero would require more arithmetic than generally falls to the

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\* For this sketch we are indebted to Mr. Ward.

lot of such persons, merely to keep count of the endless revolutions which ruin his unhappy country.

It would, therefore, be the grossest injustice to impute the Mexican revolutions to the great masses of the people, who scarcely even hear of them, although they feel the utter prostration which the almost total absence of all government has inflicted on the country. They are the work of small factions in the capital, each of which, as it gains the ascendancy, has its pronunciamiento, seizes on the government, and plunders the country as extensively as possible, until it is deposed by the counter-pronunciamiento of another faction equally unprincipled and rapacious. Hence we need not be surprised, that, whilst the unreclaimed Indians were desolating the fairest portions of the country, and the Americans were advancing on the capital, Mexico, instead of putting forth her strength against the enemy, was busily engaged in expelling presidents and recalling expelled presidents, who have been again expelled, and may be again recalled, if their faction should gain the upper hand, even before they have time to leave the country.

These observations will prepare the reader for the extracts which we shall now make from Mr. Buxton's adventures, merely premising that he arrived at Vera Cruz about ten months before it was stormed by the Americans, that it was known at the time that it would be one of the points of assault, and that the Vera-Cruzano heroes declared themselves fully prepared to lick the Americans.

"At the moment of my arrival, there was no little excitement in Vera Cruz. The 'siempre heroica,' alway heroical city and castle, had pronounced for the immortal saviour of his country, as they styled Santa Anna; forgetting in their zeal, that twelve months before they had kicked out the same worthy, heaping on him every opprobrious epithet and abuse that Mexican 'facultad de lingua' could devise. Moreover the hero was hourly expected, and great preparations were on hand for his reception. With this object, the crack regiment of the Mexican army, el once, the 11th, which happened to be in garrison at the time, cut most prodigious capers in the great plaza several times a day, disciplinando, drilling for the occasion. Nothing can by any possibility be conceived more unlike a soldier than a Mexican militar. The regular army is composed entirely of Indians, miserable looking figures, whose grenadiers are five feet high. Vera Cruz, being a show place, and jealous of its glory, generally contrives to put decent clothing, by subscription, on the regiment detailed to garrison the town, otherwise clothing is not considered essential to the Mexican soldier. The mus-

kets of the infantry are, (that is if they have any,) condemned Tower muskets, turned out of the British service years before. I have seen them carrying firelocks without locks, and others with locks without hammers, the lighted end of the cigar being used to ignite the powder in the pan. Discipline they have none. On the 16th of August, the castle with a salvo of artillery, announced the approach of the steamer, having on board the illustrious Ex-President, General Santa Anna. At nine A. M. 'el once' marched down to the wharf with colours flying and band playing. Here they marched and counter-marched for two hours, before a position was satisfactorily taken up. An officer of rank, followed by a most seedy aid-de-camp, both mounted on wretched animals, and dressed in scarlet uniform, of extraordinary cut, caracolled with becoming gravity before the Aduana or Custom House. A most discordant band screamed national airs, and a crowd of boys squibbed and crackered on the wharf, supplied with fireworks at the expense of the heroic city. By dint of cuffing, el once was formed in two lines facing inwards, extending from the wharf to the pallacio, where apartments had been provided for the General. Santa Anna landed under a salute from the castle, and walked, notwithstanding his game leg, preceded by his little wife, who leaned on the arm of an officer, through the lane of troops, who saluted individually, and when they pleased, some squibbing off their firelocks, and others not knowing what to do, did nothing.

"Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, is a hale looking man between fifty and sixty, with an Old Bailey countenance, and a very well built wooden leg. The Senora, a pretty girl of seventeen, popped at the cool reception, for not one 'viva' was heard; and her mother, a fat vulgar old dame, was rather unceremoniously congéed from the procession, which she took in high dudgeon. The General was dressed in full uniform, and looked anything but pleased at the absence of every thing like applause, which he doubtless expected would have greeted him. His countenance completely betrays his character; indeed, I never saw a physiognomy in which the evil passions which he notoriously possesses, were more strongly marked. Oily duplicity, treachery, avarice, and sensuality, are depicted in every feature, and his well known character bears out the truth of the impress his vices have stamped upon his face. In person he is portly, and not devoid of a certain well bred bearing, which wins for him golden opinions from the surface-seeing fair sex, to whom he ever pays the most courtly attention."—  
pp. 14-18.

Mr. Buxton made his way from Vera Cruz to Santa Fe in New Mexico, where he met a portion of the American invading army which was penetrating into the Mexican dominions on the northern frontier, and which shortly afterwards defeated the Mexicans, as we shall presently see, at Sacramento, with great slaughter. This journey, as may be supposed, was accomplished "per varios casus et tot discrimina rerum," the traveller being frequently

guided by the compass, as there were no roads, and escaping a thousand perils, Heaven only knows how, unless that he may have been born to be hanged, in which case death could not, according to the old saw, overtake him in any other shape. We find him sometimes obliged to stab a man in self-defence, and frighten away two or three more; sometimes he is fired at by his own "mozo" (servant) who is riding about fifteen yards behind him; sometimes he kills a rattlesnake with the wiping stick of his rifle; he swims rivers, is robbed sometimes of his money, at others of bag and baggage; he and his animals are obliged to subsist for days without water in a burning sun, and a hundred times he escapes the savage Indians by something little short of a miracle. Our next extract shall show what travelling is in the "tierra caliente," and also how Mexican soldiers march to the seat of war.

"A common way of travelling in the 'tierra caliente' is by littera, a litter carried between two mules, in which the traveller luxuriously reclines at full length, sheltered from rain and sun by curtains which enclose the body, and smokes or reads at his pleasure. In one of these, about to return empty to Jalapa, I despatched my baggage, consigning a change of linen to Castillo's (his servant) alforjas, or saddle bags. At 4 p. m. we trotted out of Vera Cruz, and, crossing the sandy plain outside the town, pulled up at an Indian hut, where Castillo informed me it was necessary to imbibe a stirrup-cup, which was accordingly presented by an Indian Hebe, who gave us a 'buen viage' in exchange for the elacos we paid for the mezcal. The road here left the sandy shore, and turned inland, through a country rank with tropical vegetation, with here and there an Indian hut—a roof of palm leaves supported on bamboo poles, and open to the wind—peeping out of the dense foliage. We presently came to a part of the road cut up and flooded by the heavy rains, which towards sunset, poured mercilessly upon us, but not before Castillo had thrust his head through the slit in his serape, and with shoulders protected by his broad brimmed sombrero, defied the descending waters. Not so my unlucky self, who green as yet in the mysteries of Mexican travelling, had not provided against aqueous casualties, and in a few seconds my unfortunate panama was flapping miserably about my ears, and my clothes as drenched as water could make them. However there was no remedy, and on we floundered through pools of mud and water, full of ducks and snipe, and white herons; the road becoming worse and worse, and the rain coming down with undeniable vigour. Just before sunset we overtook the rearguard of the valiant eleventh, which that day had marched from Vera Cruz, en route to the seat of war, for the purpose, as one of the officers informed me, 'dar un golpe a los Norte Americanos'—to strike a blow at the North Americans. The marching costume of these heroes, I thought,

was peculiarly well adapted to the climate and season—a shako on the head, whilst coat, shirt, and pantaloons, hung suspended in a bundle from the end of the firelock carried over the shoulder, and their cuerpos required no other covering, than the coating of mud with which they were caked from head to foot, singing, however, merrily as they marched.”—pp. 21-22.

So much for the infantry of the Mexican army, and to finish the picture we shall give our readers a brief glimpse at the cavalry. The place is Chihuahua, time morning, the cavalry, an escort destined to accompany Mr. Buxton for a short distance as a guard of honour.

“The mysterious fact of an Englishman travelling through the country at such a time, and being permitted to proceed ‘al norte,’ which permission their most influential citizens had been unable to obtain, was sufficient to put the curious on the ‘qui-vive;’ and when on the morning of my departure, an escort of soldiers were seen drawn up at my door, I was immediately promoted to be ‘somebody.’ This escort—save the mark!—consisted of two or three dragoons of the regiment of Vera Cruz, which had been several years in Santa Fe, but had run away with the governor on the approach of the Americans, and were now stationed at Chihuahua. Their horses—wretched, half-starved animals—were borrowed for the occasion ; and the men refusing to march without some provision for the road, were advanced their ‘sueldo’ by a patriotic merchant of the town, who gave each a handful of copper coins, which they carefully tied up in the corners of their serapes. Their dress was original and uniform, (in rags.) One had on a dirty broad-brimmed straw hat, another a handkerchief tied round his head. One had a portion of a jacket, another was in his shirt-sleeves with overalls, open to the winds, reaching a little below the knees. All were bootless and unspurred. One had a rusty sword and lance, another a gun without a hammer, a third a bow and arrows. Although the nights were piercingly cold, they had but one wretched tattered serape of the commonest kind between them, and no rations of any description. These were regulars of the regiment of Vera Cruz. I may as well here mention that, two or three months after, Colonel Doniphan, with 900 volunteers, marched through the state of Chihuahua, defeating on one occasion 3000 Mexicans with great slaughter, and taking the city itself without losing one man in the campaign. At Sacramento the Mexicans entrenched themselves behind formidable breastworks, having ten or twelve pieces of artillery in battery, and numbering at least 3000. Will it be believed that these miserable creatures were driven from their position and slaughtered like sheep by 900 raw backwoodsmen, who did not lose one single man in the encounter?”—pp. 158-159.

At El Paso, Mr. Buxton was honoured by another

ragged escort of fifteen dragoons, similarly equipped with the last, which he strove hard to get rid of, as he knew they would only be in the way in case of an attack by the Indians; but they insisted that they must see him safe to the borders of the state of Chihuahua. Fortunately, the "Indian signs" becoming frequent and alarming, the escort reported their horses unable to proceed, and left the traveller to pursue his journey with his two servants.

We have already mentioned that almost the entire country, between  $28^{\circ}$  and  $42^{\circ}$  of north latitude, is occupied by savage and unsubdued Indians who make every year fierce, barbarous, and bloody inroads on the Mexican territories. As no effectual resistance is offered to them they are penetrating farther every year, and have already actually got as far as Somberete in the state of Zacatecas, the southern angle of which approaches the state of Mexico itself. The season for invading Mexico is as regularly fixed as that for hunting the buffalo. They enter the country in three bodies of from three to five hundred, and then scatter themselves into smaller parties every where plundering, murdering, and scalping. The usual time for making their attack, which they always do by surprise, is during the national sport of "Coléa de toros" bull-tailing, when the brave bull-fighters generally make their escape, leaving the women and children to be scalped by the Indians. It may be necessary to observe that the Christian Indians of Mexico are treated with quite as little mercy as the white inhabitants themselves.

"From Mexico to the north a large escort is necessary to protect the traveller from los caballeros del camino—the highwaymen; and if the journey is continued still farther towards the pole, a respectable force is absolutely indispensable if he wish to arrive at his journey's end with the hair on the top of his head; for my passage, *sin novedad*, through that troubrous country is to be attributed alone to extraordinary good fortune, and so sharp a look out, as to render the journey any thing but a mere pleasure trip. Indeed, the traveller in any part of Mexico must ever bear in mind the wholesome Yankee saying, 'keep your primin dry, and your eye skinned.'"—p. 39.

The following story will give a pretty correct idea of the fierce and barbarous inroads of the unreclaimed Indians.

"In a rancho situated in the valley of the Rio Florida, and nearly half way between the cities of Durango and Chihuahua, lived a family of hardy *vaqueros*, or cattle-herders, the head of which was a sturdy old

sexagenarian, known as El Coxo (the Game Leg.) He rejoiced in a 'quiver well filled with arrows,' since eight fine strapping sons hailed him padre ; than any one of whom not a ranchero in the *tierra afuera* could more dexterously *colear* a bull, or at the game of 'gallo' tear from its stake the unhappy fowl, and bear it safe from the pursuit of competitors, but piecemeal, to the feet of his admiring lady-love.

" Of these eight mozos, he who bore away the palm of rancheral superiority, but still in a very slight degree, was the third son, and the handsomest (no little praise, where each and all laid claim to the title of 'buen mozo y guapo,') by name Escamilla, a proper lad of twenty, five feet ten out of his zapatos, straight as an organo, and lithesome as a reed. He was, moreover, more polished than the others, having been schooled at Queretaro, a city, in the estimation of the people of the *tierra afuera*, second only to Mejico itself.

" With his city breeding, he had of course imbibed a taste for dress, and quite dazzled the eyes of the neighbouring rancheras when, on his return to his paternal home, he made his first appearance at a grand 'funcion de toros' in all the elaborate finery of a Queretaro dandy. In this first passage of arms he greatly distinguished himself, having thrown three bulls by the tail with consummate adroitness, and won enthusiastic 'vivas' from the muchachas, who graced with their presence the exciting sport.

" Close at the heels of Escamilla, and almost rivalling him in good looks and dexterity, came Juan Maria, his next and elder brother, who, indeed, in the eyes of the more practical vaqueros, far surpassed his brother in manliness of appearance, and equalled him in horsemanship, wanting alone that 'brilliancy of execution' which the other had acquired in the inner provinces, and in practice against the wilder and more active bulls of the *tierra caliente*.

" Now Juan Maria, hitherto the first at el gallo and bull-tailing, had always laid the trophies of the sport at the feet of one Ysabel Mora, called, from the hacienda where she resided, Ysabel de la Cadena, a pretty black-eyed girl of sixteen, the toast of the valleys of Nazos and Rio Florida, and celebrated even by the cantadores at the last fair of el Valle de San Bartolomo, as 'la moza mas guapa de la tierra afuera.' It so happened that the last year, Ysabel had made her first appearance at a public funcion ; and at this 'gallo' she was wooed, and in a measure won, by the presentation of the remains of the gallant rooster at the hands of Juan Maria ; who, his offering being well received, from that moment looked upon the pretty Ysabel as his corteja or sweetheart ; and she, nothing loth at having the properest lad of the valley at her feet, permitted his attentions, and apparently returned his love.

" To make, however, a long story short, the dandy Escamilla, who, too fine to work, had more time on his hands for courting, dishonourably supplanted his brother in the affections of Ysabel ; and as Juan Maria, too frank and noble-hearted to force his suit, at once gave way to his more favoured brother, the affair was concluded between the girl and Escamilla, and a day named for the marriage ceremony, which was to

take place at the hacienda of the bride, where, in honour of the occasion, a grand *funcion de toros* was to be held, at which all the neighbours (the nearest of whom was forty miles distant) were to be present, including, of course, the stalwart sons of El Coxo, the brothers of the bridegroom.

"Two or three days before the one appointed for the marriage, the father with his eight sons made their appearance, their gallant figures, as mounted on stout Californian horses they entered the hacienda, exacting a buzz of admiration from the collected rancheros.

"The next day El Coxo, with all his sons excepting Escamilla, attended the master of the hacienda into the plains, for the purpose of driving in the bulls which were required for the morrow's sport, while the other rancheros remained to complete a large corral which was destined to secure them; El Coxo and his sons being selected for the more arduous work of driving in the bulls, being the most expert and best mounted horsemen of the whole neighbourhood.

"It was towards the close of day, and the sun was fast sinking behind the rugged crest of the 'Bolson,' tinging the serrated ridge of that isolated mountain-chain with a golden flood of light, while the mezquite-covered plain beneath lay cold and grey under the deep shadow of the sierra. The shrill pipe of the quail was heard, as it called together the bevy for the night; hares limped out of the thick cover and sought their feeding-grounds; over head the melancholy cry of the gruyas sounded feebly in the aerial distance of their flight; the lowing of cattle resounded from the banks of the arroyo, where the herdsmen were driving them to water; the peones, or labourers of the farm, were quitting the milpas, and already seeking their homes, where, at the doors, the women with naked arms were pounding the tortillas on the stone *metate*, in preparation for the evening meal; and the universal quiet, and the soft and subdued beams of the sinking sun, which shed a chastened light over the whole landscape, proclaimed that the day was drawing to a close, and that man and beast were seeking the well-earned rest after their daily toil.

"The two lovers were sauntering along, careless of the beauty of the scene and hour, and conscious of nothing save their own enraptured thoughts, and the aerial castles, which probably both were building, of future happiness and love.

"As they strolled onward, a little cloud of dust arose from the chaparal in front of them; and in the distance, but seemingly in another direction, they heard the shouts of the returning cowherds, and the thundering tread of the bulls they were driving to the corral. In advance of these was seen one horseman, trotting quickly on towards the hacienda.

"Nevertheless the cloud of dust before them rolled rapidly onwards, and presently several horsemen emerged from it, galloping towards them in the road.

"'Here come the bullfighters,' exclaimed the girl, withdrawing her waist from the encircling arm of Escamilla; 'let us return.'

"Perhaps they are my brothers," answered he; and continued, "Yes, they are eight: look."

"But what saw the poor girl, as, with eyes almost starting from her head, and motionless with sudden fear, she directs her gaze at the approaching horsemen, who now, turning a bend in the chapparal, are within a few hundred yards of them!"

"Escamilla follows the direction of the gaze, and one look congeals the trembling coward. A band of Indians are upon them. Naked to the waist, and painted horribly for war, with brandished spears they rush on. Heedless of the helpless maid, and leaving her to her fate, the coward turned and fled, shouting as he ran the dreaded signal of 'Los barbaros! los barbaros!'

"A horseman met him—it was Juan Maria, who, having lassoed a little antelope on the plains, had ridden in advance of his brothers to present it to the false but unfortunate Ysabel. The exclamations of the frightened Escamilla, and one glance down the road, showed him the peril of the poor girl. Throwing down the animal he was carefully carrying in his arms, he dashed the spurs furiously into the sides of his horse, and rushed like the wind to the rescue. But already the savages were upon her, with a whoop of bloodthirsty joy. She, covering her face with her hands, shrieks to her old lover to save her:—'Salva me, Juan Maria, por Dios, salva me!' At that moment the lance of the foremost Indian pierced her heart, and in another her reeking scalp was brandished exultingly aloft by the murderous savage.

"Short-lived, however, was his triumph: the clatter of a galloping horse thunders over the ground, and causes him to turn his head. Almost bounding through the air, and in a cloud of dust, with ready lasso swinging round his head, Juan Maria flies, alas! too late, to the rescue of the unhappy maiden. Straight upon the foremost Indian he charged, regardless of the flight of arrows with which he was received. The savage, terrified at the wild and fierce look of his antagonist, turns to fly; but the open coil of the lasso whirls from the expert hand of the Mexican, and the noose falls over the Indian's head, and as the thrower passes in his horse's stride, drags him heavily to the ground.

"But Juan Maria had fearful odds to contend against, and was unarmed, save by a small *machete*, or rusty sword. But with this he attacks the nearest Indian, and succeeding in bringing him within reach of his arm, cleaves his head by a sturdy stroke, and the savage dropped dead from his horse. The others, keeping at a distance, assailed him with arrows, and already he was pierced with many bleeding wounds. Still the gallant fellow fights bravely against the odds, and is encouraged by the shouts of his father and brothers, who are galloping, with loud cries, to the rescue. At that moment an arrow, discharged at but a few paces distance, buried itself to the feathers in his breast, and the brothers reach the spot but in time to see Juan Maria fall from his horse, and his bloody scalp borne away in triumph by a naked savage.

"The Indians at that moment were reinforced by a body of some thirty or forty others, and a fierce combat ensued between them and

Coxo and his sons, who fought with desperate courage to avenge the murder of Juan Maria and the poor Ysabel. Half a dozen of the Comanches bit the dust, and two of the Mexicans lay bleeding on the ground ; but the rancheros, coming up from the hacienda in force, compelled the Indians to retreat, and as night was coming on, they were not pursued. On the ground lay the still quivering body of the girl, and the two Indians near her who were killed by Juan Maria. One of them had his neck broken and his brains dashed out by being dragged over the sharp stones by the horse of the latter, the lasso being fast to the high pommel of the saddle. This Indian still held the long raven scalp-lock of the girl in his hand. Juan Maria was quite dead, and pierced with upwards of twenty bleeding wounds ; two of his brothers were lying dangerously wounded ; and six Indians, besides the two killed by Juan Maria, fell by the avenging arms of El Coxo and his sons. The bodies of Ysabel and Juan Maria were borne by the rancheros to the hacienda, and both were buried the next day side by side, at the very hour when the marriage was to have been performed. Escamilla, ashamed of his base cowardice, disappeared, and was not seen for some days, when he returned to his father's rancho, packed up his things, and returned to Queretaro, where he married shortly after.

"Just twelve months after the above tragical event occurred, I passed the spot. About three hundred yards from the gate of the hacienda were erected, side by side, two wooden crosses, roughly hewn out of a log of pine. On one, a rudely cut inscription, in Mexico-Castilian, invites the passer-by to bestow

" ' Un Ave Maria y un Pater Noster  
 Por el alma de Ysabel Mora,  
 Qui à los manos de los barbaros cayo muerta,  
 El dia 11 de Octubre, el ano 1845,  
 En la flor de su juventud y hermosura.'

" 'One Ave Maria and a Pater Noster for the repose of the soul of Ysabel Mora, who fell by the hands of the barbarians on the 11th of October of the year 1845, and in the flower of her youth and beauty.'

"On the other—

" ' Aqui yace Juan Maria Ortega,  
 Vecino de ——,  
 Matado por los barbaros, el dia 11 de Octubre,  
 del ano 1845.  
 Ora por el, Cristiano, por Dios.'

" 'Here lies Juan Maria Ortega, native of ——, killed by the barbarians on the 11th of October, 1845.

" 'Christian, for the sake of God, pray for his soul.'

"The goodly piles of stones, to which I added my offering, at the feet of both crosses, testify that the invocation has not been neglected, and

that many an Ave Maria and Pater Noster has been breathed, to release from purgatory the souls of Ysabel and Juan Maria."—pp. 94-99.

The result of these frightful attacks is, that every solitary house in the country is a fortification. In some small towns the doors are so high up that a ladder is required to enable any one to enter them, in others a watchman is placed on the flat roof of a house at dusk to watch until morning. During the September (the Mexican month of the Indians) of 1846 they overran the whole department of Durango and Chihuahua, defeated the regular troops, carried off ten thousand head of horses and mules, visited almost every hacienda and rancho on the frontier, and every where killed or captured their inhabitants, whether Creoles or Indians. The roads were impassable, all traffic was stopped, the ranchos barricaded, the inhabitants were afraid to venture out of their doors, the very posts and expresses travelled by night, avoiding the roads; and notwithstanding all these precautions intelligence arrived daily of some fresh massacre. Still nearer the northern frontiers the inhabitants of a whole town, Guajiquilla, were obliged to sally out *en masse*, to cut and carry away as much maize from their own town-parks as would make their supper. In the south there is a scanty rural population of christian Indians; but towards the north there are no houses in the country, except very rarely, when a kind of fortification is erected on some huge hacienda (estate) out of which the inhabitants never venture during the "Mexican month," or season of scalping. Chihuahua indeed seems to be the only northern town where effectual measures have been taken to resist the Indians. Over the principal entrance to the cathedral dangled the grim scalps of one hundred and seventy Apaches, one of the most barbarous of the Indian tribes, who had been slain just before the arrival of Mr. Buxton at the place. He says that the thing was cruelly and treacherously done, but certainly if all he tells of Indian cruelty and treachery be true, (as we have no doubt it is,) it would clearly justify their utter extermination. He found that Don Santiago, the leader of the band, which slew the Apaches, and who seems to have placed the city of Chihuahua in tolerable security, was an Irishman, by name Kirker. The only servant whom Mr. Buxton himself could induce to accompany him on his dangerous journey was also a native of

the Emerald Isle, although he had lived so long in Mexico that he had almost forgotten the English language. He declared that he was not in the least afraid, pithily observing, that the "Indian was not born who would scalp him." The following is one of the many perilous adventures which befel the traveller during his romantic journey:

"As I was riding close to a bunch of mezquit, the whiz of a rattle-snake's tail caused my horse to spring on one side and tremble with affright. I dismounted, and, drawing the wiping stick from my rifle, approached the reptile to kill it. The snake, as thick as my wrist, and about three feet long, was curled up, with its flat vicious-looking head and neck erected, and its tail rattling violently. A blow on the head soon destroyed it, but, as I was remounting, my rifle slipped out of my hand, and crack went the stock. A thong of buckskin however soon made it as secure as ever.

"After travelling about twenty-five miles I selected a camping-ground, and, unloading the mules, made a kind of breastwork of the packs and saddles, behind which to retreat in case of an Indian attack, which was more than probable, as we had discovered plenty of recent signs in the plains. It was about sunset when we had completed our little fort, and spreading a *petate*, or mat, the animals were soon at their suppers of corn, which I had brought for the purpose. They had all their cabrestas or ropes round their necks, and trailing on the ground, in order that they might be easily caught and tied when they had finished their corn; and, giving the mozo strict orders to this effect, I rolled myself in my blanket and was soon asleep, as I intended to be on the watch myself from midnight, to prevent surprise. In about two or three hours I awoke, and, jumping up, found Angel asleep, and that all the animals had disappeared. It was pitchy dark, and not a trace of them could be distinguished. After an hour's ineffectual search I returned to camp, and waited until daybreak, when it would be light enough to track the animals. This there was no difficulty in doing, and I at once found that, after hunting for some time for water, they had taken the track back to El Gallo, whither I had no doubt they had returned for water. It was certainly a great relief to me to find that they had not been taken by the Indians, which at first I thought was the case; but their course was perfectly plain where they had trodden down the high grass, wet with dew, in their search for water. Not finding it, they had returned at once, and in a direct course, to our yesterday's trail, and made off towards El Gallo, without stopping to eat, or even pick the tempting gramma on their way. The only fear now was, that a wandering party of Indians should fall in with them on the road, when they would not only seize the animals, but discover our present retreat by following their trail.

"When I returned to camp I immediately despatched Angel to El Gallo, ordering him to come back instantly, and without delaying a

moment, when he had found the beasts, remaining myself to take charge of the camp and baggage. On examining a pair of saddle-bags which my kind hostess at El Gallo had filled with tortillas, quesos, &c., I found that Mr. Angel had, either during the night, or when I was hunting for the missing animals, discussed all its contents, not leaving as much as a crumb ; and as the fresh morning air had given me a sharp appetite, I took my rifle and slung a double-barrel carbine on my back, placed a pair of pistols in my belt, and, thus armed, started off to the sierra to kill an antelope and broil a collop for breakfast. Whilst hunting I crossed the sierra, which was rocky and very precipitous, and from the top looked down into a neighbouring plain, where I fancied I could discern an arroyo with a running water. Half suffocated at the time with thirst, I immediately descended, although the place was six or seven miles out in the plain, and thought of nothing but assuaging my thirst. I had nearly completed the descent when a band of antelopes passed me, and stopped to feed in a little plateau near which ran a canon or hollow, which would enable me to approach them within shot. Down the canon I accordingly crept, carefully concealing myself in the long grass and bushes, and occasionally raising my head to judge the distance. In this manner I had approached, as I thought, to within rifle-shot, and, creeping between two rocks at the edge of the hollow, I raised my head to reconnoitre, and met a sight which caused me to drop it again behind the cover, like a turtle drawing into its shell. About two hundred yards from the canon, and hardly twice that distance from the spot where I lay concealed, were riding quietly along, in Indian file, eleven Comanches, painted and armed for war. Each had a lance and bow and arrows, and the chief, who was in advance, had a rifle, in a gaily ornamented case of buckskin, hanging at his side. They were naked to the waist, their buffalo robes being thrown off their shoulders and lying on their hips, and across the saddle, which was a mere pad of buffalo-skin. They were making towards the canon, which I imagined they would cross by a deer-path near where I stood. I certainly thought my time was come, but was undecided whether to fire upon them as soon as they were near enough, or trust to the chance of their passing me undiscovered. Although the odds were great, I certainly had the advantage, being in an excellent position, and having six shots in readiness, even if they charged, when they could only attack me one at a time. I took in at once the advantages of my position, and determined if they showed an intention of crossing the canon by the deer-path, to attack them, but not otherwise. As they approached, laughing and talking, I raised my rifle, and, resting it in the fork of a bush which completely hid me, I covered the chief, his brawny breast actually shining (oily as it was) at the end of my sight. His life, and probably mine, hung on a thread. Once he turned his horse, when he arrived at the deer-track which crossed the canon, and, thinking that they were about to approach by that path, my finger even pressed the trigger ; but an Indian behind him said a few words, and pointed along the plain, when he resumed his former course and passed on. I certainly breathed

more freely, although (such is human nature) no sooner had they turned off than I regretted not having fired. If an unnecessary, it would not have been a rash act, for in my position, and armed as I was, I was more than a match for the whole party. However, antelope and water went unscathed, and as soon as the Indians were out of sight, I again crossed the sierra, and reached the camp about two hours before sunset, where, to my disappointment, the animals had not yet arrived, and no signs of their approach were visible on the plain. I determined, if they did not make their appearance by sundown, to return at once to El Gallo, as I suspected my mozo might commit some foul play, and perhaps abscond with the horses and mules. Sun went down, but no Angel ; and darkness set in and found me almost dead with thirst, on my way to El Gallo. It was with no little difficulty I could make my way, now stumbling over rocks, and now impaling myself on the sharp prickles of the palma or nopal. Several times I was in the act of attacking one of the former, so ridiculously like feathered Indians did they appear in the dim starlight. However, all was hushed and dark—not even a skulking Comanche would risk his neck on such a night : now and then an owl would hoot over head, and the mournful and long-continued howl of the coyote swept across the plain, or a snake rattled as it heard my approaching footstep. When the clouds swept away, and allowed the stars to emit their feeble light, the palms waved in the night air, and raised their nodding heads against the sky, the cry of the coyote became louder, as it was now enabled to pursue its prey, cocuyos flitted amongst the grass like winged sparks of fire, and deer or antelope bounded across my path. The trail indeed was in many parts invisible, and I had to trust to points of rocks and ridges, and trees which I remembered to have passed the day before, to point out my course. Once, choked with thirst, and utterly exhausted—for I had been travelling since sunrise without food or water—I sank down on the damp ground and slept for a couple of hours, and when I awoke the stars were obscured by heavy clouds, and the darkness prevented me distinguishing an object even a few feet distant. I had lost my bearings, and was completely confused, not knowing which course to follow. Trusting to instinct, I took what I considered the proper direction, and shortly after, when it again became light enough to see, I regained the path and pushed rapidly on ; and at length the welcome lowing of cattle satisfied me that I was near the wells where I had stopped the previous day. I soon arrived at the spot, and, lowering the goatskin bucket, buried my head in the cold water, and drank a delicious draught.

"At about three in the morning, just as the first dawn was appearing, I knocked at the door of the rancho, and the first voice I heard was that of my mozo, asking lazily, 'Quien llama ?'—who calls ?

"Every one was soon up, and congratulating me upon being still alive ; for when Angel had told them of the loss of the animals, and that I was remaining alone, they gave me up for lost, as the spot where we had encamped was a notorious stopping-place of the Indians when en route for the haciendas. I was so fortunate as to find all the animals

safe; they were quietly feeding near the cattle-wells when the mozo arrived there. He made some lame excuse for not returning, but I have no doubt his intention had been to make off with them, which, if I had not suspected something of the sort, and followed him, he would probably have effected."—pp. 118-122.

At length the adventurous traveller entered El Paso, with its vineyards and orchards and well cultivated gardens. Between this place and Socorro, the first settlement of New Mexico, a distance of 250 miles, there is no settlement with the exception of Donano, which consists of some ten or fifteen families who have been tempted thither by the amazing richness and fertility of the soil. From El Paso Mr. Buxton's route lay along the Rio del Norte until he arrived at San Diego, the point from which commences the Jornade del Muerto—the journey of the dead. This is a tract of desert without wood or water for a hundred miles, and is dreaded by the Mexicans and by the Americans, not only on this account, but also because it is infested by numerous bands of Apaches, who sweep down from the Sierras upon travellers when their animals are exhausted, and when they have scarcely any chance of escape. Along the road the bleaching bones of mules and horses, and of men, warn the traveller of the perils of the journey. A party of American traders, who were on their way to Chihuahua, had been massacred here by the Indians a little before Mr. Buxton's arrival. He however escaped, though very narrowly, and arrived in safety at the camp of the Missourian volunteers who were invading Mexico. In the rear of the American troops was a caravan of upwards of two hundred waggons, destined for Chihuahua and the fair of San Juan. These waggons having entered Santa Fé with the invading army, had not, of course, paid any duty, and its arrival was anxiously expected at Chihuahua by the government of that place, which had no other prospect of being able to equip any troops to oppose the Americans, than by receiving the usual fees from these American merchants. The late governor of Santa Fé had greatly simplified the import duties, by levying a rate of 500 dollars on each waggon, no matter how great or how small it might be, and without the least regard to the quality of the goods which it conveyed. According to this scale the authorities of Chihuahua would have received upwards of 100,000 dollars from the caravan which was then ad-

vancing. The American general, however, deprived them of this resource, by commanding it to remain in his rear.

Those who have accompanied us thus far will not be astonished at the successes of the Americans, nor at the feeble resistance offered to them by the Mexicans. The latter were, in fact, destitute of money, arms, and discipline. Still they retain the persevering obstinacy which enabled the Spaniards to triumph over the Moors, and to baffle Napoleon; and if the Americans should persist in what is obviously their present intention, of annexing the entire of Mexico to the United States, they may find that the war will be protracted in a guerilla form far longer than they imagine. Indeed, the Americans themselves seem to be almost in as great a *fix* as the Mexicans at present. They cannot continue the war without men and money, and the former are refused lest the sergeants, instead of recruiting for the army, should employ themselves in recruiting for votes for the presidential election: and the house of representatives, the majority of which is whig, and therefore averse to the war, will not consent to the latter. On the northern frontier, whilst Mr. Buxton was amongst them, the soldiers of the United States voted sentries unnecessary although they were in an enemy's country, which afforded the Indians an opportunity of running away with 800 sheep, after killing the two volunteers who were in charge of them; whilst the army on the opposite side, which occupies the capital of Mexico, is in such a state that two generals and a colonel have been arrested by the commander-in-chief, who, it is said, has himself been recalled by the government. The army which invaded, and of course conquered California, is in no better condition, for the chief officer, General Kearney, has put one of his colonels on his trial in Washington. Colonel Benton, the father-in-law of the accused, amused himself by grinning at General Kearney during the time the latter was preferring his charges. We are not sufficiently gifted with the spirit of prophecy to tell how all these things will terminate.

ART. XI.—*Loss and Gain.* Burns: 1848.

IT is almost a necessity of the age, that the most important and even solemn subjects should be put forward under a disguise, however slight, of fiction. If St. Jerome even in his day could say, “Familiare est Syris, et maxime Palestinis, ad omnem sermonem suum parabolias jungere, ut quod per simplex præceptum teneri ab auditoribus non potest, per similitudinem exemplaque teneatur,” we may say pretty nearly the same of our days; with this difference, that instead of the lesson being illustrated by, it is embodied in, the example or parable. Instead of giving the bitter drug first and then the sweet after it, to mitigate its taste, we enwrap the former in the latter, and communicate its healing power, without the infliction of its distastefulness. It is not wonderful that religious questions, and especially such as cannot be discussed without some abstruseness and dryness, should have been thus rendered palatable to the great body of readers. Hence we have seen, for years, a succession of “religious novels,” as they are called, published by all sides of the great question; and Catholics have not fallen behind their neighbours in the use to which they have turned the charms of fiction.

But to call the work before us a novel, or even a story, would be a misapplication of the terms. It pretends to no plot, it has no prominent characters complicating the issue, it aims at producing no artificial suspension of judgment as to the winding up and purpose of the whole. From the beginning one knows how the work must end; and as there are to be no external causes of moment influencing the main course of the action, all becomes merely accessory and subordinate. In fact, the object of this beautiful work is to trace the gradual working of Grace upon a mind, upright, clear and logical, well trained in learning, and instinctively seeking truth, joined to a character cheerful, docile, and inclined to the gentle and amiable side of virtue. A youth of these dispositions is sent to Oxford: is naturally drawn under various influences, coveted as a friend by various parties; hears what all have to say, and reasons with them—Cambdenians, and Evangelicals: Branch-theorists and No-party men:

High-Churchmen and Easy-going subscribers: and the result is a growing—not dissatisfaction, but perplexity, which makes him feel alone in the English Church, as though he could not fit into it. The sole of his foot finds no resting place there, his parched lips find no water at its wells, his heart is weary and pants for a place of repose; till he finds all that he has desired, and more, in the bosom of his “Mighty Mother” the Catholic Church.

To carry out this plan much conversation was necessary, and that conversation must be with different characters; scenes and circumstances were required to give occasions, variety, and reality; and the union of these has produced as charming, as deep, and we must add, as *piquant*, a work as we have ever read. It is in truth mainly a dialogue; but instead of the old way of putting three or four interlocutors under a plane-tree or beside a fountain, or making A speak and then B, and then C, with their names alternately at the beginning of every third line, the speakers act as well as talk, and appear before our imaginations in most distinguishable shape. And as to the scenery and other adjuncts, the liveliness of the University sketches convince any one of their truth, just as one is satisfied of the accuracy of representation in a Flemish painting, though he may never have witnessed a Dutch fair: while the exquisite feeling for nature and her beauties, often expressed in a few passing pencil-strokes, give evidence of the author’s power of appreciating and describing either the grotesque or the tender, the homely or the beautiful, with equal success. The intermingling of the two throughout the narrative, though by no means in equal measure, gives a peculiar relish to the work, and few will read it through, without experiencing the complex action of the facial muscles, indicative of sunshine or of shower—a smile or a tear. But there is deeper power and interest than arise from these sources. The peeping out at every opening of some strange fragment of learning, or rather the rising of rich ore above the surface—the familiarity with classics and Fathers, with the minutiae of ancient heresies and the jumblements of modern sects, the nice discriminations of the most different characters, from the dons at College to the sisters at home; the thoughtful and dainty little bits of conversation and reflection upon music and architecture, and taste and smell; the raciness and thorough English

of the language; and more than all, the shrewdness and depth of the arguments, and the beauty of their illustrations—all display in the author, a mind at once richly clothed yet vigorously braced, and yet not estranged, by study or meditation, from the true Christian courtesies and sympathies of social life.

But we must endeavour to whet, rather than to satisfy, our reader's appetite, by a few extracts. We will first introduce them, with the hero Charles Reding, to an evangelical tea-party at Oxford.

"Freeborn was not the person to let go a young man like Charles without another effort to gain him; and in a few days he invited him to take tea at his lodgings. Charles went at the appointed time, through the wet and cold of a dreary November evening, and found five or six men already assembled. He had got into another world; faces, manners, speeches, all were strange, and savoured neither of Eton, which was his own school, nor of Oxford itself. He was introduced, and found the awkwardness of a new acquaintance little relieved by the conversation which went on. It was a dropping fire of serious remarks; with pauses, relieved only by occasional 'ahems,' the sipping of tea, the sound of spoons falling against the saucers, and the blind shifting of chairs as the flurried servant-maid of the lodgings suddenly came upon them from behind, with the kettle for the tea-pot, or toast for the table. There was no nature or elasticity in the party, but a great intention to be profitable.

"'Have you seen the last 'Spiritual Journal?' asked No. 1 of No. 2 in a low voice. No. 2 had just read it. 'A very remarkable article that,' said No. 1, 'upon the death-bed of the Pope.' 'No one is beyond hope,' answered No. 2. 'I have heard of it, but not seen it,' said No. 3. A pause. 'What is it about?' asked Reding. 'The late Pope Sixtus the XIVth,' said No. 3; 'he seems to have died a believer.' A sensation. Charles looked as if he wished to know more. 'The 'Journal' gives it on excellent authority,' said No. 2; 'Mr. O'Niggins, the agent for the Roman Priest Conversion Branch Tract Society, was in Rome during his last illness. He solicited an audience with the Pope, which was granted him. He at once began to address him on the necessity of a change of heart, belief in the one Hope of sinners, and abandonment of all creature mediators. He announced to him the glad tidings, and assured him there was pardon for all. He warned him against the figment of baptismal regeneration; and then, proceeding to apply the word, he urged him, though in the eleventh hour, to receive the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible. The Pope listened with marked attention, and displayed considerable emotion. When it was ended, he answered Mr. O'Niggins, that it was his

fervent hope that they two would not die without finding themselves in one communion, or something of the sort. He declared moreover, what was astonishing, that he put his sole trust in Christ, 'the source of all merit,' as he expressed it—a remarkable phrase.' 'In what language was the conversation carried on?' asked Reding. 'It is not stated,' answered No. 2; 'but I am pretty sure Mr. O'Niggins is a good French scholar.' 'It does not seem to me,' said Charles, 'that the Pope's admissions are greater than those made continually by certain members of our own Church, who are nevertheless accused of Popery.' 'But they are extorted from such persons,' said Freeborn, 'while the Pope's were voluntary.' 'The one party go back into darkness,' said No. 3, 'the Pope was coming forward into light.' 'One ought to interpret every thing for the best in a real Papist,' said Freeborn, 'and every thing for the worst in a Puseyite. That is both charity and common sense.' 'This was not all,' continued No. 2; 'he called together the Cardinals, protested that he earnestly desired God's glory, said that inward religion was all in all, and forms nothing without a contrite heart, and that he trusted soon to be in Paradise,—which, you know, was a denial of the doctrine of Purgatory.' 'A brand from the burning, I do hope,' said No. 3. 'It has frequently been observed,' said No. 4, 'nay it has struck me myself, that the way to convert Romanists is first to convert the Pope.' 'It is a sure way, at least,' said Charles timidly, afraid he was saying too much; but his irony was not discovered. 'Man cannot do it,' said Freeborn; 'it's the power of faith. Faith can be vouchsafed even to the greatest sinners. You see now, perhaps,' he said, turning to Charles, 'better than you did, what I meant by faith the other day. This poor old man could have no merit; he had passed a long life in opposing the Cross. Do your difficulties continue?''

—pp. 132-35.

We wish we could give the entire passage from which the following is an extract. It describes the transition state of Charles's mind.

"And here we see what is meant when a person says that the Catholic system comes home to his mind, fulfils his ideas of religion, satisfies his sympathies, and the like; and thereupon becomes a Catholic. Such a person is often said to go by private judgment, to be choosing his religion by his own standard of what a religion ought to be. Now it need not be denied that those who are external to the Church must begin with private judgment; they use it in order ultimately to supersede it; as a man out of doors uses a lamp in a dark night, and puts it out when he gets home. What would be thought of his bringing it into his drawing-room? what would the goodly company there assembled before a genial hearth and under glittering chandeliers, the bright ladies

and the well-dressed gentlemen, say to him if he came in with a greatcoat on his back, a hat on his head, an umbrella under his arm, and a large stable-lantern in his hand? Yet what would be thought, on the other hand, if he precipitated himself into the inhospitable night and the war of the elements, in his ball-dress? ‘When the king came in to see the guests, he saw a man who had not on a wedding-garment:’ he saw a man who determined to live in the Church as he had lived out of it, who would not use his privileges, who would not exchange reason for faith, who would not accommodate his thoughts and doings to the glorious scene which surrounded him, who was groping for the hidden treasure and digging for the pearl of price in the high, lustrous, all-jewelled Temple of the Lord of Hosts; who shut his eyes and speculated, when he might open them and see. There is no absurdity, then, or inconsistency in a person first using his private judgment, and then denouncing its use. Circumstances change duties.”—pp. 181-83.

We will next present our readers with one of those little episodes of conversation which enliven, and vary, the controversial character of the book.

“After dinner, it occurred to them that the subject of Gregorians and Gothic had been left in the lurch. ‘How in the world did we get off it?’ asked Charles. ‘Well, at least, we have found it,’ said Bateman; ‘and I really should like to hear what you have to say upon it, Campbell.’ ‘Oh, really, Bateman,’ answered he, ‘I am quite sick of the subject; every one seems to me to be going into extremes: what’s the good of arguing about it? you won’t agree with me.’ ‘I don’t see that at all,’ answered Bateman; ‘people often think they differ, merely because they have not courage to talk to each other.’ A good remark,’ thought Charles; ‘what a pity that Bateman, with so much sense, should have so little common sense!’ ‘Well, then,’ said Campbell, ‘my quarrel with Gothic and Gregorians, when coupled together, is, that they are two ideas, not one. Have figured music in Gothic churches, keep your Gregorian for basilicas.’ ‘My good Campbell,’ said Bateman, ‘you seem oblivious that Gregorian chants and hymns have always accompanied Gothic aisles, Gothic copes, Gothic mitres, and Gothic chalices.’ ‘Our ancestors did what they could,’ answered Campbell; ‘they were great in architecture, small in music. They could not use what was not yet invented. They sang Gregorians because they had not Palestrina.’ ‘A paradox, a paradox,’ cried Bateman. ‘Surely there is a close connection,’ answered Campbell, ‘between the rise and nature of the basilica and the Gregorian unison. Both existed before Christianity; both are of Pagan origin; both were afterwards consecrated to the service of the Church.’ ‘Pardon me,’ interrupted Bateman; ‘Gregorians were Jewish, not Pagan.’ ‘Be it so, for

argument-sake,' said Campbell, 'still, at least, they were not of Christian origin. Next, the old music and the old architecture were both inartificial and limited, as methods of exhibiting their respective arts. You can't have a large Grecian temple, you can't have a long Gregorian mass.' 'Not a long one!' said Bateman; 'why there's poor Willis used to complain how tedious the old Gregorian compositions were abroad.' 'I don't explain myself,' answered Campbell, 'of course, you may produce them to any length, but merely by addition, not by carrying on the melody. You can put two together, and then have one twice as long as either. But I speak of a musical piece; which must of course be the natural development of certain ideas, with one part depending on another. In like manner, you might make an Ionic temple twice as long and twice as wide as the Parthenon; but you would lose the proportions by doing so. This, then, is what I meant to say of the primitive architecture and the primitive music, that they soon come to their limit; they soon are exhausted, and can do nothing more. If you attempt more, it's like taxing a musical instrument beyond its powers.'

"' You but try, Bateman,' said Reding, 'to make a bass play quadrilles, and you will see what is meant by taxing an instrument.' 'Well, I have heard Lindley play all sorts of quick tunes on his bass,' said Bateman, 'and most wonderful it is.' 'Wonderful's the right word,' answered Reding; 'it is very wonderful. You say, 'how can he manage it?' and 'It's very wondrous for a bass;' but it is not pleasant in itself. In like manner I have always felt a disgust when Mr. So-and-so comes forward to make his sweet flute bleat and bray like a hautbois; it's forcing the poor thing to do what it was never made for.' 'This is literally true as regards Gregorian music,' said Campbell; 'instruments did not exist in primitive times which could execute any other. But I speak under correction; Mr. Reding seems to know more about the subject than I do.' 'I have always understood, as you say,' answered Charles; 'modern music did not come into existence till after the powers of the violin became known. Corelli himself, who wrote not two hundred years ago, hardly ventures on the shift. The piano, again, I have heard, has almost given birth to Beethoven.' 'Modern music, then, could not be in ancient times, for want of modern instruments,' said Campbell; 'and in like manner, Gothic architecture could not exist till vaulting was brought to perfection. Great mechanical inventions have taken place, both in architecture and in music, since the age of basilicas and Gregorians; and each science has gained by it.' 'It is curious enough,' said Reding, 'one thing which I have been accustomed to say, quite falls in with this view of yours. When people, who are not musicians, have accused Handel and Beethoven of not being *simple*, I have always said, 'Is Gothic architecture *simple*?' A cathedral ex-

presses one idea, but is indefinitely varied and elaborated in its parts ; so is a symphony or quartett of Beethoven's.'

" ' Certainly, Bateman, you must tolerate Pagan architecture, or you must in consistency exclude Pagan or Jewish Gregorians,' said Campbell ; ' you must tolerate figured music, or reprobate tracery windows.' ' And which are you for,' asked Bateman ; ' Gothic with Handel, or Roman with Gregorians ? ' ' For both in their place,' answered Campbell. ' I exceedingly prefer Gothic architecture to classical. I think it the one true child and development of Christianity ; but I won't, for that reason, discard the Pagan style which has been sanctified by eighteen centuries, by the exclusive love of many Christian countries, and by the sanction of a host of saints. I am for toleration. Give Gothic an ascendancy ; be respectful towards classical.'

" The conversation slackened. ' Much as I like modern music,' said Charles, ' I can't quite go the length to which your doctrine would lead me. I cannot, indeed, help liking Mozart ; but surely his music is not religious.' ' I have not been speaking in defence of particular composers,' said Campbell ; ' figured music may be right, yet Mozart or Beethoven inadmissible. In like manner, you don't suppose, because I tolerate Roman architecture, that therefore I like naked cupids to stand for cherubs, and sprawling women for the cardinal virtues.' He paused : ' Besides,' he added, ' as you were saying yourself just now, we must consult the genius of our country, and the religious associations of our people.' ' Well,' said Bateman, ' I think the perfection of sacred music is Gregorian set to harmonies ; there you have the glorious old chants, and just a little modern richness.' ' And I think it just the worst of all,' answered Campbell ; it is a mixture of two things, each good in itself, and incongruous together. It's a mixture of the first and second courses at table. It's like the architecture of the facade at Milan, half Gothic, half Grecian.' ' It's what is always used, I believe,' said Charles. ' Oh, yes, we must not go against the age,' said Campbell ; ' it would be absurd to do so. I only spoke of what was right and wrong on abstract principles ; and, to tell the truth, I can't help liking the mixture myself, though I can't defend it.' "—pp. 250-54.

Our last extract shall be one of a higher tone, and rising to the sublime. Willis, an early University friend of Reding's, had become a Catholic *per breviorem*, almost by instinct. They meet rather awkwardly at a moment when Bateman, their senior, and now a curate, is intent upon reconverting Willis. Bateman is a mere Church-restorer, whose faith can never emerge out of a piscina, nor move from the sedilia, or has for its emblem a candlestick without a light, or a cross without its *dulce pondus*—

a tree without its fruit. He has “got up” some points on which to attack Willis, and at last comes to a principal one, which he shall state for himself, and receive his answer.

“ ‘Well, we shall have you back again among us by next Christmas, Willis,’ he said; ‘I can’t give you greater law; I’m certain of it; it takes time, but slow and sure. What a joyful time it will be! I can’t tell what keeps you; you are doing nothing; you are flung into a corner; you are wasting life. *What keeps you?*’ Willis looked odd; then he simply answered, ‘Grace.’ Bateman was startled, but recovered himself; ‘Heaven forbid,’ he said, ‘that I should treat these things lightly, or interfere with you unduly. I know, my dear friend, what a serious fellow you are; but do tell me, just tell me, how can you justify the Mass, as it is performed abroad; how can it be called a ‘reasonable service, when all parties conspire to gabble it over, as if it mattered not a jot who attended to it, or even understood it? Speak, man, speak,’ he added, gently shaking him by the shoulder. ‘These are such difficult questions,’ answered Willis; ‘must I speak? Such difficult questions,’ he continued, rising into a more animated manner, and kindling as he went on; ‘I mean, people view them so differently; it is so difficult to convey to one person the idea of another. The idea of worship is different in the Catholic Church from the idea of it in your Church; for, in truth, the *religions* are different. Don’t deceive yourself, my dear Bateman,’ he said tenderly, ‘it is not that ours is your religion carried a little farther,—a little too far, as you would say. No, they differ in kind, not in degree; ours is one religion, yours another. And when the time comes, and come it will, for you, alien as you are now, to submit yourself to the gracious yoke of Christ, then, my dearest Bateman, it will be *faith* which will enable you to bear the ways and usages of Catholics, which else might perhaps startle you. Else, the habits of years, the associations in your mind of a certain outward behaviour with real inward acts of devotion, might embarrass you, when you had to conform yourself to other habits and to create for yourself other associations. But this faith, of which I speak, the great gift of God, will enable you in that day to overcome yourself, and to submit, as your judgment, your will, your reason, your affections, so your tastes and likings, to the rule and usage of the Church. Ah, that faith should be necessary in such a matter, and that what is so natural and becoming under the circumstances, should have need of an explanation! I declare, to me,’ he said, and he clasped his hands on his knees, and looked forward as if soliloquising; ‘to me nothing is so consoling, so piercing, so thrilling, so overcoming as the Mass, said as it is among us. I could attend Masses for ever, and not be tired. It is not a mere form of words,—it is a great action, the greatest action that can be on earth. It is, not

the invocation merely, but, if I dare use the word, the evocation of the Eternal. He becomes present on the altar in flesh and blood, before whom angels bow and devils tremble. This is that awful event which is the end, and is the interpretation, of every part of the solemnity. Words are necessary, but as means, not as ends ; they are not mere addresses to the throne of grace, they are instruments of what is far higher, of consecration, of sacrifice. They hurry on, as if impatient to fulfil their mission. Quickly they go, the whole is quick ; for they are all parts of one integral action. Quickly they go ; for they are awful words of sacrifice, they are a work too great to delay upon ; as when it was said in the beginning, ‘What thou doest, do quickly.’ Quickly they pass ; for the Lord Jesus goes with them, as He passed along the lake in the days of his flesh, quickly calling first one and then another. Quickly they pass ; because as the lightning which shineth from one part of the heaven unto the other, so is the coming of the Son of man. Quickly they pass ; for they are the words of the Lord descending in the cloud, and proclaiming the Name of the Lord as He passes by, ‘The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth.’ And as Moses on the mountain, so we too ‘make haste and bow our heads to the earth, and worship.’ So we, all around, each in his place, look out for the great Advent, ‘waiting for the moving of the water.’ Each in his place, with his own heart, with his own wants, with his own thoughts, with his own intention, with his own prayers, separate but concordant, watching what is going on, watching its progress, uniting in its consummation ;—not painfully and hopelessly following a hard form of prayer from beginning to end, but like a concert of musical instruments, each different, but concurring in a sweet harmony, we take our part with God’s priest, supporting him, yet guided by him. There are little children there, and old men, and simple labourers, and students in seminaries, priests preparing for Mass, priests making their thanksgiving ; there are innocent maidens, and there are penitents ; but out of these many minds rises one eucharistic hymn, and the great Action is the measure and the scope of it. And oh, my dear Bateman,’ he added, turning to him, ‘you ask me whether this is not a formal unreasonable service. It is wonderful !’ he cried, rising up, ‘quite wonderful. When will these dear good people be enlightened, *O Sapientia, fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia, O Adonai, O Clavis David et Exspectatio gentium, veni ad salvandum nos, Domine Deus noster.*’”—pp. 289-292.

Willis becomes a Passionist, and meets his friend next when he is received into the Church. All that we can hope to have done by this meagre notice is, to induce all our readers to become readers of the work itself. Even the uninitiated in Oxford ways and Oxford idiom, will read it through with profit and delight.

## DEATH OF DR. CAMPBELL.

We have to regret the recent loss of one of our most valued contributors, Dr. J. S. Campbell, of London ; a member of an old Highland family. He was early destined for mercantile pursuits ; but the decidedly scientific bent of his mind soon determined him on renouncing very tempting advantages, which peculiar circumstances offered in connection with those pursuits, and embracing the medical profession. Having studied with credit in Edinburgh, Dublin, and London, he commenced practice in the latter city in 1829, and married soon afterwards. Endowed with intellectual powers of no common order, and enthusiastically devoted to his profession. He was, in fact, a student all his life. His conviction of the fatal prevalence of pulmonary disease in this kingdom, led him to bestow peculiar attention upon that department of medical science. The result of his labours was given to the world in 1841, in a work entitled, "Observations on Tuberculous Consumption," which was extremely well received by his professional brethren, containing, as it did, many original views of the nature and treatment of consumption, which had been carried out with eminent success in his own practice, are now beginning to be generally adopted, and will, no doubt, in the course of a few years, be universally appreciated and recognised. The social condition of his country largely occupied his thoughts, and the time that could be spared from his professional duties, was devoted to its consideration. He wrote on many general subjects, and was a frequent contributor to the periodical medical works of the day. To our pages he contributed valuable articles on questions of public interest, and especially on those connected with medical and sanitary reform. He was an eloquent lecturer, and from the extreme clearness of his own views, possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of conveying to others the various information with which his own mind was stored. A true philanthropist, his charities were not confined to the comparatively easy duties of alms-giving, but were constantly exercised in gratuitously healing the diseases, and soothing the sufferings of the poor in his neighbourhood, by whom he was mourned as a public benefactor. We must do the medical profession the justice to say, that there is no other body of laymen who devote so much of their time and talents to the gratuitous relief of their fellow-creatures. By this characteristic of his profession, he was especially distinguished. He gave his services, and frequently his money, to the poor, not only freely and readily, but kindly and soothingly—as a friend who was really sorry for their sufferings. To our countrymen in London, he was especially kind and benevolent. He could excuse faults which a long course of Helotry had engen-

dered ; and could appreciate the warm expressions of gratitude by poor hopeless outcasts, which a colder heart might doubt and disregard. No Irishman could be kinder to his unfortunate fellow-countrymen, than was Dr. Campbell—and it often occurred to us, in witnessing his labours on their behalf, that mere philanthropy alone could not be sufficient to impel him to such exertions, but that—long as the Highland Scotch have been separated from their Irish kindred—the Mac Diarmid (the old name of the Clan Campbell) of the 19th century retained some share of that feeling towards the children of Eri, which his forefathers must have carried away with them when, under Fergus, they first crossed the narrow seas.

In the midst of a career highly honourable and useful, and when on the point of attaining a position of some eminence before the public, he was suddenly arrested by the hand of death. The influenza found him, in December last, weakened by his incessant labours ; he was laid up with it for a few days, and then died suddenly, at the early age of forty-nine. It was rather remarkable that the primary cause of his death was supposed to be disease of the lungs, the very form of suffering upon which his own thoughts and labours had been most frequently employed.

In all the relations of private life he was most amiable and exemplary. In public life he was honest, earnest, and out-spoken. As a friend, he was as kind and true as ever existed. In this respect there may be many equal to him, but none can be superior.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*An Englishwoman in America*, by SARAH MYRTON MAURY, Authoress of ‘Statesmen in America in 1846.’ Liverpool : George Smith, Watts, and Co.; London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1848.

THE writer of this work has been remarkably fortunate as an authoress, for by a single production she has attracted a degree of attention towards herself and her compositions, which others have laboured for years to gain, and yet have failed in obtaining. This success cannot be attributable to chance, nor to the accident of Mrs. Maury having selected as her themes, subjects in themselves that were sure to be popular. On the contrary,

Mrs. Maury, in her "Statesmen in America," assumed a position, which is generally as ungrateful to the public in its corporate capacity, as it is to each person individually, namely,—that of *giving advice*, and *endeavouring to dispel unfounded prejudices*. It was an honest cause in which Mrs. Maury embarked, but it was also one in which there have been many martyrs, with few panegyrists to record their achievements, and canonize their virtues. When Mrs. Maury undertook the task of making known to Englishmen the noble qualities that adorn those designated by her as the 'Statesmen of America,' she entered upon a field which had been trodden down by Mr. Dickens, Mr. Featherstonhaugh, and Mr. Francis Wyse; and could hope but for few to listen to her. She has succeeded under the most adverse circumstances, because she had in heart an honest purpose, and at her command a ready pen and a lucid style. Thus did Mrs. Maury make an audience for herself; and now she comes again before them, with a book which has a moral also attached to it, and that moral can be best expressed in her own words: "If you are possessed of rank and money, stay in England; nowhere else are these advantages so available. If you have neither rank nor money, get away from it as fast as possible." This is, in fact, a most valuable emigrants' book—valuable to all who think of emigrating—valuable to all who have friends in the United States—valuable to all who wish to be accurately, thoroughly, and fully informed with respect to the present social and moral condition of the United States, as well as its future prospects. "It is," to use the words applied to it by Mr. Labouchere, in the House of Commons, on the 24th of February, 1848, "*a very valuable and interesting work.*" It is a truthful book, and written by one who justly merits that title, which is the most abused of all others, viz., *a real liberal*; for Mrs. Maury sees all things with the keen natural perception of a woman; and describes what she sees honestly and candidly, and utterly unbiassed by preconceived notions, and, what experience has proved to her to be, unfounded prejudices. She writes with the true feeling that should inspire an author, that the powers of composition and the facilities of the press should only be employed in the diffusion of truth, the extension of charity, the repression of wrong, and the denunciation of iniquity. These are the qualities that

constitute the value and the charm of the present publication ; but of it, as well as the noble efforts of Mrs. Maury to mitigate the sufferings of the poorer classes of emigrants, it will be not less our duty than our pleasure to write more fully in our next number.

II.—*Conditions and Prospects of Ireland, and the Evils arising from the Present Distribution of Landed Property, with Suggestions for a Remedy.* By JONATHAN PIM. Dublin : Hodges and Smith, Grafton Street.

WE regret that we cannot afford the space in the present number to notice as we desire this work, and as we hope to do in our next. Since its publication we have had propositions all aiming at the attainment of that which is the scope, the object, and the purpose for which Mr. Jonathan Pim has written—that is, to suggest a remedy for the evils arising from the present distribution of landed property in Ireland. Every man who gives expression to his thoughts on such a subject, is entitled to a fair hearing and an impartial judgment. We can promise Mr. Jonathan Pim he shall have both. We do not mean now to anticipate that judgment by any further expression of opinion than this,—that Mr. Pim appears to us to be a sincere and a clever man, who has studied his subject, and promulgates his own honestly entertained convictions.

III.—*The Angelical Youth, Saint Aloysius of Gonzaga, proposed as an Example of a Holy Life, with some Considerations, Prayers, Practices of Virtue, and Examples, in order to celebrate with advantage the Six Sundays in honour of this Saint.* Translated from the Italian of Father Pasquale, of Mattei, of the Society of Jesus, by Her Serene Highness, The Princess MARIA ELISA DI GONZAGA-MANTUA, Princess of Castiglione, &c., &c., and augmented with three considerations, forming subjects of Meditation for the Novena in honour of St. Aloysius. London : Richardson and Son, 172, Fleet Street ; 9, Capel Street, Dublin ; and Derby, 1847.

THE only fault we have to find with this book is the title-page which we have here transcribed ; and which we hope may not deter the reader from procuring one of the most charming little devotional books that can be perused. This work is calculated to benefit persons of all ages, and of all classes, but especially the young, who in this country are exposed to temptations and to dangers of which the

happy Aloysius, (he who never committed a mortal sin), lived and died utterly unconscious. The Catholic child that is born in the midst of heresy, is exposed to two great dangers: first, the danger of example from the old, by seeing error treated with a respect that is due alone to truth—wrong submitted to as if it were right—and the persecutors and denouncers of his creed, uplifted to high places, and as if the maintenance of a false opinion was the only path to rank, to honour, and to dignities. The second great danger is one more full of peril than the first, for it too is the danger of example from the young—of the example of those vices, which the Catholic child may see practised, or first learn the knowledge of from those whose faith has denounced the Confessional, that great guardian, as experience has proved, of child-like purity and youthful innocence. In a country so situated, the Catholic child requires a special protection; and who so fitting as the boy-saint—Aloysius of Gonzaga? What more proper than by particular devotions to him to enlist his powerful prayers on behalf of those, deprived of his opportunities to attain perfection? for their sad fate has been to live and grow up in a country, far, far unlike to his Lombardy, for it is not a purely Catholic country.

A better book than this could not be placed in the hands of a boy or girl in this country; for in it they behold rank, riches, honours, and dignities, despised and cast away by a youthful prince, that he may submit to degradation, embrace poverty, and become even the servant of the poor in a time of plague, in the hope of winning Heaven.

Rank in this country is so much associated with pride, that it is well a Catholic princess should show what a greatness there is in humility, and what a glory in sacrificing all for God. Here we perceive placed before the reader a work translated by a Princess, whose piety is inflamed by the consolatory reflection, not that she is allied with the Prince Aloysius of Gonzaga, but with the Saint who submitted to every mortification in a willing and a rejoicing spirit.

To Catholic families—to those who have upon them the care of children, we recommend this work, because we have no doubt that it will, to use the words of his Holiness, Pope Pius IX., when he heard Her Serene Highness was engaged in its translation, "*do much good in England.*"

IV.—*The Birds of Jamaica.* By PHILIP HENRY GOSSE, assisted by RICHARD HILL, Esq., of Spanish Town. London : John Van Voorst, Paternoster row, 1847.

MR. Gosse reminds us of two of our most delightful modern naturalists ; a little of Charles Waterton, in his intense love of his pursuit and his unfeigned sense of its importance; but he has not—as indeed who has—the individual character, the eccentric energy of Charles Waterton; his habits of observation, although narrower in their range, (being confined to birds,) strongly resemble those of White of Selbourne, whom the author himself speaks of in his preface, recalling his wish “for a sight of the hirmedines of the hot and distant island of Jamaica.” But over Mr. White our author has an advantage in subject ; the Jamaica birds are more beautiful, and their habitations more new and gorgeous, than those of our little warblers ; and whether he traces his birds’ nests in the mouldering remains of the old Spanish towns, or the vast pits which still bear the Spanish name, or the caves by the sea shore, amid the bones of the Indians who have taken refuge from their barbarity and perished there ; or whether he watches them flitting like living gems amongst the splendid shrubs that ornament a Jamaica house, or the glorious woods in the wilder parts of the island, we cannot but think the scenery adds greatly to the interest we take in his discoveries.

There is here the fullest account we have yet seen of the humming birds, and of Mr. Gosse’s attempts to domesticate and tame them ; we did not know that so much had been done in that way ; he taught them to perch in his room, to take sugar from his lips, and follow the glass of syrup offered to them ; burying themselves in flowers, and pursuing their sports as if at liberty : unluckily, these little beauties, sooner or later, shared the ill fate of all pets ; we greatly regret the failure of an attempt to bring them alive to England in cages ; they all died before the sailing of the vessel which should have brought them, but it was something that they lived at all in confinement, and from the knowledge Mr. Gosse seems to have gained of their habits and food, we do not despair of seeing these beautiful creatures brought over to ornament our conservatories. We have dwelt upon the lighter parts of this work, because we think it ought to become one of the most popular books

upon natural history, and because we are no naturalists ; but those who are, will find the scientific names, description, and classification, of nearly two hundred species of Jamaica birds, given with scrupulous exactness.

V.—*Strictures on Granta, or a Glimpse at the University of Cambridge.* By a GRADUATE. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1848.

THIS is a valuable pamphlet, telling a great many serious truths in a light, lively, and most agreeable manner. It is manifestly written by one who loves the old university much, and would willingly correct it of faults injurious to its ancient fame, and which, if not corrected, tend to demonstrate that the youth sent from home to take out his degrees, if he be not one who has brought with him the firm resolution of distinguishing himself alike by his virtues and his talents, may carry away from his college habits, and even vices, for which his title of A. B. can be but a poor and insufficient compensation. We would recommend the careful parent and the anxious guardian, who have the ambition that those most dear to them should receive a university education, to peruse this pamphlet ; for its few brilliant pages are suggestive of many serious thoughts, and may lead to the adoption of a resolution calculated to preserve themselves from many hours of painful thought and of vain regrets. We would wish to see this pamphlet in the hands of the members of both houses of parliament ; for a perusal of its contents cannot but convince them, that if the errors it exposes be not corrected, and the vices it denounces be not put an end to, that the university itself, instead of being a means of good, will become an instrument of mischief, and its perpetuation rendered as impossible as the toleration of a nuisance under a rigorous administration of a sanitary reform bill. We may be sure that when the health of the bodies of the poor attracts the attention of parliament, and becomes the motive to those who have political influence to array themselves against monopolies, that a time has come when the university monopoly, if it be proved to work evil, instead of good, to the higher and the wealthier classes, will not be suffered to remain. The author of this pamphlet shows that the first principles of its original founder—the good and pious bishop, St. Felix—have been departed

from ; that the Latin schools, established in the hope that the learning communicated in them might tend to improve the minds, reform the habits, and soften the manners of a barbarous people—(See W. Malmesb. Gest. Pont. Ang. Lib. ii. p. 237 ; Rog. de Wendov. vol. i. p. 129 ; Pet. Blesens. vol. i. p. 290 ; Gale. Bromton. Chron. pp. 745, 747 ; Gervas. p. 1635.)—are now converted into an excuse for a waste of time, gross extravagance, and a loss of reputation in the first dawn of manhood. The condition of our universities is a matter of vital importance to the country ; and we trust that the perusal of this pamphlet may lead the minds of all classes, whatever be their creed or their condition, to turn their attention to a question in which the happiness, and even the fame, of numberless families are deeply involved.

VI.—*Archæologia Hibernica.—A Hand-Book of Irish Antiquities, Pagan and Christian, especially of such as are easy of access from the Irish Metropolis.* By WILLIAM F. WAKEMAN. With numerous illustrations. Dublin, James M'Glashan, Dolier Street ; W. S. Orr and Co., Strand, London, 1848.

EVERY worthy effort that is made to increase our knowledge of Irish Antiquities, is entitled to our gratitude ; every honest attempt to popularize that which is known of them, should gain for him who makes the essay, our approbation. Great discoveries, the dispersion of darkness which may have hung for centuries over the mighty secrets of time and of nature, these are reserved for the few, the exalted, and the great ; whilst the honest, the truthful, and the many, have their hard and useful tasks assigned them in the order of Providence, viz., that of giving practical effect to what their superiors have discovered, utilising those discoveries, and conferring on the bulk of mankind the home-felt advantages of their having been elicited.

The author of this book belongs to the latter class of Irish antiquarians. He states nothing in his pages that is new to antiquarians in Ireland, but he does that for the public which is more useful than the unspoken, unwritten, and unpublished knowledge of antiquarians. He states what is new to the previously ignorant, and what must appear as most strange to the idle and apathetic, viz., that in the neighbourhood of Dublin are to be found most

valuable monuments of the different states of society that have prevailed in Ireland, from periods long anterior to the promulgation of christianity in the island, to that sad epoch when the cross was shattered, and the shamrock despised as the emblem of a fallen race.

We have no doubt that the Irish Archæological Societies are not only doing, but have done much good, by attracting the attention of the erudite towards the rich and almost virgin soil of Irish antiquities, and of the ancient history of the country. There is a class—and unfortunately it is a very large class in Ireland—the unoccupied youth of that country; a few with large fortune, some with small fortune, many with no fortune, but assuming to be in independent circumstances, and who are each without that motive, which after all was the secret of Roman success and Grecian glory, as it is the mainstay of England's greatness—the settled belief and the firm conviction, that they are the natives of a glorious country, that they have each in his respective position to prove that he is worthy of the fame of his forefathers; that they can each so toil, so struggle, and so distinguish themselves by their intellectual capacities, as to prove that Ireland is fitted to give pious men to every monastery, and professors to every University in Europe.

Ireland was, and is, and if her sons do not become recreant, ever shall be, “the island of saints.” It is her mission on this earth, and how nobly was that mission fulfilled for many centuries! Whether Paganism wore the armour of ignorance, or brandished the sword of persecution, the Irish monk penetrated it with the dazzling spear of truth, or the Irish crusader with his battle-axe struck it down and rendered it powerless. In England, the Irish monk converted the Anglo-Saxon, in France he converted the Armorican. No river in Germany was too broad, no forest too dark or too tangled, to impede his progress onward. He brought with him the tidings of salvation wherever he appeared, and he gave to men, with the knowledge of the Great Truth, an acquaintance with every art, and an insight into every science that tends to ameliorate their lot, and to convince them that they are physically and morally “the lords of the Creation.”

This was the glorious mission of Ireland, to extend the knowledge of “the unknown God” to barbarous nations. Another was to defend christianity from the aggressions of

infidels. It was a long and desperate battle, and they fought it well, from the walls of Jerusalem under Baldwin, to the ramparts of Vienna under Sobieski. There is a vast difference, however, to be found since the christian era, between the pious peaceful missionaries, and the errant warrior champions of Ireland. The former have been numerous as armies; the latter, comparatively, few as a forlorn hope. The bravery of Ireland has been a true bravery, a christian bravery; not aggressive, not careless of the life of another so that it might win land; but careless of its own life, so that it might win souls to God, uplift the banner of redemption, and protect the True Church.

Look at its Cromlechs, its Ogham Stones, its Pillar Stones, and you have before you imperishable memorials that it was the most tolerant of christian nations, that it spared Paganism itself, because of its old Irishry; and then wander wherever you will over its green fields, and you will find where tower, and church, and altar, have vanished away, that you are treading upon land which is a topography of sanctitude, the most ineffaceable of records, that Ireland in its prime was the most holy of christianized nations.

And is there nothing of instruction for Irishmen in all this? Is not the study of its antiquities to Irishmen sufficient to inspire them with the noblest, purest, ambition that ever yet stirred the heart of man? Have they not to prove themselves worthy of their ancestors, in piety, in purity, in self-sacrifice, in learning, in science, in intellectual superiority to other tribes and other nations?

Let us look back for some centuries upon the past history of Europe, and of Ireland, with the broad glance of philosophers, and not the narrow, contracted, short-sighted view of heated partisans, whose epochs consist in the fugitive triumphs of a party, and what then do we perceive? This remarkable difference between the physical courage and the intellectual vigour of Irishmen—that of the numberless victories which Irish valour has won, not one has brought a permanent advantage to Ireland, and scarcely one is commemorated amongst those who profited by it, as tending peculiarly to the glory of Ireland. It has fought for strangers, and has been forgotten by them. It is not so with its holy missionaries; their tombs have become shrines, and emperors and kings have bowed down in reve-

rence of Irish virtues, and earth has given its homage to those who crowded heaven with their saintly scholars.

Ireland was never so near to the achievement of its perfect independence as in the seventeenth century. Its fate was then apparently in the battle field, and it had in its favour all that could induce men to hope for victory,—a just cause, the defence of religion, nationality, bravery, numbers. And yet what is more afflicting to read than the account<sup>2</sup> of that struggle as it is detailed in the pages of the papal nuncio? Alas! the glory of Ireland was not to be found in its dauntless generals and its fearless soldiers; for in this world's estimation, in all that relates to war, success, however gained, is fame, and defeat, however undeserved, is dishonour. But even then there was a brilliant glory bursting upon Ireland, which no man can deny, and none have ever ventured to gainsay. It was issuing out of the humble cells of Luke Wadding at Rome, and of Colgan in Louvain. *They* were fulfilling the mission of Ireland.

Its mission is a mission of peace: its glory is that of intellect. We purposely abstain from referring to facts of later occurrence than those of the seventeenth century, which would serve to strengthen our proposition.

It is audacious to attempt fathoming the ways of Providence; but all must admit that the visitations of that Providence, which have come so heavily and so severely upon Ireland, must have come for some great, some wise, some merciful, although now inscrutable purpose.

There can be no doubt that it is an incitement to men to devote themselves with more earnestness to their religious duties—to “search their hearts.” Mayhap, out of that examination may arrive some mighty national movement, worthy of the greatness, the glory, the intellectuality, and the sanctity of Ireland.

The more Irishmen know of the antiquities of their country, the more disposed will they be to respect themselves, and to elevate their thoughts above the perplexing and petty politics of the hour; the more suited will they be to cast off listlessness and apathy—the more fitted will they be to prove themselves the compatriots of the Columbani, the Brendans, of Romuald, of Aidan, of Marianus,—of saints that were great scholars, of scholars who were great saints.

Such are the views that we entertain as to popularizing

Irish antiquities. We think that the end may be incalculably good, and that, like every other species of knowledge based upon truth, its acquisition cannot but tend to improve the mind, as well as make purer and better the heart of him who receives it.

The mode in which Mr. Wakeman has sought to attain his object—that of interesting Irishmen in the monuments with which they are surrounded, and the memorials that are within their grasp—is, we think, well calculated to be attended with success. His book is written in a plain, simple, and perfectly unpretending style. It is accompanied with wood-engravings, which, “for the honour of the country,” we hope were executed in Ireland. He has given to the scholar and the antiquarian a guide-book of great value. He has presented to strangers visiting the country a most valuable companion; and we would venture to say, he has afforded hundreds who have been born in Dublin, and passed their lives there, information as to antiquities in the immediate neighbourhood of their city, which will (*if they read this book*) be as new to them as to the veriest cockney who has been born within the sound of Bow bells.

For such a book as this we can express but one wish,—may its circulation be equal to its merits!

VII.—*Poverty and the Baronet's Family.* A Catholic Tale, by the late Henry Digby Beste, Esq., M. A., Fellow of the St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford. Originator of the religious opinions of Modern Oxford. London, T. Jones, 1847.

WE certainly think that the best part of this book is the memoir of the author prefixed to it; the account of his childhood and youth is quaint and interesting. He was born at that period, 1768, when the Catholic religion was probably at its lowest point in this country, but when, nevertheless, there lingered in men's observances many old Catholic customs and ideas, which were afterwards lost, in the sectarianism introduced by the Calvinistic and low-church ‘Evangelicals’: theirs was the twilight preceding night; let us hope that we have passed through that which announces the splendour of the day. Our author enjoyed a large share of these observances, for he was brought up under the shade, and attended the services of, the cathedral church at Lincoln, of which his father was

prebendary. He, moreover, made the acquaintance of two relatives, good-natured Catholic old ladies, into whose privacy he was admitted, and upon one occasion allowed to partake of their dinner of "boiled eggs and hot cockles," (which he found 'very satisfactory and amusing,') and was afterwards introduced to the priest, dressed 'in a grave suit of snuff colour, with a close neat wig of dark brown hair, a cocked hat, almost an equilateral triangle, worsted stockings, and little silver buckles.' So reserved were the habits of Catholics in those days, that he believed himself to be 'the only protestant lad in England, of his age, at that time, who had made an abstinence dinner, and shaken hands with a Jesuit.' Thus pre-disposed, the finding of a Douay bible, with notes, and an excellent preface, confirmed him in those ideas which were ripened by maturity of intellect and experience, and he became an early and influential convert to our holy faith. He was subsequently the author of many works with which we are not acquainted; that which we are now noticing was written in his old age, and, perhaps, in some bitterness of spirit, for which there was ample excuse in the politics of the day, and in the external and internal circumstances of Catholics; making all allowances, we certainly do not like the book. Its title, in the first place, is a misnomer; the story has nothing to do with poverty except in the first appearance of some Irish reapers in England, one of whom (the father of the hero) is accompanied by his wife and infant son. The little son of Sir Cecil Foxglove slips from the pleasure-boat into the artificial waters of his park; the poor Irishman wades across the water, swims a few strokes, and picks up the child. It is characteristic enough, that although the poor man enjoys the luxury of 'another shirt,' though surrounded by friends, and basking in midsummer weather, it neither occurs to him or to his wife to dry his wet clothes,—in which he spends the day, and sleeps! He gets fever and dies, and is ever after spoken of as having 'sacrificed his life to save that of the squire's child.' The widow is immediately endowed with a small pension, receives a half year in advance, is settled in a snug cottage, gifted with presents, and provided with work. When her only son is old enough, he is taken into the house of the priest, and receives a first-rate education; he then passes into the hands of a liberal Catholic gentleman, who sends him to college, takes him to travel, and

brings him back 'a gentleman' to the house of Sir Cecil, who presents him with three thousand pounds. In somewhat Irish contradiction, the hero, refused by the beautiful daughter of the baronet, now chuses to play the part of a poor man ; he returns to Ireland, to his father's relations, and for a few weeks *plays* at being a farmer's lad, preserving so much of an incognito as enables him to join some secret society, and, loaded with English wealth and kindness, to propose, as the great object of his existence, a rebellion against England ; however, he finds in a grave some deeds entitling him to an estate which had belonged to his ancestry, and this (naturally enough) puts rebellion out of his head. He returns to England, and marries the baronet's daughter. And this is poverty ! We need scarcely say that we do not much admire the hero. He is a pious pedant, a truculent fellow, and a desperately self-conceited proser. The story itself is purposeless; bitter in sentiment, and swamped in never-ending small talk, which an occasional originality of style and thought may enliven, but, in our opinion, not sufficiently so to compensate for other faults.

VIII.—*The Devout Christian Instructed in the Faith of Christ.*—By the RIGHT REV. GEORGE HAY. 2 vols. London, Dublin, and Derby ; Richardson and Son, 1848.

DR. HAY'S "*Devout Christian*," and its companion volumes, "*The Sincere Christian*," are too universally known and appreciated to require any introduction at our hands. We regard the edition of the former now before us, as one of the most valuable of the reprints which have been issued from the Derby press ; and among the books whose circulation is calculated to effect the greatest amount of good in the removal of prejudices, and the diffusion of true religious knowledge, there is none on which we rely with greater confidence.

IX.—*The Last Days of O'Connell; a Series of Papers.* Written and edited by WILLIAM BERNARD MAC CABE, Esq. Dublin : Duffy, 1848.

THE title of this volume will in itself, we are sure, be its best passport to the heart of every reader ; and it would be presumption on our part to attempt to add to its interest by any commendation of our own. We shall content our-

selves, therefore, with a single observation, which may possibly be necessary in order to prevent a mistake to which the designation of the volume might give occasion. It will be found to contain, not alone what the title promises—a record of the close of that life which had won so many blessings for Ireland and for the world; but also a complete and authentic collection of all the interesting documents connected with that melancholy event.

Among those it is hardly necessary to say that the Funeral Oration of Padre Ventura holds a prominent place. The translation is the only one of all that have come under our notice which contains the whole discourse, together with the illustrations, as published by the author. Mr. Mac Cabe's name is a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy, elegance, and tastefulness of the version.

X.—*The Reformation in Europe.* By CESARI CANTU. Translated by FORTUNATO PRANDI. Volume I. London : Newby, 1847.

WE must defer, till we shall have received the second and concluding volume, our notice of this very remarkable work.

XI.—1. *Meditations as a Preparation for Whitsuntide and other Feasts.*

2.—*A Novena to our Lady of Dolours.*

3.—*The Knowledge of Ourselves, with Practical Thoughts on Humility.* London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son. 1848.

THESE, we believe, are among the latest fruits of the press of the Catholic Book Society. Every one who is acquainted with the devotional books of Italy, and with the pious practices of our continental brethren generally, knows what a vast amount of practical piety, as well as of solid religious instruction, is connected with the devotions which precede certain festivals during the year, and are continued during the three, seven, or as the case may be, nine days, immediately before the particularly feast which they regard. The little books enumerated above belong to this exceedingly useful, though unpretending class. We know few books more full of edification than the "Meditations for Whitsuntide;" and we gladly receive this and the many similar works which are gradually growing into knowledge and popularity, as the best evidence

of that purer and more elevated spirituality which the Church, through all her various institutions, ever seeks to foster and promote.

XII.—*Fitz Alwyn, the First Lord Mayor, and the Queen's Knights. A Tale of the Drapers' Company.* By Miss E. M. STEWART. London : Kent and Richards, 1848.

“Fitz Alwyn” is the first of an intended series of ‘Tales of the Companies, or the Citizens of Old London.’ It is a story of the reign of the Second Henry.

Since the days of ‘Ivanhoe,’ the romance of the Anglo-Norman period has been so frequently and so largely treated by our novelists of every degree, that, at first thought, it could hardly be expected to possess many new and untried phases. A little reflection, however, will remind the reader, that the department selected by the authoress of the little volume now before us, is at least comparatively fresh and unexhausted. The fortunes of the knights and nobles of this turbulent and unsettled period presented so much of attraction to the writers of Anglo-Norman fiction, that they were led to disregard, or at least to consider as entirely subordinate, the actors in the more humble, but not less important spheres ; and thus the social life of the middle classes in England—as far as a middle class had then developed itself—cannot fail to furnish many novel and interesting studies to a judicious writer of romance. And among the many phases of this important subject, we know none richer in interest than that which the present series professes to depict,—the citizen-life of England in the olden time.

We fear, however, that Miss Stewart will be found to have fallen unconsciously into the same tone of thought with her predecessors in this branch of English fiction, and, even in despite of her title, to have given undue prominence to the knights and nobles. Still, her book is an essay in the right direction ; and we look forward to the stories yet to come for a fuller development of that branch of the subject to which she has more especially devoted herself.

“Fitz Alwyn, the First Lord Mayor,” bears, in his own person, but a small share of the interest of the story. It turns chiefly upon the fortunes of his fair niece, Mabel, the heiress of his vast wealth, and those of her knightly

lover, Sir Aymer de Montalt; but with their history is interwoven that of a more humble, but not less interesting, pair of lovers,—Gilbert, a “craftsman of the mystery of drapers,” and Rose Waring, a giddy, mischief-loving maiden, whose thoughtlessness involves both herself and all the other actors in the tale in endless difficulties and embarrassments. To enter into these embarrassments and the disentanglement thereof, would be to anticipate all the pleasure of the perusal ; and we shall be content with one or two extracts illustrative of the general character of the tale, and of the style in which the authoress has treated this interesting subject.

The following scene introduces several of the most important actors in the story :

“The pure transparent twilight of a summer evening had settled over the city of London, but the close of the day had brought not its accustomed quiet; beneath the casements of the staid citizens, were heard the sounds of the harp and the viol, while gaily attired bands of youths and maidens paraded the streets, singing in celebration of the eve of Saint John, and hanging garlands of flowers over the doors. Many of these musicians were licensed minstrels, but in company with them upon this occasion were the prime of the youths of the city, and the pretty daughters of many of the inferior class of traders.

“The thin gray colours of the twilight had just deepened into the soft obscurity of a summer night, when a large party of the revellers turned from the Cornhill or Corn Market towards Canwyke, or, as it is now called, Cannon Street. The minstrels in this troop were gaily clad in robes of green stuff, with silver chains round their necks, and the maidens had white mantles and kirtles of watchet colour. The foremost of these maidens held in her hand a wreath of violets and cowslips mixed with the magical ver-vain, woven in all the garlands on Midsummer eve. The veil worn by this girl had fallen from her brow, and as the torches borne by her male companions flashed around her, her golden hair glittered, and her transparently fair skin caught an unwonted glow. The hilarity of those around her seemed fully partaken by the young girl, and as a louder strain rose from the harps and the viols, she passed on with a light dancing step, adding her own clear and sweet voice to the chorus of the song :

“‘Shrive ye, and sain ye, my maidens bright,  
Breathe a prayer to the good St. John to-night;  
Weave ye the garlands which blooming or sear,  
Shall tell your own doom for the coming year.  
Woe for the slumbering maid, o’er whose head  
The rose-leaf to-night shall fall withered and dead,

Whose dreams of the shroud and the death-bell, but borrow,  
 From fate's mournful whispers each image of sorrow.  
 For the maids whom we love may St. John prevent,  
 In his goodness, such visions of ill portent;  
 And forbid that a flower should drop away  
 From his magical wreath ere the break of day.'

"The last words of this chorus were arrested on the maiden's lip by a rough hand grasping her arm, and an angry voice in her ear.

"A seemly course, Rose Waring, for a modest maiden, to roam through the city on the eve of St. John, with a set of saucy minstrels and idle apprentices!"

"Most wise and discreet Mr. Gilbert, is it really thyself?" replied the girl with a provoking laugh. "Truly I should have deemed thou wert safe in thy dwelling, ordering thy garments to proceed with thy honourable guild of Drapers to St. Paul's to-morrow, or better still perhaps, engaged in thy devotions. Truly it is only for gadabouts, and light-spirited damsels such as myself, to be abroad on Midsummer eve. I fear me, Gilbert, thy danger to-night is greater than mine own!"

The person to whom Rose Waring addressed these words, was a youth of some three-and-twenty years, attired in a doublet and hose of murrey-coloured cloth slightly garnished with white; he was tall and well made, and his countenance, though its features were far from regular, had something in it honest and engaging.

While Rose spoke, she still pursued her way at the head of the procession, he holding her arm: his reply was made in a less angry but more sorrowful tone.

"I grieve for thee, Rose!" he said; "but if all that has passed between us be forgotten, forget not at least the respect due to thy father's daughter, though he no longer lives to be shamed by thine indiscreet bearing. It ill beseemeth the daughter of an esteemed citizen to assume thy present guize!"

Rose cast down her eyes, and answered in a less confident tone,

"Nay, I am sure, Gilbert, you need scarce take such exceptions at so harmless a frolic, and one indeed which I should never have dared but that you so saucily braved me to it. Go to, is the daughter of a free citizen to be bidden hither and thither like a churl? Let go my arm, I pray thee, Gilbert, I warrant it will be bruised to-morrow. In sooth, I vowed to present this garland to-night, to the Norman niece of the warden of thy craft, the worthy Fitz Alwyn, and may woman never more have her will in this world if I suffer myself to be baulked by thy fancies!"

"Rose, Rose," replied the young man, "let me lead thee to thy home, there are the mad princes, Richard and John, careering through the streets with their roystering knights; I passed them

but now in the Chepe ; and what is worse they have with them that ill conditioned Sir Aymer de Montalt, and though his cousin, the worthy Sir Stephen, be also in their train, I warrant that the mischief that is in one Sir Aymer, would make useless all the good counsel of ten Sir Stephens.'

" 'Thou couldst not have hit on a better reason to determine my stay !' said the perverse Rose : 'you mind me that I have not seen Prince John since he kissed his hand to me at the riding to the last tournament in Smithfield ; and as to Sir Aymer, there is an entire contest of opinion as to that knight ; if he be poor, there are none to deny that is a fault owing to the freeness of his gifts ; and if he be prompt to take offence, who will say he is not speedy to forgive ? but as for thy Sir Stephen, if charity makes a man poor, he will never cease to be wealthy, and woe unto those who offend him. Then Sir Aymer is the handsomest, most courteous of knights. Ah, thy warden Fitz Alwyn and his niece, are likely long to be at a difference as to those knights!' "—pp. 1-6.

The danger against which Rose has been thus warned, proves to be more real than her wilful temper will acknowledge. But it does not suffice to cure her love of adventure. We find her again leading the more demure and timid Mabel into a peril still more imminent.

" It was a lovely morning in June, two days after Midsummer, that a youth and maiden, jauntily equipped and mounted, each on a stout bay pony, trotted briskly along the road between Stratford and Epping.

" From the style of their appointments, it would have seemed that this pair, were either the son and daughter of some knight or gentleman of sufficient means, or of a well-to-do citizen : and so gay was the demeanour of the youth at least, that it could not be doubted that he was bent on a day's junketting. His extreme hilarity indeed had excited a reproof from his sister, when on pausing in the village of Stratford, to inquire their way, he would insist upon kissing the rosy cheeked damsel who gave the information, and afterwards bestowed on her a mark to drink his health, an injunction with which she would not be perhaps the less willing to comply, inasmuch as the donor had himself the most pouting coral lips, the deepest blue eyes, and brightest golden hair, on which youth of seventeen could ever pride himself. Then nothing could be better chosen, whether as to colour or form, than his vest of fine Kendal green cloth, with its silver cordings and buttons, fitting his lithe figure to such perfection, and the close cap or hood of the same material, edged with dark fur, contrasting with the shining curls that would fall beneath it, half shadowing his fair and joyous face. The long dagger too, or short sword dangling by his side, did not seem, if the wearer's bold and lively looks might

be trusted, a mere ornamental appendage, while the mantle and small valise that were packed on the back of his saddle, showed that he was not unprepared either for a change in the weather, or a protracted journey.

" His sister, if such were the damsels, was more gravely attired in a kirtle of the darkest shade of crimson, with a black bodice and sleeves slightly trimmed, like the youth's jerkin, with silver ; glimpses only however of this garment were to be seen at intervals beneath the long descending and voluminous folds of the mantle of violet colour which the maiden wore, with its hood drawn over her face, in a fashion which the heat of the day might be supposed to render somewhat unpleasant. The pair were now fast approaching the skirts of the forest, which in those days extended as far as the site of the present village of Woodford. A gigantic beech, or gnarled oak, clothed in the fresh green of early summer, threw frequently a pleasant shade over the road, while the scent of the violet, the honeysuckle, and the briar-rose, yet dripping with the morning dew, was wafted sweetly from the underwood. At this juncture it was, that the gay youth looked warily round him, anxious after all it seemed, lest there might be other travellers in sight. No shadow however was seen to cross the sunny way save those of himself and his companion. Released then from this apparent apprehension, the youth burst into a merry laugh, and addressing his fellow traveller, ' I pray you ! ' he said, ' most fearful and discreet sister of mine, vouchsafe in thy goodness, to say whether thou art resolved to keep that muffler across thy face until it smothers thee outright. There is no one near, and you may surely venture for a space to breathe this fresh air, that comes so sweetly from the woodland, instead of plodding thy way along half blind, with just one eye peering between the folds of thy detestable hood. I shall insist now that it be put back; verily, it is a contempt of this fair scene to shut it out, such as one might look for from some pitiful burgher, who has no eye or thought save for his money-bags, but not from a young maideu ! '

" With these words, the youth approached his pony close to that of his companion, and twitching back the envious hood, at once revealed the delicate features of Mabel Verneuil, dyed crimson with heat and apprehension.

" ' As I live Mabel ! ' exclaimed Rose, for it was no other than that sprightly damsels, who under the influence of that sentiment, so long after expressed by the gentle Rosalind, that ' Beauty provoketh thieves sooner than gold ! ' had equipped herself " at all points like a man ! " and who now startled by the appearance of her friend, continued, ' As I live Mabel, this jest suits thee not : have courage though, friend of mine, if only in pity to thy poor Rose, whose wild advice has led thee into this straight, but who will never forgive herself if it cause thee any ill, which indeed it can scarce do, if thou only bear up a brave heart. Let us dis-

mount awhile, I pray thee, and rest under the shade of these pleasant trees, the weight of that mantle makes thee ill ! I have as thou knowest, wherewith in my wallet, to revive these fainting spirits of thine ! ”—pp. 74-77.

How the fair masquers were surprised in the forest by Prince John and his profligate companions ; how they were rescued from the peril to which their imprudence had exposed them ; how Mabel’s lover, Sir Aymer de Montalt, unravels the web of suspicion in which the treachery of a jealous rival had involved his knightly fame ; and how he wins the hand which he had so long sought,—all this we must leave the reader to discover for himself, merely assuring him that this pretty tale will well repay the trouble of the search.

XIII.—*Pius IX.; or, The First Year of his Pontificate.* By COUNT A DE GODDES DE LIANCOURT, and JAMES A. MANNING, Esq. London : Newby, 1847.

IT has not often been our lot to encounter a more flagrant case of book-making than is exhibited in this volume. If the reader expect a biography of Pius IX., or a “ History of the First Year of his Pontificate,” he will be grievously disappointed. More than half of the book is made up of an ill-digested and worse conceived sketch of the Pontificate of Gregory XVI.; a tedious and not over accurate account of his obsequies, of the proceedings in the opening and conducting of the conclave, and of the election of the new Pontiff: and, as regards the remaining part of the volume, if we except a few anecdotes gleaned, for the most part, from the newspaper reports of the time, it tells but little of the public or private history of Pius IX.

It is written, moreover, in a spirit of deep though concealed hostility, not to the abuses of the Roman court, but even to many of its wisest and most essential institutions; and is filled with blunders in matters of scholarships as well as with misstatements in matters of fact.

XIV.—*Reasons for acknowledging the Authority of the Holy Roman See.* By HENRY MAGOR. Late a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Philadelphia, printed for the Author, 1846.

ANOTHER testimony from America to the progress there, of the same glorious movement, which has rejoiced our

hearts in England; an able and conscientious man, a “religious teacher” thinks it due to those whom he has left, as well as to himself, to give a public statement of the reasons by which he has been actuated; and he also has chosen, as the key-stone of his argument, “the authority of the Holy Roman See as the divinely ordained instrument of unity and government in the Church militant.” This cardinal point in the dispute, he has treated with ability and learning, and not content with defending his own position, has carried the war into the enemy’s camp; exposing such misrepresentations, misquotations, suppressions of truth, and almost incredible blunders in protestant controversialists, as go far to explain the fact of their continuing in error. We are surprised to see so many errors (some of them important) in the printing of this book.

XV.—1. *The Life of the Blessed Alphonsus Rodriguez, Lay Brother of the Society of Jesus.* Translated from the French.

2.—*Maxims and Sayings of St. Philip Neri, arranged for every Day in the Year.* From the Italian, by the REV. F. W. FABER.

3.—*Life of Sister Teresa Margaret Redi, a Barefooted Carmelite Nun.* Translated from the Italian by L. T. H., and revised by the Very REV. J. DONOVAN, D.D., Professor of Theology, Ampleforth College. Translator of the Catechism of the Council of Trent; Author of Rome, Ancient and Modern, and its Environs, in 4 vols. 8vo, &c. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son, 1848.

WE gladly welcome these little contributions to our sacred biography. We have classed them together because they display the universality, as well as the variety of the gifts of the Spirit of God. The first in order—the Life of S. Alphonsus Rodriguez—is peculiarly adapted to supply a want which has been often felt—of books of practical, and at the same time, interesting, instruction for the poor and comparatively uneducated classes. It is the history of a Jesuit lay brother, employed, during his whole life in the most menial offices of the order, and for upwards of thirty years engaged in the humble every-day duties of porter of his convent. The Life of Sister Teresa Redi, on the contrary, supplies an example of the attainment of sanctity in the religious state, not alone in a more elevated rank of life, but by the practice of piety of a very

different order. While Philip Neri's Maxims are of that large and comprehensive character from which every one may learn, and which every individual may apply to himself with equal force and propriety. How we wish we could place a copy of this admirable little book, not alone in every cottage, but in the hands of every member of every Catholic family!

XVI.—*The Virgin Martyr.* By PHILIP MASSINGER. With Six Designs by F. R. PICKERSGILL. 2nd Edition. London: James Burns.

THE spirit of this little poem, the beauty of its getting up and illustrations, and the name of its well known publisher have already ensured it a favourable reception, and we need say but few words to recommend this second edition. The plan of the drama is heroic; the virgin martyr, Dorothea, is attended by her guardian angel in the guise of a poor boy received through charity, who gives courage at every emergency. The persecutor, Theophilus, is followed and urged on by an incarnate demon; the conflict is therefore visibly engaged between heaven and hell. The miraculous rapidity with which (in those awful persecutions) the beacon-fire of faith kindled and spread from one to another of the martyrs' piles is well expressed. The apostate daughters of Theophilus, persuading Dorothea to seek life and safety by joining them, are drawn by her to return to christianity, and embrace martyrdom. Her lover professes her faith upon the scaffold; and Theophilus scornfully demanding from her—

“If there be any truth in thy religion,  
In thankfulness to me, that with care haste  
Your journey thither, pray you send me some  
Small pittance of that curious fruit you boast of.”

In answer to this fierce prayer, after Dorothea's death, her attendant angel brings him a basket of the fruits and flowers of paradise; he partakes of them, and as he does so his fiendish pride gives way — miraculously, yet not without a touch of nature; and when his haunting fiend returns again, he arms himself with the cross concealed amid the flowers, and rushes to martyrdom, Diocletian exclaiming,

“I think the centre of the earth be cracked—  
Yet I stand still unmoved, and will go on :

The persecution that is here begun,  
Through all the world with violence shall run."

The power of religion is thus strongly and energetically expressed; but as to the secret spiritual source from whence that power is derived, it is far otherwise;—cold, lofty, and resolute, the characters are more heroes than christians; but this is a fault we have remarked in every protestant work of this description.

XVII.—1. *A Treatise on Diet and Regimen.* Parts 1, 2, and 3. 4th Edition. By W. H. ROBERTSON, M. D., Physician to the Buxton Bath Charity. London : John Churchill.

2.—*A Guide to the use of the Buxton Waters, by the same Author.* London : JOHN CHURCHILL. Buxton : W. Moore.

THREE parts only of the Treatise on Diet and Regimen are published,—it is to be published in six parts.

That "the way to a man's heart is through his stomach," is an old saying, more strictly true than most would, perhaps, be inclined to admit. In fact, our perceptions and our sentiments are as much influenced by the state of the digestion, as the weather-glass by the change in the atmosphere.

If this be so, we must regard, as benefactors to mankind, those who point out the way in which this important function is to be maintained in a healthy condition. Gratitude is due, first, certainly, to original investigators, and we are glad to see that our author, in his preface, does justice to the claims of Dr. Prout, to be regarded as the originator of that impulse which has been given of late to Iatro chemistry. Society at large is, however, hardly less indebted to those who glean the fruits which lie scattered here and there, in Medical and Scientific works, and present them, served up for general use, in a palatable form.

This task Dr. Robertson has ably performed. He has done more—many of his remarks are obviously the result of experience and observation. His treatise is scientific without becoming abstruse, and popular without being puerile. It is calculated to afford both instruction and amusement to any class of readers, and perchance there are few who might not profit by the precepts it contains. These are indeed such as for the most part would be agreed in by all members of the faculty.

The present numbers are taken up with a general outline of the function of digestion, and with an account of the properties of ordinary articles of diet, their comparative wholesomeness, and the best mode of their preparation. The future parts are to be devoted to the subject of ventilation and clothing, the effects of sleep, the influence of mind on health, &c. These, no doubt, will be as well executed, and as valuable as those already issued. Some of the subjects to be discussed are at the present moment of peculiar interest.

This publication has already passed through three editions, a sufficient proof of its merits. In its present enlarged form, it promises to become a standard work on the subject of which it treats.

The small pamphlet by the same author, "a Guide to the use of the Buxton Waters," is written in an equally agreeable style. It contains some excellent advice to those who are induced to try the effects of their long-famed springs.

On the whole we can recommend these works of Dr. Robertson as calculated to prove useful both to the professional and general reader.

XVIII.—*Select Writings of Robert Chambers.* Vol. I. *Essays Familiar and Humorous.* Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1847.

It would be little short of impertinence to suppose that there are any of our readers to whom the name of the brothers Chambers is not familiar; and it would be equally a work of supererogation to attempt, for those who are acquainted with their writings, any thing in the shape of recommendation.

The volume before us is the first of a collective edition of the writings of the younger of the brothers, Mr. Robert Chambers, and it contains a selection from his contributions to the one among their many publications, with which the public are most familiar—"The Edinburgh Journal." It would be idle to offer any observation on the merits of this old and popular periodical, which we do not hesitate to say, has done more for the diffusion of useful knowledge, and for the creation of a love of solid information, and a taste for all that is really valuable in literature, than any other publication of the age. Undertaken at a time when any plan of "cheap literature" was regarded as utopian, and

the wisest heads would shake in worse than doubt as to the possibility of enlisting, for any low priced publication beyond a mere repertory of news, and of the lightest "light reading," a number of purchasers sufficient to cover the bare expenses of paper and printing; "*Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*" has for more than fifteen years pursued, without check and without deviation, the bold and independent course on which it originally entered; and during the long and chequered career, it has kept pace with all the advances of popular science, and with all the remarkable acquisitions in history, in literature, and in art, of which later years have been so eminently fertile. There is no important discovery in science, no interesting invention in art, no remarkable modification in society, or economical arrangements, no strikingly novel view in history, with which its readers have not been kept *au courant*; and this at once in a style so simple and so popular, that the least educated could not fail to understand, and so solid and accurate, as to satisfy the requirements of the most fastidious and exacting master of the science.

These, however, are characteristics of the Messrs. Chambers' publications, with which the public has long been familiar; nor would we have ventured to refer to them at all, were it not that we are glad of any opportunity to express our grateful admiration of another peculiarity which has distinguished the works issued under their superintendence,—a peculiarity the more honourable, because it marked their publications at a time when the very opposite was, and from time immemorial had been, fashionable in English literature,—we mean the liberal and inoffensive tone which they seek to preserve in all matters devoutly bearing upon the Catholic religion. We have more than once been compelled to call attention to the extent and virulence of the anti-catholic prejudices which pervade every single department of English literature. In truth, it would seem almost impossible to find any book, still less any series of books, in which the Catholic would not find much to shock and offend his most cherished principles. From all this the Messrs. Chambers have, from the commencement, carefully and systematically abstained, and although their publications are not in every respect immaculate,—although they contain much that a Catholic would not write, and which he cannot approve,—though there are to be found here and there expressions

and statements calculated to give offence, yet this is clearly beyond, or rather against the spirit in which the publications are conducted, that we freely overlook it,—as a consequence of the physical impossibility of minute and personal attention to all the details of literary labour so vast and so varied. The essays in the volume before us are collected from the Edinburgh Journal, being, generally speaking, those which have appeared as the leading articles in that number, and they will be found no less attractive in their collective form, than they have always proved while occupying the plan for which they were originally destined.

XIX.—*A Full course of Instruction for the use of Catechists; being an Explanation of the Catechism entitled, ‘An Abridgment of Christian Doctrine.’* By the Rev. JOHN PERRY. In two volumes. London : Jones, 63, Paternoster Row, 1848.

THE basis of this work is the common Church Catechism, which for arrangement and condensation cannot be surpassed ; but, however admirable for committing to memory, all instructors have felt the necessity of enlarging upon it. Many portions of it resting upon Scripture history, cannot be so well explained as by a short recital of those histories ; the mysterious doctrines of the Faith require much elucidation ; it needs no little skill so to elevate the minds of the young to the contemplation of these mysteries, that they shall embrace them with understanding, and derive spiritual profit from them, and yet to guard them from carrying too far the natural tendency to simplify and understand. It is equally evident that, in explaining the rules of action given by the Church, there is great room for skilful exposition,—for bringing them home to the conscience, and applying them to the different circumstances likely to arise. In many cases, also, catechetical instruction would be very incomplete, which did not give to the young and the enquiring some of the grounds of their faith, drawn as well from Scripture as from sound argument. Mr. Perry has met all these difficulties, and has afforded the most valuable assistance to all who have the arduous duty of catechising and instructing the young in their religion ; he has kept up the thread of Scripture history necessary for enabling a child to obtain a clear and broad view of the dealings of God with man ;

he has given the parables and texts bearing upon particular points, and also a large number of passages of Scripture in support of the doctrines of the Church, with accurate references to all ; his teaching and explanation of the different points of faith and rules of conduct are admirable ; and the strong and simple plainness with which they are given, show a practical acquaintance with the difficulties which are to be overcome.

XX.—*Tales Explanatory of the Sacraments.* By the Authoress of “Geraldine,” and “The Young Communicants.” 2 vols 8vo. Dolman, London : 1846.

IN the age of universal “light-reading,” there is hardly a conceivable subject which we do not find illustrated in the form of a Tale, or of some analogous literary device, intended to cover the hard points of study, and to beguile the labour and weariness which it involves.—The “Historical Novel” is, we believe, the eldest member of this numerous family ; but, like the newly found heir in the old comedy, the Historical Novel can now almost “count kinsmen by the score,” in the various collateral lines of the metaphysical novel, the controversial novel, the philosophical, the political, the moral, the economical, and even the statistical novel.

We may as well frankly admit, that to this mode of acquiring knowledge, as a system, we are irreclaimably opposed. Perhaps it is an old-fashioned prejudice which leads us to place implicit faith in the adage, “soon got, soon gone ;” but at all events, while we earnestly desire to remove from the road to knowledge anything which would render the journey either repulsive or over-wearisome, we are far from wishing to convert it into a downright railroad, in which the student is to be whirled along rapidly and luxuriously, without the slightest exertion on his own part, and almost without the consciousness of locomotion ; receiving scarcely an impression from the scenes through which he thus hurried, or if he receive them at all, receiving them only to be obliterated as soon as impressed.

Still, on the other hand, we as freely acknowledge that, which as a system, is, in our opinion, utterly inefficient and indeed vicious in the extreme, may, under judicious management, and by sparing and occasional use, be made a powerful auxiliary in the work of education. There are

some subjects of so solemn and serious a character that men, in the frailty and frivolity of their minds, feel, almost naturally, a reluctance to approach their investigation. One legitimate use, therefore, of the device which we describe, may be to overcome or neutralize this repugnance. Again, in every course of study long pursued, there will occur, almost of necessity, periods of languor and inactivity, and general unfitness, or at least, indisposition for exertion. There, too, a stimulus may, not unsuccessfully, be applied ; and, in general, (not to proceed further into particulars), if the use of fiction, as a vehicle of instruction, be restrained within proper limits, we have no hesitation in saying that, although there are many for whom it is altogether unnecessary, there are many also for whom it may be rendered highly advantageous.

Of that particular class of instructive fiction, to which the subject of our present notice belongs, we have already on several occasions expressed our opinion. From these opinions it will easily be inferred that we gladly welcome any such work from the able and judicious pen of the authoress of "Geraldine," and that we consider her present publication extremely well-timed, and likely to prove the instrument of much edification. Not that we regard it as at all exhausting the interesting subject to which it is devoted, nor indeed as realizing all the expectations which her former works will have created, but that we look upon it as containing a vast body of solid and accurate instruction on the subject of the Sacraments, and as conveying this instruction in a guise sufficiently attractive for the artless and simple minds for which it is principally designed.

The Tales are seven in number, each of them illustrating one of the Seven Sacraments of the Church. It is not our purpose to discuss critically the merits of the several stories. We have already hinted our opinion that they have, each and all, left something still to be brought out in illustrating the nature, effects, and purpose of the various Sacraments, and above all, the specific uses for which these holy rites have been designed. We cannot but think that some of the tales are not sufficiently *characteristic*; that as regards the dispositions of the recipients, for example, the plot of Blanche's confirmation" would, in the main, have almost equally served as an illustration of the Eucharist; and that, in the other stories, the authoress

has not selected the strongest and most characteristic points. But, from the Tales generally, as embodying a vast variety of most solid Christian instruction, and as explaining with great clearness and precision, all the important doctrines connected with the Sacraments, we cannot, even with this draw-back, withhold our warmest and most hearty commendation ; and we are bound to say, that for tender piety, for simple and natural beauty, and for elevation of thought, there is not one of them which is not worthy the early fame of the authoress.

The story of "The Vigil of St. Lawrence," (which illustrates the Sacrament of Baptism), is intended partly to explain the nature of the Sacrament, partly to describe the detail of the baptismal rite, but chiefly to enforce the necessity of its early administration. As regards the dramatic arrangement of incidents, and the other minor details of the execution, this is perhaps the best told among the Tales. Nothing could be more beautiful than the character of young Felix Rochdale, and nothing more instructive than his conversations with his friend and tutor, Father Lewis.

"Blanche's Confirmation," and "The Priest of Northumbria," are both historical ; the scene of the former being laid in the penal days of Elizabeth, that of the latter in the Anglo-Saxon times. The Tales illustrative of the Eucharist, of Penance, and of Marriage, on the contrary are purely moral, and are full of instruction, though in all three the plot is confused and the arrangement unsatisfactory.

We abstain from any more lengthened detail of the several stories, in order that we may not anticipate the pleasure of perusal. To those who recollect the admirable tale of "Geraldine," it is not necessary to say that "The Tales of the Sacraments" will repay the trouble.

The pleasure, however, with which we welcome this work is greatly enhanced by the prospect which it seems to afford of many similar efforts in the same direction. Religious tales have been in abundance ; tales illustrative of the general principles of Christian virtue. What we desire to see, is a tendency to embody in this attractive dress, the peculiarly distinctive feature of the Catholic Religion. It has often been to us a matter of painful surprise, that our literature has so long been suffered to remain deficient in this particular, while the Catholic pub-

lications of the Continent are so rich in materials wherewith to supply the deficiency. The last twelve months have added largely to our imported stock of lighter Catholic reading, and we trust that the example of the distinguished authoress of "Geraldine," will lead to a proportionate extension of our native Catholic literature.

**XXI.—*The English Catholic Library, Vol. III.—A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation.*** By SIR THOMAS MORE, Knight, some time Lord Chancellor of England. London: Charles Dolman, 61, New Bond Street, 1847.

WE are very glad to see a continuation of Mr. Dolman's valuable Catholic Library; it is an excellent indication of what we may expect from it, to find thus early in the series so standard a work as that which is now revived, or to speak more properly, introduced to the Catholic public. This book was the consolation of the great Sir Thomas More, written in his prison "with a coal," such being the only material he had whereby to write down the teeming thoughts of that vast brain; in this work he strove to reduce to method all those considerations by which he was to encourage himself and his fainting brethren, to struggle against that pressing, horrible, and undefined evil, (in those days so new) of religious persecution;—forced even to disguise his fears under an imaginary case; he supposed himself to be encouraging himself and them against the persecutions of the Turks in Hungary; alas, of these "Turks' persecutions" he draws a picture not difficult to be identified.

"And now sith these tidings have come hither so brim of the great Turk's enterprise into these parts here, we can almost neither talk, nor think of any other thing else, than of his might and our mischief, there falleth so continually before the eyen of our heart a fearful imagination of this terrible thing, his mighty strength and power, his high malice and hatred, and his incomparable cruelty, with robbing, spoiling, burning, and laying waste all the way that his army cometh. Then killing or carrying away the people far thence, far from home, and there sever the couples and the kindred asunder, every one far from the other; some kept in thraldom, and some kept in prison, and some for a triumph tormented and killed in his presence. Then send his people hither and his false faith therewith, so that such as here are and remain, still shall either both lose all and be lost too, if forced to forsake the faith of our Saviour Christ, and fall to the sect of Mahomet. And yet (which we more fear than all the remanent) no small part of

our folk that dwellwin here about us are (as we fear) falling to him, or already confedered with him ; which, if it so be, shall haply keep this quarter from the Turk's incursion. But then shall they that turn to his law leave all their neighbours nothing, but shall have our goods given them, and our bodies both; but if we turn as they do, and forsake our Saviour too ; and then (for there is no Turk so cruel to Christian folk as is the false christian that falleth from the faith) we shall stand in peril if we persevere in the truth, to be more hardly handled and die more cruel death by our own countrymen at home, than if we were taken hence and carried to Turkey."—p. 4.

But against these terrors, vague, terrible, striking against every point wherein a man is vulnerable, how did the venerable sage prepare himself ! with what learning, thought, patience, faith, did he set himself to draw from the inexhaustible well of consolation open to all men, could all men so avail themselves of it !

" There is in these books so witty, pithy, and substantial matter for the easing, remedying, and patiently suffering of all manner of griefs and sorrows that may possibly encumber any man, by any manner or kind of tribulation, whether their tribulation proceed from any inward temptation or ghostly enemy, the devil, or any outward temptation of the world, threatening to bereave or spoil us of our goods, lands, honour, liberty, and freedom, by grievous and sharp punishment, and finally of our life withal, by any painful, exquisite, and cruel death, against all which he doth so wonderfully and effectually prepare, defend, and arm the reader, that a man cannot desire or wish any thing of any more efficacy or importance thereunto to be added."—p. 6.

There are some who may think all this needless and heavy; 'a word to the wise' is an old and true saying, but not in all cases applicable : if a man's faith is indeed so highly perfect by use, that he needs but the recollection of a moment to quicken it into the most active exercise, it is well for him ; but if he is not so happy, but needs to use for its assistance the best of human means—the exercise of a strong reason, he will find help in the experience of old Sir Thomas More. There are many who will take great delight, as we do ourselves, in the old style, rich, elaborate, quaint—and to us new, which gives zest even to the most hackneyed thoughts : take for example the following scrap of controversy.

" But, cousin, as I told you the other day before, in these matters with these new men will I not dispute, but, surely, for mine own part I cannot well hold with them. For, as far as mine own poor wit can perceive, th<sup>o</sup> Holy Scripture of God is very plain against them, and the whole corps of Christendom, in every christian region, and the very

places in which they dwell themselves, have ever unto their own days clearly believed against them, and all the old holy doctors have evermore taught against them, and all the old holy interpreters have construed the scripture against them. And, therefore, if these men have now perceived so late, that the scripture hath been misunderstanden all this while, and that of all those old holy doctors, no man could understand it ; then am I too old at this age to begin to study it now. And trust these men's cunning, cousin, that dare I not, in nowise, sith I cannot see nor perceive no cause, wherefore I should think, that these men might not now in the understanding of scripture as well be deceived themself, as they bear us in hand, that all those other have been all this while before. Howbeit, cousin, if so it be, that their way be not wrong, but they have found out so easy a way to heaven, as to take no thought, but make merry, nor take no penance at all, but sit them down and drink well for our Saviour's sake, sit cock-a-hoop and fill in all the cups at once, and then let Christ's passion pay for all the shot, I am not he that will envy their good hap, but surely counsel dare I give no man, to adventure that way with them. But such as fear lest that way be not sure, and take upon them willingly tribulation of penance, what comfort they do take, and well may take, therein, that have I somewhat told you already."—p. 104.

And what a knowledge of human nature is in the following reproof to those who say to the sinner "peace, peace, when there is no peace."

" And in such wise deal they with him as the mother doth sometime with her child, which, when the little boy will not rise in time for her, but lie still a bed and slug, and when he is up weepeth because he hath lain so long, fearing to be beaten at school for his late coming thither ; she telleth him then that it is but early day, and he shall come time enough, and biddeth him go, good son, I warrant thee, I have sent to thy master myself, take thy bread and butter with thee, thou shalt not be beaten at all. And thus (so she may send him merry forth at the door that he weep not in her sight at home) she studieth not much upon the matter, though he be taken tardy and beaten when he cometh to school. Surely thus, I fear me, fare there many friars, and States Chaplains too, in comfort giving to great men when they be loth to displease them. I cannot commend their thus doing, but surely I fear me they thus do."—p. 47.

Certainly this quaintness smacks in more than one way of "the olden time," some of the good man's "merrie" illustrations are such as he would scarce have ventured upon now-a-days; and when he enlivens himself by an apologue (as for instance the Shrift of the Fox and the Wolf,) what a thing it is ! so lengthy, so conscientiously careful in all its details and in its application, what a figure would it cut in modern literature where a hint, a

covert sneer, a happy allusion, a joke compressed and sharpened to its finest edge, a point rather indicated than dwelt upon, and in the fewest words, can alone be tolerated. Well! if we are enabled safely to travel at such a railway pace, it is because others have laid for us the “sleepers” sound, deep and strong. Pre-eminent amongst them is Sir Thomas More, a name dear to every English Catholic.

XXII.—*Home Influence; a Tale for Mothers and Daughters.* By GRACE AGUILAR. London: R. Groombridge and Sons, 1847.

THIS charming story we can entirely recommend for the reading of young people ; and, indeed, it will be quite as profitable to parents. It is not Catholic, which to us must be a subject of regret; but the morality is simple and pure, and so entirely free from sectarianism, that it is quite unobjectionable to Catholic readers upon that score. As might be supposed from the title, the object of the story is mainly to show the influence which is exercised at home, and chiefly by a wise and tender mother, upon the characters of young people. The scene is in the country, where several families join in social intercourse, and the young people are naturally introduced, and very natural characters; they do not occupy the whole attention, several family histories of considerable interest are so interwoven as to give great variety to the book, and take it out of the class of children’s books, though it can scarcely be called a novel. The chief interest, however, turns upon two young orphans, brother and sister, who have been spoiled by an injudicious mother. The boy has been rendered rash and selfish; the girl has grown into a depressed, timid, self-denying character, devoted to her brother, and bound by a promise to her dying mother to shield him whenever it was in her power, and always to conceal his faults; the boy incurs gambling debts, and writes to conjure his sister to send him the money if she would save him from destruction, and to conceal his fault from the relatives with whom they live. At the moment of her utmost dilemma and despair, she picks up some bank-notes in the Park, and sends them to her brother; the notes were her uncle’s, lost by a servant, who, although believed and protected by his master, becomes an object of general suspicion. The anguish of the poor young girl may be imagined; her theft is discovered, but not the

purpose for which she has required and spent so much money ; this she resolutely conceals,—and the measures adopted by her perplexed but tender aunt, and the struggles and gradual sinking of the young girl's mind, are most pathetic and true to nature. The story is carefully wound up, and ends pleasantly.

What we admire in this work is, that it is in nothing austere or exaggerated. Home influence can only be exercised in a happy home ; a point too often forgotten in those works composed for young people, in which such a system of lecturing and restriction is described as must infallibly have disgusted any merely mortal children, and would probably have occasioned worse faults than it was meant to cure. The mother here is really a very sweet and motherly lady, and a general air of enjoyment is given to the family. Indeed, we find that in one instance the authoress has incurred the censure of a zealous Protestant for representing her young people as allowed to enjoy the amusement, not of constructing, but of examining, the treasures of a German “Christmas-Tree” upon a New-year's day, which falls on Sunday. From the authoress's apology we collect that she is herself a Jewess ; of which we were not aware, and which we should certainly not have discovered from anything in the book itself.

XXIII.—*Cicero; a Drama.* By the Author of ‘Moile's State Trials.’  
London : Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. ; B. Kimpton, 1847.

WE are unacquainted with the work to which we are referred in this unostentatious announcement ; nor have we the least idea who is the author of the splendid poem we have read with so much gratification and surprise, and which, we trust, will draw the attention of the public as much as in our opinion it deserves to do. A grand “Overture” introduces the work,—the powers of memory and imagination appear to the writer, detailing all the wonders they can do for man.

“ But most we love the studious breast to haunt,  
That toils in silence, solitude, and want ;  
Nor craves reward beyond what only glows,  
Save his approof whose will the toil bestows,  
As one who digs where science marks the plain,  
Digs many a fathom sand and stone in vain,  
Digs for the fount ; though pride contemn the elf,  
And sneers nigh make the delver doubt himself ;

Till pure from deepest clay the waters burst,  
 And sport in air, and feed a people's thirst.  
 Such have we seen thee by the sea-girt shore,  
 And midland lake, from youth devote to lore,  
 Afraid to tongue thy thought, ashamed to hide,  
 Ignorant how friends are made or fortune tried,  
 Too proud to follow them, too weak to lure,  
 A lonely bird, or brook, in woods obscure,  
 That winds and warbles to the deepest glen,  
 Nor seeks applause, nor loves the haunts of men.  
 And, for thy worth and woes have mercy moved,  
 And vows been heard, and far as meet approved,  
 Our wings for answer have been speeded swift,  
 To soothe thy sorrows, and thy soul uplift,  
 And waft it to its wish, and kindle with a gift."—p. 8.

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"Instant, as dews sweep down a mountain's wood,  
 Or snow-flakes earthward borne, in Rome I stood ;  
 And as the dew, when bursts midsummer sun,  
 Or snow-flake, when it falls where waters run,—  
 Instant I changed, dissolved and past away,  
 Transfused, and mixed in all that round me lay ;  
 Conscious, yet lost ; though absent, present there ;  
 A shadow merged in night, a breath in air,  
 Ethereal heat through all materials known,  
 The electric stream o'er every surface thrown,  
 Nothing, yet part of all—with all things, yet alone."—p. 11.

This is not the most poetical quotation we could have selected, but it serves to show the power, and rapid, yet melodious flow of the verses, as well as to introduce the story. The machinery of the Drama is so simple, that only real genius could have sustained its interest, and raised it above the many elegant but tedious compositions we have seen, somewhat resembling it in construction—too meritorious to be condemned, but far too heavy to be read, much less returned to ; whereas, in this poem, there is a rapidity and fire which engage the whole attention. It is divided into three acts. The scene of the first is the library of Cicero, whose noble soliloquy is interrupted by the arrival of Titus Pomponius Atticus ; he has returned from Greece—

"But what to learn ? Has madness seized our youth ?  
 Can this, which all asseverate, still be truth ?  
 Have gowns become a cloak for daggers bare,  
 Our laws an ambuscade, our rites a snare ?

The Senate's session a gladiator's wake ;  
 The curule chair a scaffold and a stake ?  
 Where Rome's first magistrate, with knives beset,  
 That closed him round, a leopard in a net,  
 'Mid chiefs with whom his sovereignty was shared,  
 The friends he loved, the enemies he spared,  
 Was hacked with thirty thrusts, and headlong thrown  
 To bite the base where Pompey frowned in stone."—p. 19.

With Shaksperian power Cicero relates the death of Cæsar, and then the friends debate upon the present state and future prospects of Rome, and the steps to be now taken, bringing into review their difficulties, their friends and foes, with troubled earnestness, relieved by lovely pictures of the soft repose and elegance of Tusculum, to which Atticus seeks to draw Cicero away from the coming contest, until their discourse is broken by the arrival of Brutus, who declares his purpose to leave the city and return in arms.

"Day rises fair, but storms are mustering round—  
 Mute skies intone—still throes convulse the ground ;  
 Floods, floods impend, whence Rome shall ill emerge,  
 Antonius as a tempest rides the surge,  
 And all who should have stemmed the torrent join to urge,  
 As you foresaw, forewarned. My part is ta'en,  
 To leave a city I redeemed in vain,  
 And till with Freedom never to return,  
 But woo her in the camp, or wed her in the urn."—p. 49.

He continues in the same style of masculine fervour, and when he quits the presence of the sages, and repairs for a brief space to his home, his interview with Portia is most beautiful, truly Roman in its loftiness of thought, yet blended with exquisite tenderness ; thus he addresses her :

"For thy sweet presence fills my soul's desire,  
 And, oh, thy heart was ever like a lyre,  
 Which, wound and wielded in a master's arms,  
 Gives thought new language, and discourse new charms,  
 Responds each impulse that his soul bestows,  
 Refines his pleasures, and consoles his woes.  
 But chief I love the strain most needed now,  
 That makes my mind the image of thy brow,  
 Sublime to tower through shadows, as the morn—  
 To tread, as flowers, on virtue's path of thorn—  
 For honour brave the wreck of earth and sea,  
 And immolate for Rome myself and thee."—p. 69.

We could willingly give the next scene entire ; the escape of Brutus and his friends from Rome having all the spirit-stirring energy of some deed of recent chivalry ; but our quotations have been long enough. Antony enters Rome, and after a passionate scene with Fulvia, Cicero is summoned to the senate, where the battle is to be fought. The preliminaries are laid with great solemnity ; the sacrifice, the description of the Capitol, with the magnificent presence of its sculptured god, and then Antoninus rising overwhelms Cicero with a burst of noble, brilliant, and poetical eloquence. It is replied to with stinging sarcasm, sophistry, and bitterness ; distinct in its character, yet not less admirable in its kind than that to which it replies. These speeches form the climax of the poem. We do not apologize for our many quotations,—poetry cannot be described ; had they been longer, we could have given a better idea of the beauty of the poem. Its chief faults are occasional lines and thoughts of great obscurity ; and an interlude of a scene between two slaves, brother and sister, which, though replete with beautiful passages, is the mere fragment of a story, without beginning or end or connection with the Drama.

XXIV.—*Northern Antiquities ; or an Historical Account of the Manners, Customs, Religion, and Laws, Maritime Expeditions and Discoveries, Language and Literature, of the Ancient Scandinavians.* Translated from the French of M. Mallet, by Bishop Percy. New Edition, Revised throughout, and considerably Enlarged. By J. A. BLACKWELL, Esq. (Bohn's Antiquarian Library). London : 1847.

IT speaks well for the success of Mr. Bohn's first gigantic literary enterprise, "The Standard Library," that he has been induced to extend the basis of his undertaking, and to transfer the same principle of cheap literature into departments which have hitherto been reserved exclusively for the wealthiest and most favoured of the sons of science. When he commenced the "Standard Library," there were found wise and learned friends to shake their heads in ominous doubtingness as to the prospects of success which it held out ; and to express a fear that, for really solid literature, there did not yet exist in England a reading public sufficiently numerous to ensure such circulation, as, at the extremely low price which had been adopted, would cover the expenses of publication. We ourselves, however, never entertained such a fear ; and it is extremely

gratifying to find that the success of the “cheap literature scheme” in the department of general literature has been so striking and so complete, as to furnish a well-grounded hope that even in the less popular, (and indeed the unpopular,) departments of “Antiquities,” “Science,” and even “Classics,” the same, or nearly the same,\* project may be carried out, with equal chances of success, or at least with such a chance as will warrant an enterprising publisher in risking his capital on the experiment. In addition to the “Standard Library,” Mr. Bohn has commenced an “Antiquarian Library,” a “Scientific Library,” and a “Classical Library.”

The volume at the head of these pages is the second of the Antiquarian Series. Its very full and comprehensive title will explain to the reader that it is a new and enlarged reprint of Bishop Percy’s translation of Mallet’s well-known Introductory Essay on Northern Antiquities, prefixed to his History of Denmark. The new materials for the illustration of this subject, however, which have been published since the appearance of Bishop Percy’s translation (1770), have rendered it necessary for the editor to modify both the translation and the annotations of the original editor; and indeed have given to the present edition the character of an almost entirely new work. The editor has not only revised the translation, culled, amended, and added to the annotations; but he has also introduced into the text frequent and considerable additions, illustrative of the particular subjects under discussion. Many of these will be found exceedingly interesting; we would refer particularly to those upon the singular custom of “Nithing,” (pp. 155-7,) on certain peculiarities of the military art among the Scandinavians, (p. 168,) and on the Runic characters, (p. 228); and, in general, though the liberty of adding to the text is one which should be but sparingly conceded to translators, yet it is but justice to say that Mr. Blackwell’s additions are, for the most part, absolutely necessary for the correct illustration of the subject in accordance with the state of knowledge at the present day.

Besides Mallet’s own work, Bishop Percy’s edition further contained a translation of the “Prose (or Younger) Edda,” one of the best Runic remains of the Icelandic

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\* The price of the Volumes is somewhat higher, 5s., instead of 3s. 6d.

literature. This curious composition, so called in order to distinguish it from the "Poetical (or Elder) Edda,"\* is generally ascribed to the celebrated Snorri Sturlason, who after having been twice the supreme magistrate of the Icelandic Republic, was killed in 1241. Bishop Percy's version, however, which was nothing more than a translation of Mallet's French version, collated with the Latin one published by Resenius, in 1665, was found so incorrect, that it was necessary to subject it to a thorough revision, and in this, even more than in the text of Mallet's book, the superiority of the present edition is recognizable. Mr. Blackwell has further added, from the "*Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*," Sir Walter Scott's "Abstract of the *Eyrbyggia-Saga*; four long supplementary chapters on the "Colonization of Greenland, and the discovery of America by the Scandinavians," the "Laws and Institutions of Iceland;" the "Manners and Customs of the Icelanders," and the "Icelandic Literature;" a very full "Critical Examination of the Scandinavian Mythology," and a valuable "Glossary to the 'Prose Edda.'"

There is, however, one addition of the Editor's which it would be unpardonable in us to overlook;—we mean his remarks on "Bishop Percy's Preface," which purport to be a *résumé* of the present state of the science of Ethnology. It would be folly, of course, to enter into such a controversy within the limits of a notice like the present; but we must, at least, register our protest against the introduction, into works intended for popular use, of such principles as are involved in a denial of the certainty that "no specific difference exists among the races of men," (p. 25.) or a sneer at the "writers of a by-gone age, who leave the ark with Noah, and make Shem, Ham, and Japhet, the progenitors of mankind." (p. 26.) We trust that Mr. Bohn may see, or may be taught, the impolicy (to omit every other consideration) of such a course.

We shall not conclude without observing that this volume supplies a Christian inscription in Runic characters, which may be added to those cited in a recent article, in illustration of the Catholic usages of the Scandinavians. It is a simple grave-stone, VIGDIS RESTS HERE. GOD

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\* The "Poetical Edda," consists of thirty-nine poems, collected by a priest named Sæmund Sigfusson, (1057—1131); of these thirty-eight are of a Pagan character. The last, which is probably by Sæmund himself, is Christian.

GLAD HER SOUL ;" and was found on the shores of a creek called Igaliko, near the foundation of a church ninety-six feet in length, and forty-eight in breadth. (p. 249.)

XXV.—1. *Remarks on Medical Organization and Reform, (Foreign and English,) with a Supplement upon the Medical Reform Question.* By EDWIN LEE, Fell. of the Roy. Med. and Chir. Soc. London, John Churchill, 1847.

2.—*Remarks on the Expectant Treatment of Diseases.* By ΑΚΕΣΤΗΣ. London, John Churchill. Bristol, H. C. Evans, 1848.

THESE remarks on Medical Reform, refer principally to the condition and management of the profession in England. A great service has, however, been rendered by Mr. Lee, to those generally who are bold enough to meddle with this strife-stirring subject, by his prefacing his remarks with a clear and intelligible account of the medical organization of France, Italy, and Germany. This is useful in two ways. It affords some hints which may be turned to good account in any scheme of reform, either of the present system as a whole, or of particular corporations. It also tends to prove to those who sigh after the imaginary perfections of foreign medical institutions, that however excellent these may be, as parts of a system of government, they would be hardly compatible with the actual state of things here, and are entirely opposed to our habits and feelings.

Mr. Lee believes that he has not been well used by the college of which he is a member. This perhaps gives a colouring to his views of the state of the profession. Certainly he does not spare the London colleges, nor gloss over their abuses.

We cannot say that he quite makes out his case against the College of Physicians. The defects in this body are those of constitution more than of administration. And it must be remembered, that the college has been long striving to obtain a removal of its present defects. Against the College of Surgeons there lies a grievous charge, that of neglecting to require a proper education, general and professional, at the hands of those who seek its diploma. There is too much truth in this. Admirably as the revenues of the College of Surgeons of England have been employed, it is to be feared that they have been attained at a sacrifice of sacred and important duties. Nevertheless, with many defects of organization, and with some

abuses in the administration of the corporate bodies, which all admit, and would rejoice to see remedied, it may be questioned whether the members of the profession in their respective spheres, are not as competent to the discharge of their duties, as those in other parts of the world.

Our author states, that "without the adventitious aid of fortune or patronage, unaided talent, diligence, and perseverance, how great soever, would very rarely suffice to raise their professors to distinction." We cannot take the same view. History and daily experience are opposed to it. Nor can we admit that the system of "concours," of which Mr. Lee is a great advocate, would be advantageous after the period of pupilage.

Our limits do not permit a lengthened consideration of the various reforms suggested. Could the present system be entirely swept away, still it might be a matter of some difficulty to form a new one, under which the public would be efficiently served, and the character of the profession maintained. This difficulty is of course greatly enhanced, when a nice balance is to be struck between existing rights or conflicting interests.

Mr. Lee has suggested a series of propositions on this point, to which we must refer our readers. They appear to have been carefully considered.

Similar proposals have been made and fairly discussed. The evidence taken by the recent parliamentary committee on Mr. Wakley's Registration Bill, shows that the subject is by no means simple.

Whatever is done, and that something must be done there can be no doubt, it is much to be hoped that no plans will be adopted tending to raise the character of one class in the profession, at the risk of lowering that of the others.

The second pamphlet on the list indicates that the spirit of innovation is not confined to medical politics. Its object is to combat a heresy imported from France, which has found its advocates in some able writers in this country. The "expectant method," as it has been called, introduces nature to treat the patient, and leaves to the doctor the office of the nurse, to sit by and watch. The fallacy of this doctrine is ably exposed by Ακεστης.

THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

JUNE, 1848.

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ART. I.—1. *Letters to M. Gondon on the Destructive Character of the Church of Rome, both in Religion and Polity.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London, Rivington, 1847, 2nd Edition.

2.—*Sequel to Letters to M. Gondon on the Destructive Character of the Church of Rome, both in Religion and Polity.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London, Rivington, 1848.

WHETHER it was an argument addressed to prejudiced men, who could not admit justice into the number of their virtues, we cannot tell; but it is quite certain, that, as a matter of fact, Catholics were admitted to their civil rights less on the ground of justice, than on their insignificance in number and weight. It seems that our unconscious friends have been somewhat deceived, our number is different from their estimate, and our influence more felt than they anticipated or desire. We have, therefore, a large proportion of the press busy in forging and disseminating charges against us, which their authors ought to know are untrue. They propound our principles as if they understood them, and where they do not, which is almost always the case, put their own interpretation on them, and insist upon it that we should abide by their premises and their conclusions. If we deny the allegations, we gain nothing; for our all-knowing controversialists have a theory that we tell the truth only when we cannot help it, and our denial becomes in these cases simply a proof of the accusations.

There are some among those with whom we have to do, who deny the evidence of their own senses in questions of Catholic controversy. There is a fundamental theory in possession of them, that the Catholic Church is utterly and thoroughly in the wrong, and, consequently, whatever clashes with that opinion must be abandoned: it must be cast aside as an optical illusion or a lying wonder of the evil one. They know better than we do what we believe, and can tell our thoughts before we act on them, and decide what our practice will be under given circumstances, even when we ourselves may be reasonably in doubt. Virtue and goodness have no home with us, and vice is our natural companion; imposture, treachery, and crime are the external developments of our whole moral being. The Church, which has in all ages inculcated charity, and has been the salt of the world, is condemned as an evil system, as the fruitful mother of every abominable work.

In our July number, 1847, we gave a few pages to the then recent lucubrations of Dr. Christopher Wordsworth; and since that time it has pleased him to add another volume to the library of libellous literature. We call his writings deliberately by such a name: but do not, however, say anything of him personally, for his eyes are blinded, and he cannot even see what is plainly set before him. He has placed himself beyond the pale of controversial courtesy, and must be dealt with as an irresponsible being. He may be an amiable and honest man, and scrupulously just in all worldly matters, but in questions of Catholic controversy he is utterly perverted, and does not know his right hand from his left. He is an excellent scholar, and of cultivated tastes, and inferior to few in mere secular learning, but in theology he is less than a novice, and more prejudiced even than a Jew. Nothing good can come from Nazareth with him, and he will not go and see if his theory be true.

Our first examination of his work was hasty, time hindering us: we shall therefore, in some measure, repeat what we said before, and travel again over the same ground. Not to weary our readers with a continuous commentary on his books, we shall take them as before in separate portions, more in the form of notes than of a laboured reply, beginning, as then, with the passage out of Cardinal Bellarmine, which, he considers, teaches that the

Pope may change, if he please, the nature of virtue and vice. Dr. Wordsworth, in his "Sequel," labours to show that he did not say that the Pope could command people to practise vice, and that they would be bound to obey him, but something else; — what that something is we really cannot make out. Yet, notwithstanding his special pleading for several pages, he admits indirectly that he had misinterpreted Cardinal Bellarmine, and that our charge was true; that admission is proveable from the fact, that he produces several authorities for his misinterpretation. These authorities are Ames, Lynde, Crakanthorp, Sanderson, Potter, and the Rev. Joseph Mendham. It is not very likely that Dr. Wordsworth would produce these writers as guilty of a misrepresentation, if he had not been conscious of having travelled in their course. Why should he fortify himself with quotations from their writings, if his defence in the "Sequel" be just? Witnesses to character are not much regarded when the accusation stands on good testimony. We do not mean to content ourselves with circumstantial evidence, but will convict him out of his own mouth.

"Lastly, to pass from *Protestant* authors, I will now only observe, *It is quoted* by an eminent person of Bellarmine's own order and school, his celebrated contemporary, the Jesuit Gretser, who, in his Defence of Bellarmine, expounds this passage as follows: 'Almighty God would have been wanting to His Church in things necessary to salvation, if the Roman Pontiff could err in moral precepts on necessary points, for the *Church would be bound to obey him as her Supreme Pastor*, and yet by obeying him would fall into a pernicious error.' "—Seq. p. 39.

Here we have a clear proof that the passage from Bellarmine was misinterpreted in the "Letters," for the extract from Gretser is brought forward to show that others understood Bellarmine as Dr. Wordsworth did. In reality Gretser himself is misrepresented, and that misrepresentation is the evidence on which our author rests his case. It is like a man making good a bad cause, by producing forged documents and perjured witnesses. The Church is bound to obey the Pope, says Gretser; from this Dr. Wordsworth infers that the Church must obey him even in sin, because he thinks the Pope may err. Impossible, says the Catholic divine, for he is infallible; he is infallible, because the Church must obey

him, for if he were not, the Church might be led into sin. Dr. Wordsworth considers that the interpretation which we gave of Bellarmine's words is not consistent with the Cardinal's explanation of them in his *Recognitio*. If Dr. Wordsworth will read the whole passage, and not stop in the middle, he may perhaps find reason to change his mind.

We charged him with misunderstanding a passage out of the Constitutions of the Jesuits, and that he had, in order to give a colour to his error, falsified the text. His defence in the "Sequel" is: "I could not have written *ea* unless I wished to make Ignatius guilty of false Latin." This is no excuse, if Ignatius had been "guilty of false Latin," that is nothing to the purpose. It was the duty of Dr. Wordsworth to quote the text as he found it, not to change it. The "false Latin" is not in question, but the false interpretation of correct Latin. The truth is this, Dr. Wordsworth did not understand the passage he commented on, and therefore altered it to suit his purpose. Here again, as in the former case, he produces the authority of ignorant or unprincipled men who have given a similar sense to the passage; but at last, as if driven from mere shame, admits that the passage may have another meaning, and saves himself by saying that such interpretation is "*forced*." If he thinks it forced, why did he change *ea* into *id*? We reproduce the original passage out of the "Letters," (p. 65): "The Constitutions are not to bind to mortal sin, nisi Superior id in nomine, &c., unless the Superior commands it in the name." Such is Dr. Wordsworth's version. Whereas the true one is, "The Constitutions do not bind under pain of mortal or venial sin, unless the Superior commands obedience to them in the name," &c. Even Andrew Steinmetz, who has done what he could to blacken the Jesuits, is ashamed of such chicanery. He says:

"Part vi. c. 5, Where it is decided that the guilt of sin attached to disobedience when the Superior commands in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, or in virtue of obedience."—*Novitiate*, p. 98, 2nd Edition, 1847.

Dr. Wordsworth is not to be beaten off so easily; if grammar and common sense are against him in one place, he will have recourse to another, and defy them both.

"But again : it must also be remembered that before the Constitutions were written, the Papal Bulls, which established and confirmed the Order of Jesuits, had invested the Superior with the power of *absolving* all the *members of the Order* from all *sin*..... So that in fact it came to this, that the Superior might enjoin a sin, with a full assurance to the party who was commanded to commit it, that he would receive absolution from his guilt as soon as the command was performed. This being borne in mind, the clause in question, need not, I think, excite much surprise."—Sequel, pp. 67, 68.

No human patience can be sufficient to deal with Dr. Wordsworth. Here he takes the slanderous translation for granted, and then tells us, it need not "excite much surprise." Why? Because he puts a false interpretation on other expressions; and thus one blunder is made to defend another. The Superior of the Jesuits has power to absolve the members of his order from all sin ; therefore, says Dr. Wordsworth, he commands them to sin, that he may absolve them. The Queen of England has power to pardon all murderers, therefore, according to this way of reasoning, she commands her subjects to take away the lives of those she hates ! This is the distorted way in which a learned English churchman treats serious and awful things. We will let Dr. Wordsworth into a secret. Not only the Superiors of the Jesuits, but all the Vicars-Apostolic, and all the Missionary Priests, in Great Britain, have power to absolve from all sin every one who has recourse to them. It is not necessary to be a Jesuit to have this privilege ; but we do not know of any instance in which a man or woman was commanded to sin by a priest. Probably Dr. Wordsworth may supply cases of this kind ; for our own part we cannot.

"The practical result," says Dr. Wordsworth, "of what has been now said is this : either the Superior may command mortal sin ; or, he may make *that* to be *mortal sin* which was *no sin* before. Therefore he may make disobedience to himself to be mortal sin ; and therefore his commands, however criminal, must be obeyed." Sequel, p. 73.

Dr. Wordsworth will grant that the legislature may command things to be done, which are not of obligation now ; therefore it may make that to be sin which was no sin before. Therefore it may make disobedience to itself to be sin ; and therefore its commands, however criminal,

must be obeyed. What does he gain by such an argument? A father may command his child to do an indifferent action; if the child disobeys, he commits a mortal sin,—therefore, according to Dr. Wordsworth, a father compels his child to commit a mortal sin. Unless he can show that the superior may command evil to be done, he proves nothing; for it does not follow that every exercise of authority is wrong, or that every one who has power will invariably abuse it. This way of arguing, if right, will uproot all theories of government, and destroy the very notion of obedience to every authority whatever.

Dr. Wordsworth lays all blame on the Jesuits: they are the scapegoats which bear all the evil that is done, and through them he attacks the Church which recognizes them, and tears up the foundations of all morality. It would be well if he and others would remember whose name they bear; and consider whether He whose servants they are may not be insulted in their persons. Hatred of the Jesuits, in our opinion, is not a Christian virtue, and there may be a very alarming meaning in those words which Jesus spoke Himself: "*Et eritis odio omnibus propter NOMEN meum.*"

Our next charge against the learned canon was, that he had attributed opinions to Cardinal Hosius which were not his, but those of heretics against whom he was writing. The excuse he gives in the "Sequel" is as follows:

"I must begin with thanking the Reviewer for pointing out and correcting my error in ascribing to Hosius what is written by him in the name of an adversary. It may not be of much interest to you or to any one, to know how this error arose; but in order that you may not imagine that I had any desire to injure the memory of Hosius, I may be permitted to mention, that the tenor of the treatise from which the passage is taken, is so much in harmony with the passage itself, that I did not perceive that Hosius in this place was speaking in another man's person, and not his own."  
—p. 91.

This defence makes matters worse: instead of a particular charge against Hosius, we have now a general one. Heretical opinions quoted by Hosius are so like his own, that Dr. Wordsworth mistakes the one for the other. A man is charged with lying and thieving unjustly, and the defence is, that these acts are so like his general habits,

that his accusers did not see these crimes were falsely charged upon him. Such is Dr. Wordsworth's defence ; and yet he tells us he had "no desire to injure the memory of Hosius."

He then goes on as follows to justify himself from wilful negligence. We said that he must have known that he was injuring Hosius, because the very edition of his works which he professed to quote from, pointed out distinctly that the words attributed by him to Hosius were not those of Hosius. Our charge was, that Dr. Wordsworth made something more than a blunder.

" Let me also add, as a somewhat remarkable fact, and as showing that the passage in question was very liable to be so misapprehended, that instead of the words cited by the Reviewer, as standing in the margin, '*haereticorum argumenta ridicula*,'—which were added in later editions—the following are placed *by the side of the passage*, in the earlier copies ; for instance, in one now before me of 1562, p. 242, *F. A Deo nos doctos et non solum legis aut Scripturæ peritos esse oportet.*' "

There is no dispute about the edition of 1562, and it is no answer to us that the words we quoted are not in the margin of the text in that edition. Dr. Wordsworth in his "Letters" quoted the edition of 1584, and in that edition are the words we mentioned. He does not answer the charge, but picks up meanwhile another edition, and under cover of that tries to blind his readers. Either Dr. Wordsworth quoted from a copy of Hosius's works, or he did not ; if he did, it was from the edition of 1584, as it appears in his "Letters," and we have convicted him of suppressing a material part. If he did not use any copy of the works of Hosius, he took his authorities on trust from earlier writers ; in both cases Dr. Wordsworth must forfeit his character as a trustworthy controversialist.

The learned canon of Westminster has opinions of his own on the subject of literary delinquencies. Whenever his own mistakes are detected, he shelters himself under the excuse that others made them before him ; so that whatever may be thought of his learning and reading, it is quite clear that he has no originality. We have really to withdraw the charge that we made against him, that he was original in his errors ; we do so, and beg his forgiveness for having thought him possessed of any genius, even for blundering. It seems that this accusation against

Hosius was not invented by Dr. Wordsworth. He finds it in Jewell, whom Harding detected: but Dr. Wordsworth, nothing abashed, palms it upon the world as an original discovery of his own. Cardinal Bellarmine also, in the preface to his Tract on Councils, had called attention to this protestant mode in which the works of Hosius had been dealt with; Dr. Wordsworth quotes Bellarmine as if he was familiar with him; does he read him only for the purpose of finding fault? When Jewell was detected in his false charge against Hosius, he defended himself thus: we quote from Dr. Wordsworth.

"Thus Hosius, in his book concerning the express word of God, *but shrewdly* and in the person of another, although he clearly affirms the same thing himself in other places and in the same book."—Sequel, p. 92.

Honest Jewell then considers Hosius to be not only irreverent, but a mean and cunning writer, insinuating false principles under the pretence of refuting them. Dr. Wordsworth thinks those principles so like the general opinions of Hosius, that he makes that belief of his, his own justification for the worse than blunder.

We now return to the "Letters" in order to make what follows intelligible.

"Pope Gelasius condemned the practice of *half communion* as sacrilegious." This assertion is made to rest on the following note:

"*Grande Sacrilegium*, A.D. 492. *Jus Canon. Comperimus, de consecratione, dist. 2. c. 12.*" Which means that Pope Gelasius, in the year 492, pronounced what Dr. Wordsworth calls *half communion*, a great sacrilege, *grande sacrilegium*. Dr. Wordsworth refers his readers for the proof of his statement, not to the Epistle of Pope Gelasius, but to an extract from it in the *Decretum*. We turn to it, and the first thing we see is this:

*Corpus Christi sine Ejus Sanguine Sacerdos non debet accipere.* "The priest must not receive the Body of Christ without His blood." This is the title of the Canon, and this is the purpose for which it is inserted in the *Decretum*. It refers not to the laity at all, but to the priests. Dr. Wordsworth is without excuse, for not only does the title of the canon deny his sense of it, but the gloss upon it gives its true sense as follows:

*“Erant quidam sacerdotes qui ordine debito consecrabant corpus et sanguinem Christi : sed a sanguine abstinebant : de quo miratur Gelasius, et dicit se nescire qua superstitione hoc faciebant. Et praecepit ut aut ambo sacramenta sicut confecerant accipiant : aut ab utrisque cessent : quia in sacrificante unum sine altero accipere, sacrilegium est.”*

Which substantially is this: those priests who have duly consecrated in both kinds must receive under both, or they must cease to celebrate; for him who has offered the sacrifice to receive under one kind without the other is sacrilege. Nothing could be clearer. We pointed out to Dr. Wordsworth that the title and the gloss were against him, that he was in error on the subject, and that he was without excuse in making it.

His defence is as follows:

“To this I reply by reiterating my assertion; which I prove thus:—Gelasius was Bishop of Rome at the end of the fifth century—A.D. 492-496—The passage which I quote from him, is taken from one of his letters to two brother bishops.”—Sequel, p. 128.

Dr. Wordsworth, say we, did not quote from Gelasius, and for a very good reason, he could not: he quoted from the *Decretum* of Gratian; we have his own authority for saying so in the note which he has added to his text. We should not have quarrelled with him, if he had quoted from Ivo whom he seems to have discovered lately; probably from Ayliffe's *Parergon*, to whom he refers with great accuracy. Our charge was, and is, that he had quoted from Gratian, and had shut his eyes to the fact that the passage was directed against priests. Instead of acknowledging our charge to be true, he pretends to have quoted the words from Gelasius whom he never saw, and this in spite of his own note which refers us to Gratian. Let him produce the epistle of Gelasius, or tell us where he saw it.

He then goes on to say:

“The precept of Gelasius, as I have observed, is found in one of his letters, with no ‘title or gloss.’ It is simply a paragraph in an epistle. This paragraph was extracted from the letter, and transcribed into the canon law of the Roman Church, and it stands in the collection of canons called the *Decretum* of Gratian, who was a Benedictine monk of Bologna, in the twelfth century, and completed his work about the year 1149, and dedicated it to Pope Eugenius III. You will find the same paragraph, &c.”

We give this useless passage as a specimen of Dr.

Wordsworth's way of carrying on controversy. He first of all ignores the charge against him, then runs away into a long rambling account of books and men who have no more to do with the question before him than they have with the corn-laws. Ivo, Micrologus, Radulphus de Rivo, and Cassander, whom he mentions as if he was quite familiar with them, are not wanted.

Dr. Wordsworth quoted Gratian unfairly, that is the charge. We never accused him of reading Gelasius, for we are afraid of the penalties attached to bringing false accusations, but of reading Gratian dishonestly. This is our charge, and by this we abide. Dr. Wordsworth quotes Gratian as his authority for saying that Pope Gelasius condemned communion under one kind as a great sacrilege; we have shown beyond all dispute that Gratian says no such thing. The controversy is one of fact; let Dr. Wordsworth meet it like an honest man.

It is nothing to the present purpose what Pope Gelasius intended to condemn; that was not the question between us. The intentions of the Pope in that obscure quotation have been explained in two ways, but we are not concerned with those explanations, and shall not be drawn to consider them, as is Dr. Wordsworth's manner, but content ourselves with merely exposing the learned canon's misdealings with his authors.

"By the decree of the council of Constance, which excommunicates all who administer in both kinds, the Church of Rome has virtually condemned her Pope Gelasius as a heretic, and by the decree of Trent, which pronounces a curse on all who affirm that communion in both kinds is necessary, she has anathematized her infallible judge."—Sequel, p. 141.

This passage contains about as much sense as there is in the following sentence:

"That parliament which inflicted penalties on reckless driving and cruelty to animals, virtually condemned its predecessors as merciless to beasts and regardless of human life: and Queen Victoria, by not condemning people to death for those offences whose penalty was death in the reign of George III, condemns her grandfather as a murderer of his subjects."

Dr. Wordsworth is fond of sententious sayings and apt quotations, we will give him one which will be of great service to him; *distingue tempora, et concordabunt omnia.*

Nothing can be more unworthy a learned divine, than to confound times and habits. It would be absurd in Dr. Wordsworth to dress himself like one of the monks whose place he now occupies. The canons of Westminster do their work in their day; each probably differing in some things from his predecessor; yet it is no reflection on those who went before them. Dean Ireland knew nothing of geology, but it would be very injurious to his memory to condemn him because Dr. Buckland takes a view of his duties more in accordance with the temper of his day. There can be nothing more unphilosophical than to contrast one age of the Church with another; each generation has its own work to do, and its own way of doing it. Discipline varies, faith remains one and unchanged. If Pope Gelasius differed from Pope Pius IX. in matters of faith, Dr. Wordsworth may be allowed to boast: but when even he cannot allege contradictions, but mere variation of discipline, such accusations as he brings against us are ludicrous. The Church is a living and ruling authority, is not tied to paper legislation or local arrangements, but ever guided by the spirit of truth, determines in every age her own course and the duties of her children.

The council of Constance, according to Dr. Wordsworth, was an assembly of bold and wicked men, who, notwithstanding the commandment of our Lord, deliberately ruled the contrary. Such it appears to him was the act of that council in sanctioning the practice of communion under one kind. Dr. Wordsworth and his colleagues consider it to be a commandment of Christ that the laity should receive under both kinds; but if they cannot make good this proposition, they do nothing whatever towards securing themselves from the charge of bringing false accusations against the Church. Upon this point we prefer the authority of Cardinal Bellarmine to that of Dr. Wordsworth, to say nothing, at present, of the council of Trent.

Bishop Bull tells us, but most untruly, that the fathers of the Council of Constance, "in express terms, acknowledge that Christ *instituted the Sacrament to be received in both kinds*, yea, that it was so administered and received in the primitive Church; yet with a *non obstante*, notwithstanding all this they boldly and blasphemously decree against communion in both kinds, as a thing dangerous and scandalous." Vindication, § 14. Dr. Wordsworth, whose great merit is to allow no tradition of his

communion to fail, has reproduced this assertion of Bull's. Dr. Bull, being a learned man, did not venture to quote the words of the Council, but Dr. Wordsworth is a bolder man, in his "Letters," p. 148, and in the "Sequel," p. 127, gives them to the world as follows:

"*Licet Christus discipulis administraverit sub utrâque specie,..... tamen hoc non obstante, consuetudo est rationabiliter introducta, quod licet in primitiva, &c.*"

This the learned doctor calls a "striking practical specimen of development in all its anti-scriptural destructive-ness," words which he uses in his "Letters," and again repeats in the "Sequel." Is there no difference between "administered" and "instituted?" We think there is.

The council of Constance made that to be a law which had hitherto depended only on the common tradition of the Church. It found that great scandal had been given in some places; for people maintained that they ought to receive under both kinds, and that they might do so *after dinner or supper*, and otherwise *not fasting*, and also condemned the practice of the Church as sacrilegious. Against these propositions the Council decreed—

"That although Christ *after supper* did institute and administer to His disciples under both kinds this venerable sacrament, yet, notwithstanding, the laudable authority of holy canons, and the approved custom of the church required and requires that this sacrament be not celebrated *after supper*, nor received by the faithful who are not fasting, unless in cases of illness or other necessity allowed by law, or granted by the church. And in like manner, that although in the primitive church this sacrament was received by the faithful under both kinds, yet this custom for avoiding risks and scandals has been reasonably introduced, that the celebrant should receive under both, and the laity under one kind only."

Such is the decree of the council of Constance: it has two purposes to serve; to condemn those who would receive the Eucharist after meals, and to defend the custom of the Church against the assaults of the heretics. To the first part it replies, though our Lord did institute and administer after supper in both kinds, yet only those who are fasting shall receive it. To the second, though in the primitive Church people received under both kinds, yet for certain reasons a contrary custom has been reasonably introduced. The council does not contemplate any command-

ment at all: it justifies the uniform practice of the Church from the earliest days in celebrating the Eucharist in the morning, notwithstanding that Christ did institute and administer it in the evening; and in giving it only to persons fasting, notwithstanding that the Apostles received it after supper. If the Catholic Church be on this point in error, and contradict the commandment of our Lord, the establishment of this country is equally in error, and Dr. Wordsworth himself is not free from the charge he brings against the Church, of "antscriptural destructiveness." The late Dr. Dillon used to administer the communion in the evening, and we have heard of some other Anglican clergy who have occasionally done so in their churches; these may have some right to charge us with departing from the practice of our Lord, but Dr. Wordsworth and all respectable Anglicans have none. The celebration of the Eucharist in the morning, and not after supper, is a greater departure from the example of our Lord than is the "denial of the cup to the laity," for He gave the cup to no layman, but only to His Apostles, whom He then made priests.

From the extract out of the council given before, it is clear that Dr. Wordsworth's charge is good against us. If the words of the decree be as he represents them, the defence we have made is not true; we shall, therefore, place in parallel columns Dr. Wordsworth's citation, and the corresponding portion of the decree. Our readers will have thereby an opportunity of judging how much Dr. Wordsworth is to be trusted, whenever he quotes books that are not easily accessible.

Dr. Wordsworth.

"Hoc præsens concilium sacrum generale in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregatum, decernit, quod licet Christus discipulis administraverit sub utraque specie ..... tamen hoc non obstante consuetudo est rationabiliter introducta, quod licet in primativa ecclesia recipere sub utraque specie, postea a laicis tantummodo sub specie panis recipiatur.

tuerit, et suis discipulis administraverit sub utraque specie, panis et vini hoc venerabile Sacramentum; tamen hoc non obstante, sacrorum

The council first recites the demands of the heretics which we have just mentioned.

"Hinc est, quod hoc præsens concilium sacrum generale Constantiense, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregatum, adversus hunc errorem saluti fidelium providere satagens, matura plurium doctorum tam divini quam humani juris deliberatione præhabita, declarat decernit et diffinit: Quod licet Christus post cenam insti-

canonum auctoritas laudabilis et approbata consuetudo Ecclesiæ servavit et servat, quod hujusmodi sacramentum non debet confici post cœnam, neque a fidelibus recipi non jejunis, nisi in casu infirmitatis aut alterius necessitatis, a jure vel Ecclesia concessso vel admisso. Et sicut haec consuetudo ad evitandum aliqua pericula et scandala est rationabiliter introducta, quod licet in primitiva Ecclesia hujusmodi sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus sub utraque specie, tamen postea a confidentibus sub utraque, et a laicis tantummodo sub specie panis suscipiatur.”

In order to bring out the marvellous fairness with which Dr. Wordsworth gives the words of the council, we have marked in italics every word of his extract. Even an unlearned reader will see at once that any proposition whatever may be made out of any book whatever, if such a way of quoting may be tolerated. For our own part we do not think Dr. Wordsworth so guilty as at first sight he appears to be, being persuaded that he never read the decree, but copied it from some modern book of Protestant controversy. Neither again do we expect to see him show any contrition for his fault, if fault it be, for he will as usual defend himself by appealing to the example of bishop Bull.

We are sorry to find that he will have the countenance herein of a man far more learned than himself, the Editor of Bramhall, in the “Anglo-Catholic library.” Bramhall’s own conscience was too strict to allow him to make the accusation which Dr. Wordsworth has made, accordingly he leaves it as a doubtful point; his words are as follows:

“Even to give a *non obstante* either to the institution of Christ, or at least to the uniform practice of the primitive ages, or to them both.”—Bramhall. vol. 1. p. 47.

Bramhall does not speak unfairly, for according to his view the “denial of the cup” is wrong, and he is certain only that the council went against the “uniform practice,” while he leaves it doubtful whether it contradicted the institution of our Lord. The editor, however, had no misgivings; thus he writes,

“In the decree of the council of Constance, which restricts communion in both kinds to the officiating ministers—ap. Labb. Concil. Tom. xii. p. 100.—giving the bread only to the laity, *such restriction is enacted with an express non obstante, both to the institution of Christ and to primitive practice.*”—note.

The progress of mistakes multiplies them. Luther began to misuse the council of Constance, and his traditions are defended by Dr. Wordsworth. Laud however saw that the council was not easily twisted to this purpose, and he had recourse to an argument to prove that this was the meaning of the council, in spite of Cardinal Bellarmine's denial, whom we take to be a better expounder of canons and customs of the Church, than those who break the one and deny the authority of the other. The council of Constance did not admit that our Lord *commanded* the Eucharist to be administered under both kinds. The Church is at issue with protestants on that point. If there be no commandment of Christ on the subject, much fine and indignant declamation has been wasted. We deny that our Lord commanded us to receive under both kinds, and therefore are not guilty of sacrilege or disobedience.

Another charge against the council of Constance brought by Dr. Wordsworth is this: That it taught that "no faith was to be kept with heretics." The learned canon referred us in his "Letters," to a decree of the nineteenth session as his authority; we replied by "a flat denial," and challenged any interpretation to be given to that decree, which did not imply the necessity of keeping faith with every body. The writer of the "Letters" in his "Sequel" abandons the charge in reality, though on the surface he appears to maintain it.

The case is this: The emperor Sigismund, a layman, gave John Huss, a suspected heretic, a safe conduct to the council. Like all heretics, Huss thought himself safe when the civil power protected him, and accordingly appeared before the spiritual judge. He was convicted of plain undeniable heresy, and necessarily condemned to be delivered over to the secular arm. The Church could do no more, she was not bound by any understanding between Huss and the emperor, nor was she to pronounce a heretic innocent, because the civil power afforded him protection.\* She had offered him no safe conduct, she had not invited him to appear as an equal or a friend, but summoned him as a criminal to her bar. Her duty was to examine whether

\* The Emperor himself recognized the independence of the council's jurisdiction. "*Sin pergis defendere tuas opiniones,*" said he to Huss, "*Concilium facile, habebit quod de te secundum suas leges decernat.*"

Huss was a heretic or not, and to decree accordingly. Dr. Wordsworth, in the interval between the publication of his two books, has discovered another decree of the council, on which he now mainly relies; he refers us for this to Von der Hardt, iv. p. 522, but as he has been good enough to print it in his appendix, there is no necessity for search. Indeed, the decree is printed at the end of session eighteen, in Colet's edition of the Councils. The safe conduct is from the emperor, and until it can be shown that one supreme power can bind another equally supreme without its consent, and in matters of its own exclusive cognizance, we must maintain our position; that the council has done nothing to deserve the charge which is brought against it.

The council itself gave a safe conduct to Jerome of Prague, and yet Jerome was punished. That safe conduct is on record among the acts of the sixth session. Jerome appeared on the faith of that promise, and on the citation of the ecclesiastical judge. His case would have been a far better one than that of Huss, whose safe conduct came from the emperor, who could not bind the council. Besides, it would be ludicrous to pretend to judge a man who could defy the execution of the sentence. If the safe conduct of the emperor had the effect which Dr. Wordsworth with all protestants attributes to it, we must pronounce the fathers of the council of Constance not knaves for violating it, but simpletons for sitting in judgment on a man who was beyond their jurisdiction.

If safe conducts imply an immunity from deserved punishment, he who grants them destroys his own authority; for it would be merely a waste of time to inquire into the criminality of a man, whom beforehand he had promised not to punish. A safe conduct implies nothing but protection from violence, from illegal detention or treatment. A herald passes from one camp to another in safety, but if he breaks the peace himself, or forgets his character, the law of nations does not in such cases protect him. A witness is safe going to, and returning from, court, but if he commits a crime on his way, or perjures himself while giving his evidence, he may be arrested on the spot and imprisoned. Safe conduct implies nothing more, it cannot be given as a protection against law, but in order to the due execution of law, *salva semper justitia*. The emperor performed his part in procuring for Huss a safe journey to

Constance, he could do no more, he could not protect him against himself. If Huss had been innocent, the emperor would have enabled him to return home in safety ; but as he was found guilty of heresy, and of the school of Wycliffe, which first among christians threw out Pantheistic opinions, the emperor had no power and no right to save him.

It is almost amusing to read what Dr. Wordsworth has written on the Catholic value of oaths and allegiance to the sovereign. He tells us that, on our own principles, we are not bound to obey heretical kings, and that we may at any time, with or without cause, pronounce any sovereign a heretic, and so release ourselves from the obligation of obedience. It is needless and useless to deny such an absurd accusation ; we therefore content ourselves with the argument of retaliation. An act of the English parliament, in the reign of William and Mary, pronounces that sovereign deposed, who shall become a Catholic, and his subjects released from their oaths of allegiance. This is nothing else but to say, that the sovereign ceases to be such on becoming a heretic in the protestant sense, which means Catholic.

Dr. Wordsworth appears as the advocate of episcopal authority, and is indignant at being told that the jurisdiction of the bishops is derived from the Pope. "Every Romish bishop," he says, "is only a *copyholder* under the Pope, and not a *freeholder* under Christ." Our learned canon considers every bishop to have full power to do what he likes, subject only to the crown. His jurisdiction seems according to him, to be inherent in him, but the exercise of it is controllable by the civil power. Practically we do not differ ; with him a bishop is nothing without the king, and his grievance is, that our bishops depend on the Pope, and not on the secular power. He bursts forth into the following alarming supposition, at the bare mention of the supreme authority of the Holy See.

"Reflect, sir, for a moment on the fact, that, according to this claim, no church could be consecrated, no clergyman ordained, no child confirmed, throughout the whole Roman world, if it so pleased the Pope."—*Sequel*, p. 167.

No doubt about it. What then ? Is he and his communion in greater safety ? We may retaliate upon him his own saying ; it is in the power of the English government to do what he says the Pope may do. If the Pope has the power

of suspending all the bishops of the Catholic Church, so also has the English government the power of suspending all Anglican bishops. The consent of the Pope is necessary to the regular administration of the sacraments in the Church, and consequently no bishop can be consecrated without his leave. Dr. Wordsworth has the hardihood to object this to us—which is really no objection—while he himself and his whole communion are in the power of the king. The act 26, George III., Cap. 84 says, that “by the laws of this realm, no person can be consecrated to the office of a bishop *without the king's licence* for his election to that office, and the king's royal mandate under the great seal for his *confirmation and consecration*.”

Dr. Wordsworth may not believe us, but we are sure he will not refuse belief in an act of parliament.

He tells us in the sequel—

“That if a Roman Catholic bishop is promoted to an archbishopric, all his episcopal power immediately falls into abeyance, and he is incapacitated from performing any episcopal act, till he receives the *Pallium* from Rome, and if he fails to obtain it, he can never exercise more any episcopal function, but his episcopal authority is, as it were, stifled, and dies.”—p. 166.

In this passage the learned canon confuses jurisdiction with orders ; and again, the episcopal character with the archiepiscopal dignity. It is quite true that no archbishop can perform acts of the greater jurisdiction before he has received the *Pallium*, but he may perform episcopal acts even such as ordination, in private ; besides, the rule is, not that he *cannot*, but that he *ought* not, till he has obtained the *Pallium* from Rome.

In our July number of 1847, we stated that Dr. Wordsworth had confounded the benediction of the oils on Maundy Thursday, with confirmation of children. He denies that we did him justice, and tells us that the reason of his instancing confirmation was not because he thought *chrisma confidere* meant it, but because confirmation was a well known episcopal act. He wrote in the “Letters,”

“No Romanist archbishop can consecrate a church, or confirm a child, without receiving the *Pallium* from Rome.”—p. 314.

This statement is made to rest on a rubric of the Pontifical, part of which he quotes in a note, and the only words in it which can have any relation to confirmation

are *chrisma conficere*, we therefore thought that Dr. Wordsworth had made a mistake—no unreasonable supposition—and ventured to make the assertion which has hurt his feelings as a scholar. If we have really done him an injury we beg to express our sorrow, and to recall our words. His defence, however, is not a denial of our charge, but reasons against it, which do not touch the fact : we should prefer a direct denial to a circuitous process which ends in another form of defence. He says:

“ Since the acts which are commonly best known as episcopal in this country, are consecrations of churches and confirmations of children, I selected those acts as exemplifying the meaning of the order in the Pontifical.”—p. 168.

The defence fails in three points ; in the first place ordination is better known in this country as an episcopal act, than either of those he mentions ; for most of the bishops ordain twice in the year, while they do not confirm children generally oftener than once in three years. In the next place he is wrong when he says that an archbishop may not confirm without the *Pallium*: and in the third place, his original statement was a matter of fact, and cannot be regarded as a mere illustration drawn from what men are familiar with, to explain what they do not know. Besides, he was writing to M. Gondon, a Catholic, who did not require any such help as an illustration drawn from protestant practice, to understand the discipline of his own Church.

Will Dr. Wordsworth tell us plainly that he knew the real meaning of *chrisma conficere* when he wrote his Letters to M. Gondon ? We will take his word for it, but not his reasons ; we expect a plain answer, yes or no. At present his defence reminds us of those ingenious devices by which skilful lawyers contrive to answer interrogatories without committing themselves to any direct assertion. A more offensive form of it is to be found in a prevaricating witness, whose conscience will not allow him to commit direct perjury, but whose habitual dishonesty hinders him from speaking the truth.

Dr. Wordsworth, like an ingenious advocate, shifts from his own shoulders the burden of the accusation which we tried to throw upon them : if he was wrong, it seems that we were ourselves much more so, and of course the error in our case is more inexcusable than in his. He writes:—

" But after his animadversion on my alleged translation of the words *chrisma conficere*, I must beg leave to inform him that he does not understand them himself. The term *chrisma conficere* does not mean the ' blessing of the oils' as he renders it, but the 'confection of the chrism,' which is a very different thing."—Sequel, p. 169.

*Chrisma conficere*, then, according to Dr. Wordsworth, is a mechanical operation, and he quotes from the Catechism what he calls "the proper recipe" for making it. Dr. Wordsworth's quotations have a character of their own about them, and we shall therefore transcribe the present with scrupulous accuracy, that our readers may see with their own eyes what we shall not describe. He quotes from the Catechism of the council of Trent :

" Pars. ii. cap. iii. Qu. 6. *Chrisma unguenti genus quod ex oleo et balsamo conficitur.* Qu. 6. Neque ad alium ea *confectio* nisi ad episcopum pertinet."

Now admitting that Dr. Wordsworth has quoted accurately, he has made nothing against our statement: for *confectio* is not necessarily a manual or mechanical operation. Our controversialist has himself translated it as we have done;—Sequel, p. 108, in a note we have these words, *a conficientibus*, (" i. e. by the *consecrating* priest or *celebrant*,") in another note, p. 130, he admits the same sense of the word *conficere*. It is a waste of time to insist upon this meaning of the word, which every one who has ever read the rubrics of the Missal must be familiar with: *conficere sacramentum* is to celebrate the Eucharist; but according to Dr. Wordsworth it is to make the bread, and to distil the wine.

We now return to the quotation from the Catechism given with so much apparent accuracy: but in reality with the greatest possible dishonesty; for the learned canon has passed over blindly those very words which contradict the use he makes of the others. The words are as follows: *unguentum.....quod ex oleo et balsamo sollemni episcopi consecratione conficitur.* The words which we have printed in italics have been quietly suppressed by Dr. Wordsworth. The Catechism of the council of Trent speaks of "the solemn episcopal consecration," but Dr. Wordsworth, finding that declaration inconvenient for his defence, was not honest enough to let his readers see it. The next portion of his quotation is equally removed from fairness:

which is in qu. 9, not 6. He represents *confectio*, in the second place, as a mechanical act, by his ingenuous negligence of the context. The Catechism declares it necessary that the matter of the Sacrament of confirmation *sanctis et religiosis precationibus consecretur ; neque ad alium EA CONFECTIO nisi ad episcopum pertinere potest.* What is the *ea confectio*? Some definite *confectio* is undoubtedly meant; it is the consecration of the matter of the Sacrament, as is clear to every one who is not wilfully blind to the plain meaning of words. We used the popular expression for the ceremonies of Maundy Thursday, “ blessing of the oils,” which is a more general one than the accurate and exact translation of *chrisma conficere*, and we admit that we were in error so far: so far as popular language is less exact than the definite expression of the rubrics.

Dr. Wordsworth refers the Reviewer to “the Trent Catechism, which,” he says, “will give him a full account of its uses and meaning; and then he will be able to instruct others in that matter.” There is one person whom we shall never be able to instruct in that or any other matter, much as he seems to need it. We must, however, ask him one question before we leave this point. Did he quote from the catechism itself, to which he refers us? If he did not, but took his quotation on trust, his recommendation to us loses much of its value; if he did, did he expect us to take any quotation whatever on his authority?

“ The Reviewer speaks of the *benediction* of the oils on Maundy Thursday; and this recalls to the memory another purpose for which that solemn day is commanded by Roman Pontiffs to be used, I mean the *malediction* of all Protestants, who are made the object of the most bitter curses in the Bull which derives its name from that sacred anniversary.”—Sequel, pp. 169-70.

If we were to say that Dr. Wordsworth maintains the annual publication of the Bull *in cœna Domini*, he would probably retort upon us, that we have misinterpreted him. Yet it is difficult to know what he means; he does not say distinctly that the Bull is published, yet few readers would not think that he means to say that it is. In his “Letters” he says, “so far, then, as it regards the Pope, this Bull, which anathematizes all Protestants, is recited every year in the course of Divine service in all Roman

Catholic Churches.” Ordinary readers might understand him, to state that the Bull is actually recited every year; but he does not really say so. It would have been more dignified, and more becoming an honest man, to have stated distinctly what his impressions are. We must add that the Bull is not published, and has not been published since the pontificate of Clement XIV.

Dr. Wordsworth brings forward once more the Hungarian confession; but, like a man conscious of a bad cause, labours to maintain its value by arguments which prove nothing. He puts together a number of extracts from different writers, which appear to him identical, or nearly so, with the propositions of that document. It would weary the reader to examine every one of them, we shall therefore confine ourselves to that which he pretends to take from Alphonsus a Castro, who, according to Dr. Wordsworth, says, “the translation of the Scripture *is* the cause of all heresy.” What Alphonsus said was this: “We are persuaded by many and irrefragable testimonies, that the translation of the Holy Scripture into the vulgar tongue, *may* be the cause of many heresies,” *multarum haeresum posse esse causam*; which is a little different from what Dr. Wordsworth says. We do not mean to assert that the other quotations are equally irrelevant, for we have examined only this one; but our opinion is, that they will turn out, on examination, to be utterly useless for the purpose which they are made to subserve.

In our first notice of Dr. Wordsworth’s Letters we repudiated the Hungarian confession, and declared that it came to us upon no authority whatever. The learned doctor had asserted that the editors of the book in which he found the confession were both Catholics: “two learned members of the Church.” We said nothing of one of the editors of that book—Streitwolf, because it did not appear that he had anything to do with the Hungarian confession; and as to his colleague, Klener, we pronounced him a protestant. Dr. Wordsworth’s answer is this:—

“If he will read the preface prefixed to their edition of the ‘Symbolical books of the Catholic Church,’ as they call the church of *Rome*, (a confirmation of the fact that they were members of that church,) he will see that they engaged in the work as Roman Catholics, and that it is published by them as a Roman Catholic work.”—*Sequel*, pp. 196-7.

The Reviewer did read the preface even before he read

Dr. Wordsworth's book ; and even now, after acting on Dr. Wordsworth's advice, we cannot come to any conclusion which is not directly against that which the author of the Sequel comes to ; the very first sentence of that preface, and in particular the note upon it, makes it clear to us Klener was a protestant. The account of the Bull *in coena Domini*, makes it still clearer, while the note on the Sacraments, at p. 247 of the book itself, puts the question out of the region of doubt. But there is no necessity for entering into such an enquiry, "confirmation of the fact" is afforded us on the title page. Streitwolf is there described as a "minister of the Word of God at Bodenfeld." He was the protestant minister of Bodenfeld on the Weser, in the kingdom of Hanover. Klener, by his own confession, is a licentiate in theology, having private pupils at the university of Gottingen. And we apprehend that king Ernest is too good a protestant to allow Catholics to be either parish ministers, or private tutors at his university. Dr. Wordsworth might just as well ask us to believe that he is a Catholic because he is a canon of Westminster. So much for Streitwolf and Klener. As to the confession itself, Dr. Wordsworth does not bring a single proof that it is what it purports to be, a genuine document. He adduces, as usual, instances of men believing it to be genuine, they are protestants and controversialists ; but with his wonted felicity he produces clear evidence that the whole is a gross imposition. The University of Koenigsberg, it seems, gave a sort of sanction to the story that this was a genuine confession, by publishing it at the university press in 1821. Dr. Wordsworth—we take the fact on his authority, simply because it tells against him—informs us, that "at a national Roman Catholic Church synod of Hungary," this document was pronounced "*false and calumnious.*"—Sequel, p. 206. So much for this contrivance. After having gone into these dirty waters, Dr. Wordsworth has caught another confession of equal sobriety and equal authenticity. He calls it the Silesian, "whose genuineness is proved by public documents, now extant in Silesia, and certified by credible living witnesses."—Sequel, p. 210. All we say is this, we do not believe that there are any "credible living witnesses" to any such thing, and that we have no difficulty whatever in challenging Dr. Wordsworth to produce them, or even their depositions.

We should gain nothing by the most elaborate refutation of the propositions contained in the Hungarian and Silesian confessions; for our denial of them would be taken as evidence of their truth. Dr. Wordsworth, who refuses to believe Almighty God, speaking through the Catholic Church, has not the slightest difficulty in believing nameless protestants and interested libellers of the faith. Protestants reproach us with being credulous; yet in reality we are sceptics compared with them. They believe the most extravagant assertions of the most unprincipled men upon no evidence at all, and because there is none, and because there can be none whereon they can rest.

Dr. Wordsworth's defence of himself against our charge, that he believed the Pope to be Antichrist, and yet acquiesced in M. Gondon's continuance in communion with him, is unintelligible to us. Probably he is inclined to retract his opinion, at the same time insinuating his original assertions to be true, and defending them by quotations from heathen authors and Prudentius, to prove that Rome is built on seven hills; a mode of proof which would entitle Durham and Dr. Maltby to be called Antichrist. The truth is this, Dr. Wordsworth knows very well that the Church must be everywhere; and that to deny the Church of Rome to be at least a part of the Catholic Church, would be an absurdity. He therefore has recourse to the wildest possible dream, that the Church is a corrupt portion of some abstraction to which he himself invisibly belongs. Still the Pope is somehow or other Antichrist, and M. Gondon is recommended to take care of his own soul by doubting half his creed; he is advised to become a protestant in spirit, and yet to conform outwardly to the rites of the Church. He is exhorted by his honest correspondent in this form:—

“ Retain all the truth you possess. Preserve the Scriptures, preserve the creeds, preserve the three orders of Christian ministers; preserve the decalogue, the Lord's prayer..... But while you *preserve* these things *purify* them also. Purify the scriptures from their alloy of traditions..... purify the creeds from their Tridentine additions.”—Sequel, p. 244.

This is the reasonable advice which a learned and sensible man gives to a Catholic layman, who, if he acts even

in the slightest degree upon such advice, undertakes an impossible task, and becomes inevitably a heretic.

A few pages before Dr Wordsworth had told his correspondent that he could not act in the way he now requires him to do. He stated the principle truly, but applied it wrongly. When he was expounding the wickedness of the Hungarian and Silesian confessions, he felt a sort of consciousness that his correspondent was not bound by them. It was therefore necessary to prove that if he did dissent from those principles, that he did it unlawfully, and as a protestant, and that in truth he could not. Though he might purify the creeds and the scriptures, yet he could not purify the Hungarian confession, nor free himself from the guilt of them.

"Allow me therefore to repeat," he says in the most affectionate tone, "that it is not in *your power consistently with Romanist principles to abhor* these propositions. If you revere Rome you cannot execrate them. They are to be regarded as a part of her teaching, and as a consequence of it."—Sequel, p. 214.

Consistency is not to be expected in Dr. Wordsworth, neither is fair dealing. His treatment of ancient authors is more dishonest in its character than it becomes a christian. Yet we must repeat again, that we most fully acquit him of all intentional unfairness; we say this with the most perfect sincerity; his faults are those of the school to which he belongs, for no characteristic of human nature is more essentially dishonest in practice, than what is so often praised as "honest John Bullism." Men have convictions but they are founded on prejudice; they act upon them in perfect sincerity, and are astonished to find that they were in the wrong. The Spanish proverb contains a great truth, that hell is paved with good intentions; honest and well meaning men have committed grosser acts of injustice than highwaymen and pirates. We do not know of a more dangerous class, and one practically more unprincipled, than that which is made up of men who are said to be influenced by "the best intentions." In religious controversy Dr. Wordsworth sets out with this fundamental principle, that the Catholic Church must be in error, he is therefore careless as to the minuter parts of the inquiry; if he fails in one thing he is not moved by it, for he feels sure that he can succeed in another, and that his side is the right one. Now it is inconsistent in a protestant to

have this abiding conviction, not that he is in the right, but that the Catholic Church is wrong. While he professes to examine and inquire, he ought not to close the avenues towards one portion of the evidence which he ought well to weigh. It is an awful lesson for all people: here we see a moral condition which heathenism never produced, men not convinced that their own opinions are true, yet perfectly sure that the contradictions are false. So it is, protestants are not certain that what they hold is truth, yet are infallibly certain that the Catholic faith is a great lie.

Dr. Wordsworth has written two volumes on the “Destructive Character of the Church of Rome.” What is this for the souls of men? We are not better prepared for death and our last account, by a strong persuasion, or even belief, that the Church of Rome is wrong. We want something positive, something on which to rely when affliction comes upon us. No man can live upon negatives. It would be a very thankless office in a physician to tell his patient what medicines would kill him; he has no use for such knowledge. So acts Dr. Wordsworth: he is very learned in finding fault, and very eloquent in denouncing dangerous principles; but *what* does he tell us that we can rest upon? absolutely nothing. His book may be acceptable to the members of his own church, but it is also equally acceptable to the Presbyterian and Socinian. Hatred to Rome is not the gospel, and christian faith is not a string of negations. If popery is to be refuted, it must be by something positive; some system must be produced, for people will not quit a house that shelters them, because the architecture is blamed by a beggar who has none. The devil in Paradise, when he tempted our first mother, uttered a mere negation; he had no positive system to establish, it was his business to destroy, not to build. Heresy, however positive it may be from time to time, is really built on a negation. It begins by denying the faith, and its moral principle is hate. Love belongs to unity, and that is in the Church, while outside are divisions and malice, false accusations and lies. Men will gain nothing by such books as these, for they will learn nothing from them which they do not know already; they do not minister to charity. Men of all religions may adopt them, and unite in a common cry against the Church, but it will not tend to edify; humility is not

encouraged, and charity is broken. Yet out of these contentions we derive consolation, for the Church is never stronger than when she is most assaulted, and God loves her most when the world rises against her. Even now, when the Vicar of Christ is in the hands of men, we know and are certain that the triumph of the Church will be the issue of the fight. The death of the Son of God was the hour of our deliverance.

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- ART. II.—1. *Sarawak, its Inhabitants and Productions, &c.* By HUGH LOW, Colonial Secretary at Labuh-an. Bentley, London : 1848.
2. *The Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido.* By Capt. the Hon. HENRY KEPPEL, R. N. Chapman and Hall, London : 1847.
3. *Borneo, and the Eastern Archipelago,* By FRANK S. MARRYATT JATI, Midshipman of H. M. S. Samarang. Longman, London : 1848.
4. *Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang.* By Capt. Sir E. BELCHER, R.N. C.B. Reeve, London : 1848.
5. *A Narrative of Events at Borneo and Celebes.* By Capt. RODNEY MUNDY, R. N. Murray, London : 1848.

FEW men deserve so well of a country as do those of her sons who unostentatiously chalk out for themselves a career of honour and enterprise in the humbler walks of life, and pursue it with single-mindedness and perseverance till they attain an eminence whence they reflect honour and advantage to the commonwealth, and to the world at large. The ambition, which can stimulate to such exertions, is indeed noble ; for it is free from suspicion, and springs from no false source. Philanthropy and Christian benevolence support it through its trials. Human nature and fashion only despise and recognize it amid the blaze of success. Fired by

“.....The shrill trumpet,  
The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife,  
The royal banner,”

the warrior throws away his scabbard, and plunging into the thickest of the fight, he carves out for himself a

path to the Temple of Fame. That energy and vigour of conduct, which are the handmaids of success to him, are in some sort derived from the same source which supplies the war-horse or the hunter with corresponding powers. The base passions of man's evil heart are there worked upon. It is the mere animal which we behold and admire. The despatches characterize the battle-plain as the "field of glory," while they speak of gallant youths who have "fought and fallen for their country." But it may be doubted, even after all this flourish of trumpets, whether those heroes do not fight and fall for themselves, and that, too, merely in the course of a business to which they have served no unwilling an apprenticeship; while the real field of glory may be discovered in the career of him who, unknown and without the prospect of reward on earth, dedicates himself to the task of disseminating the arts of civilization among untutored savages, and preparing their minds for the reception of the Christian Faith. Where the soldier's sword can point to one Thermopylæ, the historian's pen may trace on every page the foul origin and still fouler action of

".....The big wars  
That make ambition virtue,"

into whose "pride, pomp, and circumstance," the pure spirit of patriotism and chivalry never entered; but in which the "plumed troop," and "neighing steed" are alike reduced to the level of the brute. Stripped of its gilded trappings and externals, the majesty of war becomes, indeed, a jest, and all its principles dwindle down into the merest insignificance when contrasted with the character to which we have alluded. Owing no allegiance beyond that which religion enforces and policy enjoins, obedient to none save his God and his king, mark the earnest, honest, and single-minded purpose of the man we have faintly sketched. See him animated by the sincere desire of sharing his high principles, as a believer in an atoning Saviour, with the ignorant savages of a far-distant and neglected clime. Behold him anxious to arouse them to a sense of their ignorance by the holy lesson of example as well as precept, and watch him as he patiently toils amid the jungle and the solitude of Borneo in the prosecution of his lofty purpose, undamaged by difficulties which might well cause his heart to quail; still persevering, though

unsupported by his country, for whose advantage, rather than his own, combined with that of the savage pirate, he was content thus to expend his health and treasure. Prompted by the purest emotions of benevolence and humanity, he pursues his onward course, and at length he succeeds—“*Labor improbus omnia vincit.*” He has fought and has won. His mission having been the protection of the humble and meek, has necessarily entailed the suppression of the proud and the wrong doer. These he has brought to a sense of shame and virtue by the mildest exertion of that tremendous power which knowledge has placed at his command. The naked pirates of the Malayan Archipelago, strong alone in numbers, and hitherto unbridled indulgence, sink into peaceful fishermen under the magical influence of a correction which is almost paternal, and ere many years have passed, the unknown adventurer is elevated to the rank of a native prince, clothed with ample power and opportunity for the prosecution of his benevolent design, in a field of almost unlimited extent. In these changes their author is himself unchanged. In his exaltation he retains all his pristine simplicity of purpose, earnestness of character, and discretion of judgment. Surrounded by no display of barbaric state, he contents himself with the actual power without its empty show and shadow. His strong will and firm purpose suffice to win obedience from the former hereditary foes of his newly acquired subjects.

Those who whilom came to burn, to ravage, and to murder, now come humble supplicants for admission to the envied privileges of trade and commercial intercourse, while whole tribes voluntarily surrender their cherished freedom of action into the hands of the great Benefactor, and solicit permission to pitch their tents beneath the influence of his paternal sway—on all hands, and in all hearts within the sphere of his actions the great principles of civilization are recognized; honesty, justice, mercy, charity, fair dealing, and freedom, take the place of piracy, oppression, tyranny, passion, roguery, and slavery; and well may the grateful recipients of all these blessings be excused, if, in their blindness they deify the author of these changes, and implore him in their inartificial religious ceremonies to bless their exertions and render fruitful their crops. In the midst of that sea, from the shores of which the youthful king of Macedon turned with de-

light at the thought that there remained no more food for his conquering sword, we behold, in this the nineteenth century, a man achieving by his own untiring zeal and judgment, a moral victory far more important than any of those with which the son of Philip was flushed. The compact and well-trained Macedonian phalanx overcame the enfeebled myrmidons of a worn-out dynasty, and a huge kingdom was established on its ruins, which itself fell to pieces when the mighty atlas, on whose shoulders it rested, died on the banks of the Euphrates, the victim of intemperance and sensuality. That prince was a successful warrior, but what says the historian of his career?

"He had no notion of true glory. He did not know either the principle, the rule, or the end of it. He placed it where it certainly was not. The common error was that which he adopted and cherished. He fancied himself born merely for glory: and that none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjust, and irregular contests. In his impetuous sallies after a mistaken glory, he followed neither reason, virtue, nor humanity; and as if his ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and standard to all other men, he was surprised that neither his officers nor soldiers would enter into his views, and lent themselves very unwillingly to support his ridiculous enterprises."

In such characters is the epitaph of Alexander, the so-called "Great," written by the French historian. Ours is a hero of a far different stamp and order of merit.

The deeds of Mr. Brooke are of an order to command respect and admiration, not only by reason of their rare excellence and perfect success, but of the perfectly modest and humble spirit in which he speaks of them and of himself.

In the interesting work of Captain Keppel, we have the man himself remarking, in the journal which he placed at the disposal of that gallant author, that "Praise before performance is disgusting," and "passing over in silence his motives for undertaking so long and arduous a voyage" as that in connection with which his name will be handed down to posterity with that of Raffles. Those motives, however, are thus described by a mutual friend, in giving a brief account of the subject of these remarks, and of his "extraordinary career," to Captain Keppel.

"In this voyage," says his friend, "while going up the Chinese seas, he saw for the first time the Islands of the Asiatic Archi-

pelago, islands of vast importance and unparalleled beauty, lying neglected and almost unknown. He enquired and read, and became convinced that Borneo and the Eastern Isles afforded an open field for enterprise and research. To carry to the Malay races, so long the terror of the European merchant-vessel, the blessings of civilization, to suppress piracy and extirpate the slave trade, became his humane and generous objects, and from that time the energies of his powerful mind were directed to this one pursuit. Often foiled, often disappointed, with a perseverance and enthusiasm which defied all obstacle, he was not, until 1838, enabled to set sail for England on his darling project. The intervening years had been devoted to preparation and enquiry ; a year spent in the Mediterranean had tested his vessel, the Royalist, and his crew, (Mr. Brooke himself says, 'I was nearly three years in preparing a crew to my mind,') and so completely had he studied his subject and calculated on contingencies, that the least sanguine of his friends felt as he left the shore, hazardous and unusual as the enterprise appeared to be, that he had omitted nothing to ensure a successful issue. 'I go,' said he, 'to awake the spirit of slumbering philanthropy with regard to these Islands ; to carry Sir Stamford Raffles' views in Java over the whole Archipelago. Fortune and life I give freely ; and if I fail in the attempt, I shall not have lived wholly in vain.'"

The sentiments here attributed to Mr. Brooke exactly coincide with those which breathe through his communication to the Geographical Society in 1838, on the subject of his then proposed expedition. Having introduced the subject by an enumeration of "lands and seas, mere names, with no specific ideas attached to them," he thus proceeds :

"Imagination whispers to ambition that there are yet lands unknown which might be discovered. Tell me, would not a man's life be well spent ? tell me, would it not be well sacrificed in an endeavour to explore these regions ?"

With so noble and enlightened an example before his eyes as Sir Stamford Raffles, well might Mr. Brooke sigh for an opportunity of carrying out his views after he had made himself acquainted with the surface of the Archipelago. This task, albeit too great for private enterprise, he determined to undertake, trusting to the support of his nation after he should have succeeded in recalling its attention to scenes and themes which had faded from its memory when Sir Stamford Raffles passed from this world, and no one remained by whom his mantle could be borne.

This dull and sluggish state of the public mind, aye, and of the government, was strongly attacked in the paper to which we have alluded, while the sickly sentimentalities to which the would-be philanthropists of England are but too apt to sacrifice more substantial objects, were severely cut and deservedly exposed and satirised by this man of deed, not word. Throughout this composition there is a happy admixture of banter and seriousness, of sober truth and biting irony, which was most applicable to the temper and fashion of the day. It is the happy boast of our vaunted constitution, that the meanest individual may rise by his own talents and industry to the highest honours of the state. But it is equally clear that the English, as a nation, are always absorbed in the pursuit of some one idea, and that many achieve greatness by "boozing and boozing" to that idea. In truth, if England be not ridden by one school or class of politicians, to the exclusion of all others, for the time being, she is not happy. In the Normans' time she was church ridden; then in the time of the Tudors she was king ridden; next she submitted to the sway of Puritanism and the straight-laced Ironsides, which she as readily threw off for the lascivious Stuart and his loosely dressed beauties. Then she was ridden to death by German mistresses, corrupt ministers, and a war party. Next in order came the Law, and when gentle Themis had picked her to the bone, the Saints seized upon her and hallooed her on against the horrors of the "middle passage," and the diabolical misdeeds of those who having been encouraged to "settle the plantations," had embarked millions in that trade which the saints enacted to be a felony. This reign held its onward course till the West Indian slaves were emancipated, and the apprentices converted into freemen one year before the stipulated period. To this circumstance it is that Mr. Brooke alludes, and certainly "the saints" had it all their own way then—to partake of slave-grown sugar was an abomination in the eyes of these honourable men; and they accordingly bought the right to eat free labour sugar at what the country is now inclined to think an ample price—for the saints have given way before the levelling and grinding power of the railway interest, and the "cheap market" cry. From Saints, it may be said, that England passed into the hands of Engineers, and verily they have riddled her poor old carcase, and so slashed and cut it up, that its once verdant surface now resem-

bles a piece of roast pork, with well defined and unmistakeable crackling thereon marked, and is so much disfigured, that sure we are, she can scarcely answer to the spirit stirring appellation, "Old England." What we would wish to know, would Mr. Brooke now, in this year of grace 1848, say to the "fashion of the day," when we hear it proclaimed at Manchester, and in the House of Commons, by Ministers and Saints combined, that slave-grown sugar pays as good a tax as free-grown sugar, and that being cheaper of the two to the consumer, it would be a hideous principle to add one penny to the cost of a pound weight for the mere sake of having the latter. In fact, they say, as has been said by the poet of the rose—sugar is sugar, and money is money—we want both, and they will taste and smell quite as sweet whether they spring from labour enforced by the lash and the blood-hound of Cuba and Brazil, or from the voluntary condescension of our emancipated brethren of the Antilles. Here we see that the Saints are quite thrown overboard, or we should say, their principles have been abandoned, for candour and truth impel us to admit that the Saints of that day, and the sinners of to-day, are pretty nearly identical. Political consistency is not now the order of the day among some statesmen: expediency and cheap markets are every thing in the House; and it is not to be wondered at that the nation should partake of the prevailing fashion in that assembly, and attempt to ride its hobby in two different directions at one and the same time. With one tongue the modern Janus cries out, "down with slavery—mind not the cost—give us free labour;" while with the other he shrieks out with desperate energy, "give us sugar any how and any where—and down with protection." In truth, the ruling passion of the day is, as we have before remarked, "cheapness and expediency," and "young England" blushes not to enter that huge pawnbroker's shop whereout are hung these two tempting signs, and there to pledge all things that once were held sacred and were looked upon as heir-looms by the founders of his mighty race. We have, however, been led astray, and return from this digression to Mr. Brooke.

The specific object proposed to himself in this expedition, was the examination of the north end of Borneo, (a spot which was selected by reason of its being a British possession, though then deserted by the East India Com-

pany, to whom it had been granted by the Sultan of Sooloo,) its rivers, lakes, productions, and inhabitants; but on the arrival of Mr. Brooke at Singapore, he was induced to modify his plan of operations, and that which was originated as the exploring expedition of an ardent admirer of nature, was promptly converted into a mission of philanthropy and civilization to Sarawak, then the residence of the rajah Muda Hassim, the uncle of Omar Ali, the Sultan of Borneo Proper, who had been summoned to that part of the Sultan's possessions to suppress a rebellion caused by the oppression practised by the Pangerans, or chiefs, who are Malays, on the aboriginal inhabitants, who may be classed under the general appellation of Dyaks. The first ceremonies being dispatched, the rajah and Mr. Brooke grew somewhat intimate; visits and presents were exchanged, and permission being granted, various expeditions up the rivers were made by the latter, who having satisfied himself that the resources of this hitherto unknown region were all but illimitable, and having acquired a deep interest in the fate of the suffering Hill Dyaks, established a treaty of commerce with the Rajah, which by degrees ripened into a league offensive and defensive, and terminated in the cession of Sarawak to Mr. Brooke after a protracted negotiation with the Sultan and his chiefs, who thwarted the benevolent designs of our countryman at every step, and only yielded at last to the *ultima ratio* of nations. The acquisition of this territory and dignity, however, by Mr. Brooke, was altogether unsought for on his part. Tired of the war, and sick of the cares of governing a distracted province, the Rajah voluntarily offered to Mr. Brooke the country of Siniawan and Sarawak, and its government and trade, if he would but remain and protect him against the rebels.

"I could at once have obtained this grant," observes Mr. Brooke, "but I preferred interposing a delay; because, to accept such a boon, when imposed by necessity, or from a feeling of gratitude for recent assistance, would have rendered it both suspicious and useless; and I was by no means eager to enter on the task, (the full difficulties of which I clearly foresaw) without the undoubted and spontaneous support of the Rajah."

It would be easy to multiply proofs of Mr. Brooke's honesty of purpose in his transactions with Muda Hassim if time permitted, but the most cursory perusal of the

various volumes with which the press has teemed of late, will satisfy the reader that we have not formed too exalted an opinion of this great man's character, and to them we must refer all who would seek to be instructed or amused, for each and all have their merits and would repay attentive perusal.

As might be expected, the first acts of the new governor of Sarawak were such as were admirably calculated to restore peace to the distracted province, lately the scene of oppression and rebellion. Justice was administered by Mr. Brooke in person, assisted by Muda Hassim and his sons, in a style which confounded the grasping Pangerans, it being for the first time asserted that a Dyak had any right to defend, or any heart to feel a wrong.

Internal quiet having been secured by equal laws, Mr. Brooke turned his attention to the threatening aspect of his neighbours, the inhabitants of the rivers Sakarran and Sarebus, who were notorious pirates, and gave out that they intended to pay a visit to the Sarawak and carry off the head of the new Rajah, for the especial reception of which one chief had very kindly hung up in a tree a basket, a large collection of heads from the victims of their predatory excursions being the greatest honour known among these worthies, as may be gathered from the following account by Mr. Low, of an interview granted to a Sakarran chief who came on a visit to the Governor, to enter into an agreement offensive and defensive.

"To this treaty I was obliged to add the stipulation, that he was neither to pirate by sea or by land, and not to go under any pretence into the interior of the country." His shrewdness and cunning were remarkably displayed. He began by inquiring if a tribe, either Sakarran or Sarebus, pirated on my territory, what I intended to do. My answer was, "To enter their country and lay it waste." But he asked me again, "You will give me, your friend, leave to steal a few heads occasionally?" "No," I replied, "you cannot take a single head, you cannot enter the country; and if you or your countrymen do, I will have a hundred Sakarran heads for every one you take here." He recurred to this request several times, "just to steal one or two," as a school-boy would ask for apples. When it is considered that "the two tribes, Sakarran and Sarebus, are greatly addicted to head hunting, and that the passport to the smiles of the fair sex was a string of heads, one being

an absolute *sine qua non* on such occasions, it was well to make a stand *in limine* against head hunting as well as piracy. In a short time Mr. Brooke deemed it prudent to take decided steps to extirpate these hornets' nests, and he accordingly repaired to Singapore, where he had the good fortune to fall in with Capt. Keppel, whose vessel, the "Dido," had been ordered to the Archipelago at the close of the hostilities in China, to protect trade and suppress piracy. Mr. Brooke soon won the esteem and active co-operation of Capt. Keppel, and by his gallant men the war was carried up the rivers to the forts and haunts of the pirates, who after a sound dose of grape and canister, betook themselves to the jungle, and were so thoroughly discomfited, as that they became peaceable and harmless neighbours for the future. This great end effected, two others of vital importance remained, and to accomplish these, Mr. Brooke next set himself to work. The first was to open a personal communication with the Sultan at Bruni, and to obtain from him a formal promise of co-operation for the extinction of piracy and oppression ; and the second, the actual cession of Sarawak to Mr. Brooke, and of the Island of Labuh-an to the English government, with whom Mr. Brooke had been unceasing in his attempts to identify himself. It was very clear that, with the vast trade which was expected from the opening of the Chinese ports, an intermediate station between Singapore and Hong Kong was an indispensable necessity, if the trade were alike facilitated and protected. The necessity of such a position had long been recognised, and formerly the East India Company had a settlement on the island of Balambangan ; but "something ailed the spot." It never throve, and was surprised in 1771 by the Sooloos, since which time our ships have been trespassers on those seas. Mr. Brooke's judgment soon led him to the conclusion that some resting-place was absolutely wanted in those seas, and after weighing well the subject, and halting between the former settlement, which, though somewhat unhealthy, was admirably situated, he gave a sound preference, in conjunction with Mr. Crawford, the late governor of Singapore, and others, to the Island of Labuh-an, situate on the mouth of the Borneo river, and capable, from its size and situation, of being made a most eligible station, whether as an entreport for trade, a refuge for disabled ships, or in a military point of view in time of war. A

closer examination satisfied our indefatigable countryman, that this island abounded in the finest coal beds lying close to the surface; and as a scheme for carrying on the postal communication direct to Hong Kong, had been submitted to the government by Mr. Wise, and adopted by them, it required little art to sanction the selection, and to carry out Mr. Brooke's views. By this time the government had been roused to some knowledge both of Mr. Brooke's existence and his service to the state. All that was wanting for the successful prosecution of his enlightened views of civilization, was the open and sincere countenance of his nation; and he received that in the appointment of confidential agent in Borneo. This Mr. Brooke considered, and justly, as "the first wedge" which was to rive Borneo open, and to bestow commerce, and civilization, and happiness on its inhabitants; and in a short time after, Labuh-an was selected, and finally ceded to England. To this great end Mr. Brooke's first friend, Muda Hassim, was warmly instrumental; but he did not long survive his interference. It is now but too well known that he fell a victim to the jealousy and intrigues which always beset the path of civilization in an eastern land; and though his murder has been amply avenged, and the most abject and satisfactory promises of amendment made by the repentant sultan, we should think that the British government is too well aware of the value of such protestations to allow itself to be thrown off its guard. Our position at the mouth of the great artery of his kingdom, places him entirely at our command, and as there will doubtless be an effective steam squadron stationed at Labuh-an, we shall be enabled to control both the sultan and his subjects without much more trouble; while it is far more probable that by our propinquity a wonderful improvement will speedily be effected in their internal and social condition.

Much, to Mr. Brooke's honour, has already been effected, and it cannot be doubted but that the same wisdom which has hitherto guided the Rajah in his arduous undertaking, will follow him in the discharge of the onerous duties to which that undertaking has so unexpectedly led. He now governs a fair, a rich, and a beautiful province. Larger than most of our English counties, Sarawak possesses a sea-coast of seventy geographical miles, and an average depth of seventy or eighty. This tract is rich in nature's most cherished gifts; and like the soil of the great Island

of which it forms so insignificant a portion, it yields to no other spot in the world in capability for improvement. That we have the utmost confidence in Mr. Brooke's judgment, we need not repeat. It is shared by all who have witnessed his career, and have known the man. His abilities, perseverance, and public spirit, are confessed on all hands, and that there are materials amply sufficient for the display of all his powers, few will doubt, after a perusal of the various works, a list of which is prefixed to these observations, and at the head of which stands the practical and unpretending volume of Mr. Low, and the narrative of Capt. Keppel, from which we have largely drawn. After the acquisition of Sarawak, Mr. Low became attached to Mr. Brooke, and his mission would seem to have been that of secretary and naturalist, and in the prosecution of his duties, he has amassed a considerable store of information highly interesting as well as necessary respecting the population of Borneo, its various kingdoms and tribes, its aboriginal inhabitants, and the manners and customs of those in particular which are connected with Sarawak. In giving to the world the benefit of their varied adventures and observations, the gallant and learned authors, now on our table, have earned for themselves the highest meed of approbation, for they have thereby rendered essential service to the cause in which Mr. Brooke has laboured with such effect. Those who contribute even in the slightest degree to introduce to the English public the history of the eastern Archipelago, and above all those peculiar traits and features in the Land Dyak tribes which first won the admiration of Mr. Brooke, and then inspirited him to their emancipation, will have conferred a great and lasting boon on the objects of that admiration; for they cannot but animate all England as one man in their cause, while we learn the success which has attended the efforts of Mr. Brooke to reform and civilize them. The effects of a change from anarchy and oppression to peace and justice have followed close upon their causes. When Mr. Brooke took possession of Sarawak, the town numbered but fifteen hundred souls; and when he quitted it to visit England, there were eight thousand inhabitants, and a busy thriving population they were. Exactions have been abolished; taxation is regular, and consistent, and even-handed, like justice. The "Nakodahs," or merchants, now boast their wealth, while formerly they were afraid to have it known

they possessed money. Improvements are going on in the houses and roads about the town, and it may fairly be prognosticated that Mr. Brooke will, on his return to his adopted country, with his gallant friend Capt. Keppel, find things in a very advanced condition.

To those who take an especial interest in the inquiry into the primitive population of the East, the work of Mr. Low will prove a great treasure. To us, however, it must be confessed, that the pleasure is greater of discussing what a nation is, than of ascertaining an indifferent fact on indifferent data with reference to its origin. We would "let bygones be bygones;" it is a more exhilarating task to us to follow and coincide with our author in his vindication of the Malays of Borneo and Sarawak in particular, from the foul sin of active participation in piracy, than to assist in the determination of the question, "From which of the sons of Noah are the Malays and Dyaks descended?" We are more interested when discussing the propriety of drawing closer the bonds of social intercourse with a vast and comparatively unknown race of men, to ascertain the present inclination of their habits and pursuits, than to trouble ourselves with any inquiry after their genealogical tree. We are a practical nation, and would like to fix the *terminus ad quem* rather than the *terminus a quo* of such folks. Their *unde derivatur* is of no possible consequence to us, who only seek to know how best we can benefit them, while we at the same time give an impulse to our proverbial shopkeeping propensities. It delights us, therefore, to feel that the Malays have been rather maligned than otherwise on the subject of piracy. Mr. Brooke, indeed, says that "the Borneons both practise and suffer piracy, and there is no doubt they have been its active, while now they are its passive agent." As a nation, they have certainly acquired a bad name, Malay and pirate being all but convertible terms, and being certainly always used in conjunction. Ever since the loss of the Alceste, when the crew of that ill-fated vessel made so gallant a stand against the pirates under Sir Murray Maxwell, a Malay has been looked upon as a fierce and ruthless savage; but Mr. Low exonerates some of them from that reproach.

"The Malays, natives of the western coast of Borneo, do not practise many of the vices for which their nation in general has become so famous. In their character they are a mild and quiet people, devoid of the cunning and treachery of the natives of

Sumatra, whom the dissolute inhabitants of the capital more nearly resemble. They are not, like the inhabitants of the piratical states, fond of desperate adventure, and not being possessed of a great share of physical courage, and their tastes inclining them to follow the more peaceful pursuits of trade, under a government which will encourage commerce, they live happy and contented."—p. 127.

It is however with nations as with men. Their "pleasant vices" do not quit them till satiety produces prostration, and decaying nature, with perplexing pertinacity, but haltingly essays the pranks of youth. Bruni is now a rotten state. In 1521, when visited by Pigafetta, the companion of Magellan, the capital numbered twenty-five thousand families, and everything connected with it bore marks of strength and durability. That state which was then strong enough to give to the whole island its name of Borneo, though there were several independent kingdoms in it, has gradually fallen from its high estate, and it may have become desperately virtuous in its old age, and even be at times the palsied victim of younger scoundrels. • Certainly the situation chosen for the site of Bruni would augur a piratical origin; and it would seem to be more Venetian in one particular than Venice herself, from the following lively account of itself and its amphibious market, which we take from Mr. Low.

"The houses in all parts of Borneo are built upon posts generally about four or five feet from the ground, but sometimes more: the object of this originally was for the purpose of health, and as a means of preservation from noxious reptiles, and in some instances, hereafter to be described, as a protection against their enemies. The towns are always situated on the banks of rivers, and such low places are often chosen as are overflowed by the tide; perhaps these spots have been fixed upon that the water might cleanse the impurities which are frequently allowed to accumulate beneath their residences. Borneo and Kalekka are the only two towns which I have seen built entirely in the water, the whole of the houses, with the exception of that of the sultan and one or two of the nobles, being built upon posts fixed in the mud banks of the river. That such situations should have been chosen is the more strange, as at low water a stench, which cannot be of a healthy nature, arises from the mud, which to an European, or stranger not accustomed to it, is very offensive; the natives of the town affirm that this does not affect their health. The river at the place where the town is situated is very wide, and receives the waters of the Sungie Kadyan, a tributary stream; the main river forms the

principal street of the town, and on it are situated the large houses of the nobles and princes.

"The houses are disposed with more regularity than in most Malayan towns, being intersected by water-lanes at right angles from the main water-street, so that the whole town is divided into a number of solid squares of houses, each of which communicates with one of the streets of the town."—pp. 151-2.

"The public market in Bruni presented an unique and interestingly novel appearance, being held upon the water by the women, who arrive every morning from the country with fruit, vegetables, and other articles for sale; the vendors are generally two or three in each boat, every one of them provided with a large hat made of palm-leaves, and of an umbrella shape, which serves to protect the whole person from either the sun or rain. They each have also a paddle, with which they manage their little canoes—which are almost level with the water's edge—with the greatest dexterity. Early in the morning the market boats assemble; first about the middle of the town; but floating up quietly with the sluggish tide, or down, if the water be ebbing; during the day, it is seen moving slowly in and out of the different streets with an occasional purchaser, who is making a bargain with a market woman separated from the rest, in the eagerness of trade having forgotten to direct her little boat in the same course as the others, but, the purchase completed, she soon joins the remainder, and is lost in the crowd. This fleet of market boats numbers generally from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, and the whole business transacted in them is conducted by women. It has generally entirely dispersed by noon."—pp. 152-3.

Setting aside the debauched natives of the capital, Mr. Low has formed rather a high estimate of the Malay character. He asserts "that the people of Sarawak and the west coast, generally possess none of the disgusting and cringing servility of the natives of Continental India; but their manners are distinguished for their politeness and freedom," and adds "that they no more deserve the epithet of 'treacherous' than would European nations in circumstances when, reduced by oppression, they could not revenge themselves by open and honest means." Thus much for their moral quality. In person, the Malay men are stated to be under the average European stature; but are finely formed, well made, and capable of excessive fatigue. And as for the fair sex, our author remarks, that

"They are generally short in stature, but of the most beautiful symmetrical figures, and their long and slender fingers, with the

small and pretty hands, wrists, feet, and ankles, are seldom seen amongst the western fair ones in any thing approaching such perfection. Their long black hair, which falls on their backs in the greatest profusion, and in many cases reaches nearly to the ground, has, if we may believe the reports of the vendors of oils and unguents said to be used by them, been long the envy of the ladies of the west.”—p. 141.

But we grieve to say that his observation warrants the conclusion, that the ladies of Borneo, “like their sex in general,” are fond of fine clothes and jewellery, and their extravagance is the frequent cause of unpleasantness between them and their husbands.

In order, however, to make amends for the sly hint above dropped, regarding the failings of the sex, Mr. Low imparts quite confidentially his information on the subject of the *toilette*. Bearing in mind no doubt the sacrilegious couplet:—

In virtues nothing earthly could surpass her,  
Save thine incomparable oil, Macassar,

Mr. Low, as in duty bound to the ladies of Britain, dilates with considerable *unction* (we speak in all earnestness) “on the greatest ornament of woman,” and the oils to which the Malay beauties resort in order to encourage the growth of their “tresses unconfined.” It seems, after all, that the only oil they use is one freshly expressed from the cocoa nut, which

“is perfumed by allowing the flowers of the various plants, previously mentioned as being used in the adornment of their hair, to remain for some time in it, the fat oil of the nut extracting and retaining the essential oil of the fragrant flowers.”—p. 145.

Nature, however, carries off the palm here, as elsewhere, for Mr. Low says:

“But it is probable that the luxuriance of the hair of the women of these countries is, in a great measure, constitutional; although it cannot be denied that they take the greatest possible care of it, and pride themselves on its profusion. Should it be falling from weakness, many superstitious practices are resorted to for the purpose of preventing it: in these cases the fat extracted from venomous snakes and of crocodiles is foolishly considered very efficacious.”—p. 146.

And then he slyly adds, for the benefit of all our own  
“True fits:”

"Perhaps the vendor of the next oil purporting to be that used by the natives of the Indian islands may profit by the above remarks, and recommend to the ladies of Europe the fat of snakes and crocodiles instead of bears and other animals; it may be remarked, however, that that which the old women who recommend its use to the young girls in Sarawak sell to them, is seldom the fat of those animals, but usually some vegetable oil, which is made to answer the purpose, snakes and aligators being more difficult to obtain."—p. 146.

It thus appears that "human natur," as the Trapper has it, is "human natur" all over the world. No matter whether we are in Paris or Berneo, in London or Sarawak, we fear that there are tricks in all trades, and as we have long since been accustomed to shake our incredulous heads at the announcement that "another fine young bear has just been slaughtered" in St. Giles'; so we suppose that the Malay Beaux and Belles are "up to snuff," touching the fat of crocodiles and snakes.

We are warned however to desert these delicate subjects by time, that great devourer of all things,—both male and female, and passing from the Malays to the Dyaks and Kyans, we come to, perhaps, the most interesting features in the Island of Borneo, as it is to the interest excited in Mr. Brooke's heart by the virtues of the Hill Dyaks, and the vices of the Sea Dyaks, that we owe the publication of the various works now before us on the subject of the Eastern Archipelago. The distinctive characteristics of these various tribes are given in each and all of these works, among other matters, which we have not even space to do more than to allude by way of parenthesis, with great general uniformity both of fact and opinion. While the account of Mr. Low is invaluable, as the production of an actual observer: we cannot refrain from expressing the unbounded admiration we entertain for the spirited and dazzling style of Mr. Marryatt, the numerous illustrations to whose volumes are so life-like, and so well executed artistically, as to call for the critic's most earnest approbation. There is one subject, however, in this youngster's work, which we would fain have missed; we need scarcely say, that we allude to the constant and determined writing down of his superior officer. "Frank Marryatt" is certainly no bad appellation for so plain-spoken an author; and if he be but as plain spoken a *middy*, we should say that there would be but little subordination on board a British man-of-

war, where, of all places in the world, it is necessary that one, and one alone, should command. While these observations were awaiting the press, Sir Edward Belcher's "Narrative of the Voyage of the Samarang" has issued to the world, and we regret that a cursory glance at his work has not afforded us an opportunity of now doing that justice to the gallant author which his talents and professional reputation demand at our hands. Certain we are, that the prosecution of a practical surveying voyage cannot be charged with so much amusement and relaxation, as a cruise after pirates with Mr. Brooke and the "gallant Didos" under Capt. Keppel must have been; but even on this score Mr. Marryatt had no reason to complain, for Sir Edward Belcher, according to his own confession, diversified the search for soundings more than once by hunting down some pirates. It is not, however, our cue now to offer any opinion upon the complaints with which Mr. Marryatt's otherwise interesting work teems; and we gladly refer the reader to the many far more pleasurable topics with which his sumptuous volumes abound.

Dismissing, then, both Sir Ed. Belcher and Mr. Marryatt, we would direct the attention of the reader to the aborigines of Borneo, who are divided in substance into Sea Dyaks, Hill Dyaks, and Kyans, of which latter little is known. The Sea Dyaks, as their name imports, are given to piracy, and occupy the countries lying in the interior of the rivers Sakarran and Sarebus, with their numerous and large branches, where, till the Dido routed them out, they carried on a thriving piratical trade. This body of men is subdivided into numerous tribes, taking their distinctive appellation from the rivers over which they exercise some dominion. Many of these belong to Sarawak, all approach to its confines, and, together with the Land or Hill Dyaks, who are a rural race and form the bulk of the Rajah's population, have been more immediately brought under the notice of Mr. Low, who, drawing his experience from excursions in the country, presents us with a most interesting account of these people, their habitations, dress, and domestic habits, which we have only time and space to notice very briefly, promising the reader great store of instruction and amusement if he will peruse at his leisure those chapters in all these works which refer to these subjects. Though their ordinary attire is characterised by a simplicity bordering on that in which Nature ar-

rays her sons, yet when the Dyaks array themselves as a “war party,” their love of finery manifests itself in a preposterous abundance of brass ornaments, and of rings in their ears.

“The whole number contained in each ear of the Dyak varies from six or eight to fourteen, and in young men, occasionally to eighteen; these gradually decrease in size towards the top of the ear, where they are very small.”—p. 178.

Among the peculiarities which our author detailed in his intercourse with, and gleanings concerning the Sea Dyaks, may be ranked their laxity of morals, the intercourse between the unmarried of the two sexes being utterly unrestrained and promiscuous; as soon, however, as the lady “falls into that state in which all ladies wish to be who love their lords,” as it is expressed in rather a roundabout way in England, the lover is compelled to marry her, and after marriage faithlessness is almost unknown.

This state of things, however, is not confined to Borneo; we are grieved to assert that the account thus given of the social and moral condition of the Dyaks is not without its parallel at home. There is nothing new under the sun, for “*Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*” The experience of untravelled Englishmen, and the researches preliminary to the new Poor Law, may testify that the promiscuous intercourse of the Sakaran Dyaks is but the “keeping company” of the English rustics, the former having, perhaps, the advantage in the compulsory ceremony, which, in the case of the latter, comes slowly and haltingly behind the rest of the affair.

The most distinguishing trait in the Dyak, however, is his admiration of a captured head, to which allusion has already been made. The ceremony observed by these ferocious savages at the return of a war party from a successful inroad, laden with the heads of their enemies, is well described by Mr. Low, p. 207.

“The head, for months after its arrival, is treated with the greatest consideration, and all the names and terms of endearment of which their language is capable are abundantly lavished on it: the most dainty morsels, culled from their abundant though inelegant repast, is thrust into its mouth, and it is instructed to hate its former friends, and that, having been now adopted into the tribe of its captors, its spirit must be always with them: sirih leaves and betel-nut are given to it,—and finally, a cigar is frequently placed

between its ghastly and pallid lips. None of this disgusting mockery is performed with the intention of ridicule, but all to propitiate the spirit by kindness, and to procure its good wishes for the tribe, of whom it is now supposed to have become a member."

Of the heads thus taken, it seems that the rival tribes keep an exact account, and, as in Europe, the cry is "the Balance of Power," so the less advanced Dyak politicians strive for a "Balance of heads," a peculiarity which extends to a certain degree too among the more peaceful Hill Dyaks. When a peace is about to be brought about, the commissioners of either tribe state an account, as the lawyers say, but in heads, not money, and the party having won most heads in the game of war, "pays the difference," and then they start fresh and fair for a short time, males being estimated at 25 dollars, and females at from 15 to 20 per head. This done, a feast and dance concludes the war. Mr. Low, however, *naively* enough observes that the Sea Dyaks rarely adjust their differences, for if they paid honestly, they and their wives and children would not compensate their enemies for their lost heads. The heads so taken are most religiously kept by the Sea Dyaks as trophies, and belong to the captain, who, as does the Indian to the scalps in his wigwam, appeals to them as the warrant for his pretensions to the favours of the fair.

The Hill Dyaks, or men of the hills, differ materially in many respects from the Sea Dyaks, or men of the sea, and claim the sympathy of enlightened Europe as much from their virtues as their sufferings. They occupy the western portion of the Island, and are described as possessing a "grave and quiet expression of countenance, which gives to their features a melancholy and thoughtful air." They are, too, of a more amiable character than their neighbours, "Their morality is of a higher standard, their gratitude is undoubted, and their hospitality to strangers well ascertained." Again, "the licentious intercourse between the sexes is not permitted, and so strict are they in encouraging virtue among their children, that the young and unmarried men are not permitted to sleep in the houses of their parents after having attained the age of puberty, but occupy a large house of peculiar construction, which is set apart for their use in the village," and is afterwards fully described under the name of the Panjah. These inoffensive people neither practice slavery nor

piracy, and crime is so rare that punishments are purely traditional—while the custom of head taking is not so deeply rooted in their habits as to prevent the hope of its being easily eradicated. With them the heads are the public property of the tribe, and as such are suspended in the Panjah, which Captain Keppel not inappropriately terms the “skullery.”

With this brief account of these interesting, and hitherto unprotected people we must be fain to close our notice of Mr. Brooke and of the valuable works to which his enterprise has given existence. Had it not been for the determined spirit which animated the captain of the Royalist we should not now have known more of Borneo and the Eastern Archipelago than we knew at the close of Sir Stamford Raffles brief but vigorous career. Still less should we have heard of the poor Hill Dyaks of Sarawak, had chance not directed Mr. Brooke's vessel to that remote quarter of Borneo.

Oppressed and reduced to a state of abject slavery ever since the Malays discovered the value of the antimony ore in Sarawak, these tribes have been ground to the dust by the piratical incursions of the Sakarran and Sarebus from without, and the unceasing exactions of the Malay Pangerans from within. A new day has happily dawned on them. If there can be any confidence in man, we may safely predict for them a continuance of the inestimable blessings with which their path has been recently strewed by their European Protector. In number about 12,000, they form a body of men by whom the peaceful cultivation of the fair province entrusted to his care may be carried on with great success and advantage, while their vague notions of religion present a cheering field for the missionary; when once the foundation has been laid for the diffusion of Christianity by their enlightened ruler by education, the good work will doubtless be speedily followed up on more sides than one. Political economists and drivers of “Devil's Dust” may but look to the mighty rivers of Borneo as so many inlets for British enterprise and commerce. We will hope that they may prove the highways of far more important interests than those of the cotton lords. What the entire population of Borneo may be, must of course remain for some time a mere matter of speculation. We know enough, however, to affirm that millions of human beings there lie immersed in worse than

Cimmerian darkness. Mere ignorance would be bliss compared to the actual and positive vices which beset the Malayan population, as well as the Kyan and Sea Dyaks—among them the work of reformation and civilization must needs be gradual and perhaps painful, but with the Hill people there is now about to be laid open a vast field for missionary labour, and commencing with Sarawak we doubt not but that under the judicious control of Mr. Brooke, the holy men so engaged will steer clear of the rocks on which the Polynesian mission has so lamentably split. They will at least start on equal terms with European vices, and protected by political institutions devised by a man as well qualified to frame as to administer laws adapted to the habits of the people whose destiny has been so wondrously committed to his care, the missionary of Sarawak will doubtless render a good account of his high stewardship.

The Rajah has now quitted this country for the seat of his government, together with Mr. Low and various officers despatched by government to Labuh-an. Again has he fallen into the company of Captain Keppel who resumes his station and service in a vessel well adapted for that station and service. How proud must have been the swelling heart of Mr. Brooke as he stepped the deck of the Meander! how grateful that under the hands of an all-wise Providence he should have been made the instrument of so much good! The Royalist sailed on an adventurous enterprise, unnoticed save by a few admiring friends, and a few short years only had elapsed ere admiring and grateful England hailed her owner as the fitting object of her thanks. He now paces the deck of a British man-of-war, destined to a public mission and a cause which owe their origin entirely to his energy and judgment. Backed by his country it is impossible to assign limits to the reformation which may spring from these small levers Labuh-an and Sarawak. On one hand there lies before the Rajah the task of civilization and conversion—on the other the path of Keppel opens on the suppression and eradication of piracy. From both combined there cannot but accrue the greatest possible advantage and gain, as well social and political as commercial, to England and to Borneo alike, and to each and all of those good men and true who have set their hands to this great and holy work we heartily wish “God speed.”

ART. III.—*An Englishwoman in America.* By SARAH MYTTON MAURY. Authoress of “The Statesmen of America in 1846.” London, Dublin, and Derby: Thomas Richardson and Son, Liverpool: George Smith, Watts and Co., 1848.

THIS is a true woman’s book—in sentiment, in feeling, in opinion, in judgment, and in the mode and manner to which expression is given to evanescent impressions, and to settled convictions. We intend this observation as the highest praise that it is in our power to bestow; for having travelled a little and read much, we have come to the conclusion, that a clever woman, who has been exposed to perils on the ocean and the shore, and who has encountered those of whom it may with perfect truth be said, that “there be land-rats and water-rats,” is beyond all others the best calculated to give to her readers a clear, distinct, and life-like impression of what she has seen and what she has heard. The eye of a woman—of a good housewife—is practised in the observation of the most minute details; it sees a flaw, detects an omission, and lights at once upon a defect in the regulations of home, not because it is wished to find fault, but because there is the honest, womanly will, that all should tend to the comforts of him who is the master of the household, and of those who are, in her eyes, its blessing and its happiness. The mind of woman is, out of these minutiae, always constructing a scene—it is watchful and provident, and hence, when she becomes a traveller, she has every incident in its completeness before her, and whatever she so observes she can transmit by a thousand delicate traits to paper, so as to make all who peruse her pages her *compagnions de voyage*.

Englishwomen have of late years proved that they are the best writers of travels; and we do not know that we could afford stronger instances of their superiority in this department of literature, than by referring to “Letters from the Baltic, by a lady,” “Letters from Spain, by X. Y. Z.,” and the present work by Mrs. Maury. These ladies observe so closely, that some of their portraiture of manners, men, and scenery, are like to the works of Benevento Cellini—charming, because they are so spirited

and so life-like ; admirable, because of the exquisite beauty and finish even in their most minute details.

“An Englishwoman in America” is, however, not merely deserving of perusal because of the cleverness with which it is written. Its author has a higher claim upon our attention and respect. She has laboured with a woman’s zeal and a woman’s heart in a great work of charity ; and she has done much in mitigating the miseries to which the unhappy emigrants have been exposed, who have travelled from Ireland, England, and Scotland, to America and to Canada without a medical person on board.

Never in the annals of the world was there so terrible an emigration as that which took place from the United Kingdom in the years 1846 and 1847. The horrors of the retreat of the French army from Moscow were as nothing compared with what must have occurred in those moving lazар-houses of the ocean, the emigrant ships which carried away, unaided and untended by a single physician, the myriads who fled from famine in Ireland to perish by the slow fires of a wasting pestilence on their voyage to America.\* That evil which men in office should have prevented—that evil which men of science must have foreseen—that evil which men of all classes doggedly allowed to work out its ends unimpeded ; a woman—and that woman, to her honour be it said, Mrs. Maury—did her utmost to prevent—and has, we believe and trust, been able to shame the

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\* Out of 106,000 emigrants who, during the last twelve months, crossed the Atlantic for Canada and New Brunswick, 6,100 perished on the voyage, 4,100 on their arrival, 5,200 in the hospitals, and 1,900 in the towns to which they repaired. The total mortality was no less than 17 per cent. of the total number emigrating—the number of deaths being 17,300.—*Mr. Labouchere’s statement, House of Commons, Friday, Feb. 11th, 1848.*

“From Grosse Island, the great charnel-house of victimised humanity, up to Port Sarnia, and along the borders of our magnificent river upon the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, wherever the tide of emigration has extended, are to be found the final resting places of the sons and daughters of Erin—one unbroken chain of graves, where repose fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, in one commingled heap, without a tear bedewing the soil, or a stone marking the spot. Twenty thousand and upwards have gone down to their graves !”—*Report of the Montreal Emigrant Society for 1847.—Montreal Herald, January 15th, 1848.*

authorities into the adoption of such measures as will for the future save suffering humanity from the recurrence of such awful calamities.

We know of no species of reading so interesting as that which comes from persons who have proved their love for God and man by seeking to ameliorate the condition, and mitigating the miseries of the poor, the humble, and the helpless. Mrs. Maury has proved herself to be one of those persons ; and therefore, in describing her efforts in the holy cause of charity, we adopt a course which is merely honest as respects herself, and that cannot but serve to attract that attention to her work which its own merits will be found to justify most fully.

Fortunately for the sake of suffering humanity, Mrs. Maury with her son undertook a voyage to America in an emigrant ship. There were not less than three hundred and ninety-seven steerage passengers on board. No medical person was appointed to attend the passengers, for neither American nor English Governments had, up to that time—the year 1845—deemed such a precaution to be necessary ; and yet such was the dire condition of the steerage passengers, that Mrs. Maury was not permitted to visit the place in which they were huddled together.

"Of the actual condition," says Mrs. Maury, "of the between decks, I cannot speak, but have often heard Dr. Fraser express the loathing which he felt on visiting his patients there ; and when the skylight of the saloon was opened to give air below, *the effuvia was such as to compel me in all weathers to go on deck.*"—p. 6.

And yet this was one of the most superior of the emigrant ships, abundantly supplied both with water and provisions.

On the voyage outwards it was discovered that there was a medical person on board—a Dr. Fraser, who was there as a passenger. Sickness, and worst of all, that frightful plague, the small-pox, broke out amongst the steerage passengers. Two of the children fell victims to it ; and Mrs. Maury and her son were both infected by it. Had there been no surgeon on board this vessel, it is impossible to calculate the amount of mortality that must have inevitably occurred.

"It had frequently occurred to me," Mrs. Maury remarks, "during these scenes, that there should have been a regular surgeon on board the *Hottinquer* attached to the ship ; for, unless Dr. Fraser

had been accidentally on board, I cannot conceive the amount of misery which must have ensued. He was employed without intermission the whole of the day with patients in the steerage, and with the ship's crew ; and he told me that he was called every night three or four times. \* \* \* \*

"These various circumstances fully convinced me that every ship carrying passengers should be provided with a medical man ; and to assure myself that such was not the case, I asked Captain Bursley to show me the Passengers Book. I looked through it again and again in search of some regulation to this effect—but nothing of the kind, nor in any way alluding to the subject could be discovered. I asked the Captain, who said there was no such regulation existing. I then resolved in my own mind, to expose, so far as I could, this hideous grievance, and if it lay in the power of so humble a member of society as myself, to obtain some provision in the way of medical assistance for the suffering emigrants."—pp. 48, 49.

This resolution Mrs. Maury carried into effect. A full account of her toils, her travels, her writings, and her interviews with various official persons, is given in an appendix to her work, entitled "The Emigrants' Surgeon's Bill." We commend its perusal to our readers, whilst we are compelled to confine ourselves to the following abstract of its contents :—

"Upon recovering her strength, Mrs. Maury lost no time in putting her design into execution, and proceeding to Washington, upon the advice of the venerable Mrs. Madison, our heroine sought an interview with the President. This was readily granted, but as the President possessed no individual power to assist her views, a reference was made to the British Minister, to Mr. Buchanan, and to Mr. Walker, but with no satisfactory result, the attention of the government being otherwise occupied, and some of the shipowners not feeling inclined to favour the measure. Our authoress, however, still persevered. She resolved not to relax a single effort towards the accomplishment of her darling project ; but after months of patient toil, of laborious and heroic persistence, of unsuspended activity in the prosecution of her cherished scheme, she had the mortification to find that all was unavailing, and that for reasons which, although she could not approve, she would not condemn, her plan was denied legislative adoption. Defeated in America (who, we must say, was, and still is more deeply affected by the consequences of pestilential emigrant-ships than England, except as regards deportation at the colonies,) her hopes were turned to England, to which country she was shortly to return, and with renewed purpose, she resolved to " agitate " the measure with the British Government. To England accordingly she came, and had

scarcely set foot on its soil, than she proceeded in person to London, and obtained an interview with the Secretary for the Home department. She was there politely referred to the Chief Commissioner at the colonial land and emigration office, to whom, as well as to the Secretary of State, she submitted proof irrefragable of the solemn duty, the moral and physical necessity, the mercy, the humanity, the natural and social constraint that existed for averting the horrors of pestilence on board emigrant vessels to North America by a legislative enactment; but she had the wretched satisfaction of having the truth and justice of all her representations coldly assented to, but without a single promise of government aid. Will it be believed that one of the pretexts for the refusal was, that a sufficient number of duly qualified surgeons (about 500 or 600) could not be procured in Great Britain to accept the appointment at a fair rate of remuneration? Nothing daunted, our authoress next essayed to bring the subject before parliament, and availing herself of the ready co-operation of a virtuous and humane nobleman, a member of the house, the attention of the government was again demanded, and although it was brought a second time by another noble lord under the notice of the house, and freely discussed, yet the government, without altogether rejecting, postponed its consideration indefinitely. *And all this time disease and death were ravaging the emigrant ships to North America.*

"It was distinctly shown upon the discussion, by medical testimony of the highest reputation in England, Ireland, and America, which Mrs. Maury had been at great labour to procure, that as many even as six or seven thousand duly qualified medical men could be found willing, for a moderate stipend, to engage in the proposed service. Dispirited, but not disheartened, our amiable authoress returned to Liverpool with no chance of success left but by the potent arm of the press. The co-advocacy of the press she claimed, and it was granted. It is not, however, necessary to relate how powerfully the cause of neglected humanity was pleaded: suffice it to say, that, in less than one month, public sympathy and public alarm were aroused, shipowners were startled into a sense of both their danger and their interest, and the *first earnest step was taken*. One eminent firm quickly advertised for a surgeon, another followed, still the number increased; and we believe that so gallantly has the cause advanced, that no emigrant ship is leaving Liverpool at the present moment for North America without a medical officer! We need not add our humble tribute to the innumerable and well-merited congratulations which the noble and indomitable, but triumphant benefactress of the forlorn emigrant has had showered upon her."\*

\* Charles Wilmer's *European Mail*, Feb. 12th, 1848. See also Debates on Passengers' Navigation Bill in house of Commons, Feb. 21st, 1848, and Feb. 24th, 1848. It was in the latter debate, that

The individual who has thus laboured and thus struggled, thus toiled and thus achieved a triumph, is the authoress of the work which we are now reviewing. She is, in truth, one of the heroines of England, and considering the religion she professes, and the noble objects she has had at heart, she deserves to bear a title, which can alone be appropriate to herself, that of *a Protestant Sister of Charity*.

It is not possible to know what she has done, without feeling interested in all that regards herself, nor treat but with respect the opinions she entertains, even when we are compelled to differ from them.

And here we may remark in introducing Mrs. Maury's account of herself, and of the miserable state of health to which she was reduced, and that rendered a voyage to America advisable, that she gives an insight, by describing her own case, into the condition of the middle classes—of those engaged in mercantile pursuits—of which it would be difficult to say whether the very rich or the very poor are the more ignorant. We behold in this extract how that very class, which, to the eyes of the world, personifies the enterprise, talent, and greatness of England, is tortured between the agonies of hope and the terrors of despair, until at last the homes of Englishwomen are filled with care, with fear, and finally with sickness, which prostrates all the energies that have been long and vainly battling for competency, and a security against pauperism.

"I am the mother of eleven children, of eight sons and three daughters. Twelve years had scarcely elapsed between the births of the oldest and the youngest, and during a period of seventeen years my life had been exclusively devoted to the nursery and the school-room. I was the slave of my children; no hireling rocked their cradle, or soothed their infant tears; no stranger was their nurse or their instructor. Mine has been the toil, and mine the thought; mine is the reward, for as yet no cloud darkens their bright future. But this unceasing anxiety and labour at length undermined a naturally powerful constitution. Six years ago my mother died, and six weeks after she had been taken from the sorrow to come, my husband, by the caprice of commerce, found himself pennyless; three weeks after this event my youngest child was born. Sorrow

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Mr. Wakely and Mr. Labouchere both referred in terms of praise to the "Englishwoman in America." It was truly declared by Mr. Labouchere to be "*a valuable and interesting book.*"

and over-exertion had nearly completed the ruin of my health, when fresh calls were made upon my exhausted powers. Nine of the children, during the winter of 1844-5, were seized with the hooping-cough, and after nursing them successfully through it, I was myself attacked, and of course suffered severely. It left me in a state of nervous depression which I could not have conceived had I not been myself the sufferer ; and for the benefit of those who are the victims of so cruel a malady, I venture to narrate the effects which I experienced, not only from this disease (for such it is) of the nerves, but also the benefit which I derived from a sea voyage, and the change of climate and of scene. The suffering was constant ; I was the cause of misery by day and by night to all around me. I fancied the bed shook under me at night, and I never ventured to sit longer than ten minutes on the same chair, believing that it would immediately break down, or else that the floor was giving way under my weight. My household duties were a source of indescribable difficulty—to order dinner required an exertion of mind quite above my capacity, and the household accounts were as overwhelming and perplexing to my bewildered apprehension as the Treasury of the United Kingdom, or that monument of monetary confusion, the Bank of England.

"I wearied my friends with personal complaints, and my husband with tears. At last I thought that I carried a weight on my head, my sight became impaired ; I fancied that I was deaf, had a noise of water in my ears, and, *pour comble*, I at length became satisfied that I should immediately have some kind of fit or attack in my head. Often after hours of wakefulness I have nearly sunk to sleep, and then started up in sudden and horrid fright, convinced that I was struck with palsy, and that when I should awaken my limbs would be found deprived of motion, and my mind divested of intelligence. Sometimes I have risen in these moments of agony, fearful of resigning myself to sleep, lest it should prove the sleep of death, looked on my husband and my children for the last time, and thought of the grief they would endure when in the morning I should be discovered paralysed or dead."—(pp. 102—105.)

We now pass to America, and we there find Mrs. Maury, whose attention has been attracted to the fact, that in all cases of contagious diseases, the Catholic clergy are ever found ready to tend the sick and to soothe their last moments, even though certain that in doing so they must themselves perish. The celibacy of the Catholic clergy, even as a human institution, presses itself upon her mind *as a Protestant*, and she thus gives expression to her sentiments :

"It was during my conversation with Dr. Hughes, both with regard to Dr. Fraser and to the Report on the Hottinguer, that I

began to perceive the differences which exist between the ministration of the Catholic Priesthood, and that of the Established Church of England. In the case of emigrant exigencies, who but the ministers of the former religion would, or indeed could, be the comforters of the sick and needy? The superiority of the Catholic dispensations, with regard to the active duty of the clergy, became distinctly perceptible even to my then prejudiced and ignorant estimation of circumstances, and I listened with chained and wondering ear to the accidental remarks of the Bishop. It was now that I made a solemn determination to enquire, with a candid and courageous spirit, into the truth or untruth of the scandals which I had read and heard from my youth upwards of the Priesthood of the Catholic Church; of those men who bear the griefs and carry the sorrows of their infirm and ignorant neighbours, and who assuredly come nearer, in their walk through life, to the Saviour's model than any clergy of any religion whatever. In my own home I could not, for various reasons which all will understand more intimately than I could explain them, pursue my enquiries so searchingly and so constantly as I could in a stranger land, where I was unobserved and independent in my movements, and unrestricted as to place and time. And well this honourable body sustained the scrutiny; well they proved the falseness of their accusers, and well their diligence and devotion proclaimed that their kingdom is not of this world, but of the world to come. I came like a thief in the night, unlooked for, undreamed of by all; but each man was awake, each was keeping his appointed watch with unalterable constancy beneath the eye of God.

"In this very case of attendance upon ship-loads of plague the advantages of a single life for the Priesthood became evident; what ministers of any Church, save Catholics, and they alone, may venture into the abodes of disease, from which they run the risk of probable sickness and of possible death? They run this risk unmurmuring and unflinching, not with the hardness of the stoic, but with the meekness of the christian; yet not in fear or trembling, but with the self-sacrificing courage of a soldier of Christ.

"And the reason is obvious, they do not fear to carry sickness to the wife of their bosom or the children of their hearth; they have renounced domestic ties, that they may open their hearts more fully to those extended sympathies which include the whole of the human race. And certainly this is the vocation of a Priest, of one professing to imitate that Saviour who forsook his earthly parents to do the will of his heavenly Father.

"Many there are who exclaim with sanctified horror at the increase of Popery in the world, and especially in England. Mistaken in their conceptions of Christianity, these persons found their opinions on what they hear in fashionable Churches from the lips of a beneficed clergy, trembling not for the faith, but the form, not for the *perversion* of the poor, but for the *reversion* of their

own rich livings. But I would not slander pious men, and especially those of my own denomination. I do believe that, peradventure, there are ten righteous among them who relieve the distressed, who judge the fatherless, and plead for the widow." (pp. 77—80.)

We had marked many passages for extract, but must restrict ourselves to one more, as it will interest our lady-readers, giving a graphic and most pleasing portraiture of Mrs. President Polk, and of the widow of the celebrated Madison. It is an extract sufficient to demonstrate that there are many things to be found in Mrs. Maury's work calculated to interest all classes of readers.

"I have seen three anointed Kings and three inaugurated Presidents. I admire the Presidents the most. I have seen three Queens, and three ladies who have shared in the honours of the Presidency ; and truly among the Queens not one could compare with the regal grace of Mrs. Madison, the feminine and distinguished *personnel* of Mrs. Polk, and the intelligent and lady-like demeanour of Mrs. Adams ; the first of these ladies has been, nay, she still is, at the age of eighty-six, eminently beautiful, with a complexion as fresh and fair, and a skin as smooth as that of an English girl. Mrs. Polk, were it not for the same defect in the teeth (though in a less degree) which characterizes the mouth of Queen Victoria, would be a very handsome woman. Her hair is very black, and her dark eye and complexion give her a touch of the Spanish Dama. These American ladies are highly cultivated, and perfectly accomplished and practised in the most delicate and refined usages of distinguished society. It is not possible to observe the affectionate and deferential manner of Mrs. Polk towards the august lady who is now the "Mother of the Republic," without feeling for each the warmest admiration. Indeed, the name and presence of Mrs. Madison are revered throughout the Union, and universal respect is paid to her. I was in the House of Representatives when, attended by her niece, she came in to hear the maiden speech of Mr. Hilliard of Alabama. By an Act of Congress Mrs. Madison is entitled to a seat on the floor of the house,\* and she was immediately presented with a chair directly below the Speaker. Many members approached, and with visible emotion paid their respects to the widow of their departed President. The recollections of Mrs. Madison are remarkably fresh, her spirits are cheerful, and her affections are young and full of cordiality. Dressed in a black velvet gown, and a turban of the whitest muslin, Mrs. Madison reminded me of the English Siddons, of whom in childhood I have had a glimpse. I was told that her perception of

\* She also retains the privilege of franking letters.

persons and names during her reign in the White House was extraordinary, as well as the singular and happy facility with which she adapted her conversation to her hearers. From her friend, Mrs. Decatur, I have learned many instances of her sweetness of character, her total forgetfulness of self, and of the strong good sense which has ever regulated her conduct through life. To her may truly be applied the words of Milton :—

“ So absolute she seems,  
And in herself complete, so well to know  
Her own, that what she wills to do or say  
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best.”—(pp. 201, 203.)

With this extract we would willingly take our leave of Mrs. Maury’s book, and advise its general circulation, and if we could, ensure its universal perusal. Here, however, we cannot stop; for candour compels us to say, that Mrs. Maury has fallen into some mistakes on matters of fact, as connected with the newspaper press of England, and a grievous error in judgment as regards the institution of slavery in the United States.

As critics, the newspaper reviewers are not to be despised, because they actually do exercise a great influence on public opinions; and as men, who write what is in accordance with their own convictions, they are deserving of respect. Nothing can be more contrary to the fact, than the description given in the note to p. 91, of the manner in which reviews are written, if that description is intended to be applied to the daily newspapers of London. We do not know, and *we* have much information on the subject, that it is true, or anything like the truth, if applied to the daily evening, or weekly *political* papers in London. These reviews, we are sure, are written honestly, each in accordance with the conviction of the reviewer; and every work has a fair chance of being treated according to its merits, provided it does not offend the prejudices nor excite the bigotry of the reviewer. In that case the author is sure of being treated with as little mercy as the Curate’s aunt and niece exhibited for the favourite romances of Don Quixote. The author may complain of this as unjust, but still he has no right to affirm that it is dishonest. When he assaults prejudices, he cannot hope to find that those with whom those prejudices are principles will be content with defending them, they will treat *their* assailant as a personal foe. To show that there is virtue in Catholicity,

is to offend these deep-rooted prejudices ; but to demonstrate the possession of great merits and transcendent talents in a Catholic prelate, like Bishop Hughes, is to expose one's self to be handed down as a public enemy. Such we believe has been the fate of Mrs. Maury ; and however she may feel indignant at the impropriety of the course pursued towards her, she may rest assured that, as far as the daily and political press of London was concerned, she suffered from a mistaken, deep-rooted, but still conscientious prejudice. We make a marked distinction between that press, and the professedly weekly literary reviews. Repeated complaints, and those complaints founded on justice, demonstrate that the opinions of those reviews are not to be relied upon ; that with them, the publisher and the author are primary considerations, and the merits or demerits of the book reviewed the least important point of all, in the estimation of those ill-disposed critics. Hope of gain, fear of offence, the self-laudations of a clique, and the envious spite which cannot endure success in a total stranger, or a diffident acquaintance, mark the lucubrations of the avowed hebdomadal reviewers, who are only formidable because they are permitted to occupy a position of which they have in a thousand instances proved themselves unworthy. In the contempt which Mrs. Maury expresses for these modern occupants of Grub Street, we do most cordially coincide ; but they are not for a moment to be confounded with those who write reviews for such papers as the *Times*, *Chronicle*, *Herald*, *Post*, and such weekly papers as the *Observer*, *Economist*, *Sunday Times*, *Douglas Jerrold*, &c.

As to the question of slavery, we regret sincerely to see our authoress say a single word in favour of it, or of those who uphold it. (See pp. 138, 193, 234, et sequent.) We admit that there is no subject on which there has been more of hypocrisy and of cant, in modern times, than on this very question of slavery. We have seen the oppressors of the poor in England, and those who sought to take advantage of the misery of the poor in Ireland to carry out their base system of proselytism, profess to have a great horror of slavery, and on that profession build up for themselves a character of humanity. We admit also, that the slave in the United States may be in the enjoyment of more animal comforts than the self-styled "freeman" in Ireland, or even in England. We admit also, that the

"freeman," who is "a pauper," is treated as if he were a slave, and subjected to the worst tortures which accompany slavery; for, in his misery, the New Poor Law makes him more miserable, separating the husband from his wife, and tearing the children from their mother. We admit that *we* as a nation have no right to uplift ourselves with the self-laudation of the Pharisee, and declare that we are superior to our brethren in America, amongst whom we planted slavery as an institution, and rooted it so deeply in the soil, that to force it now away by violence must endanger all the social edifice that has been raised over it. Slavery, in our estimation, is a violation of the laws of God, and the rights of man. It is an evil to be abolished, and a sin to be suppressed; but fanatics are not to be permitted to render its abolition a cloak for crime, nor incendiaries, whilst pretending to suppress it, be suffered to convert it into an instrument for anarchy and massacre. Its fitting opponent is the Catholic Church, and as it strengthens in the United States slavery will decay, as slavery decayed in England, in proportion with the power of the clergy and the piety of the people.

"Cotton," remarks Mrs. Maury, "will not grow spontaneously, and emancipated slaves will not grow it, and white men cannot. The voluntary industry of the negro is moonshine."—p. 239.

Is this then a reason why the negro *as a slave* should be forced to grow cotton for his masters? Have *we* a right to force from him, when if free he might live independent of us, a species of toil which is to increase our wealth? We think not, because to declare so, would be to admit that those who are born noble have a similar right over us, and then kings over nobles, until our society should at last be composed but of various classes of slaves. Assuredly this is not the end of good government. Then what is? Does it consist in the greater wealth of a nation, or the greater happiness, ease and comfort, of the masses of the population? If the wealth of a nation constituted the happiness of a people, England, which is the richest, mightiest, and most powerful nation in the world, ought to be the Elysium on earth of the poor man. But is it so? Mrs. Maury herself shall answer the question. It is the moral of her book.

"If you are possessed of rank and money, stay in England; no

where are these advantages so available. If you have neither rank nor money, get away from it as fast as possible."

Thus the wealth of an empire does not constitute the happiness of its population. Its accumulation of riches is consistent with the most deplorable destitution; and yet Mrs. Maury approves of slavery in the United States, because without slavery there would not be exports of cotton, that is, there would not be an accumulation of wealth, and one class of men are to treat others as if they were brutes, to separate the wife negro from the husband negro, the mother negro from the negro children, (see p. 244;) for without the perpetuation of such a system, "*the voluntary industry of the negro is moonshine,*" p. 239.

This is the great and solitary defect in the work of Mrs. Maury. We deplore that one so kind and so philanthropic, should have taken so imperfect and so short-sighted a view of the question of slavery.

Considered as a whole, the work however is one of great value, and cannot but be read with extreme interest. America, the North as well as the South, is now the land to which all who despair of their own country fly as to a place of refuge—"refugio y amparo de los desesperados"—and to all who seek before their arrival there, to have a distinct knowledge of its society, its manners, and its institutions, we recommend an attentive perusal of "*An Englishwoman in America.*" Even that which we regard as an error, may be useful in suggesting to them the wisdom of examining into institutions before they condemn them; whilst all other portions of Mrs. Maury's writings will demonstrate to them, that if they become settlers in the United States, their success and their happiness will rest with themselves, and can be rendered most sure by their industry, their integrity, and their morality.

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ART. IV.—*On the Monuments of Nineveh, now transferred to the banks of the Seine and the Thames, and the Cuneiform Characters.*

DESPITE the frequency and seriousness of the accidents which have occurred on railways since their recent construction, their gigantic paths of iron have now

overrun Europe. The long peace, which we have enjoyed for upwards of thirty years, has promoted every species of industry, and increased commercial transactions to a boundless extent; and the facilities of communication, at once the cause and the effect of all this, have established between different countries relations which are constantly on the increase. Add to all this that mania for locomotion, that ever-burning activity, which at this time infects all free-traders, a class of individuals whom we might almost term the methodists of industry in all its phases, and it will be readily understood that the immense network, which is day by day spreading its huge threads over every corner of our old West, now threatens to carry its encroachments as far as the East.

The traveller, who is desirous of receiving new impressions, who feels a curiosity about countries which bear no resemblance to those which compose the great European family, must now go very far to find them. He must proceed to the eastern shores and penetrate into the heart of that Asia, where ancient traditions, pastoral life, and religious sentiment still preserve a local colouring, which steam has not yet been permitted to destroy.

In the centre of Asia are innumerable countries difficult of access, at a distance from the shores of the ocean or of the Mediterranean, protected by vast deserts and impenetrable chains of mountains from the inroads of modern civilization. There the bayonet did for a moment force its way through the natural barriers of the land, but the wily policy of the diplomatist has not yet succeeded in obliterating the nationality of the inhabitants. Of all these countries Persia is the most remarkable; its history, which is connected with the events of the most distant ages, its conquests, its arts, its literature, and its religion, all contributed to render this country the most powerful, the most mighty, and the most glorious of all the Asiatic nations of antiquity.

To the astonished traveller who has just crossed the flat deserts of Mesopotamia, or the wild and rugged mountains of Armenia (the ancient Media) the cities of Ecbatana, Luga, and Persepolis, display the remains of their palaces and temples, their numberless bas-reliefs, before which Alexander the Great is said to have stopped with sentiments of awe and reverence.

Three years ago, scarcely any thing was known of the

ancient capital of the kingdom of Assyria, except its locality and its name. With this name were associated a few statements of scripture, together with some marvellous assertions of the ancient historians. In 1838, however, the author of this article ventured to state,\* that no doubt there would one day be discovered, either on a brick or a stone, the name of a king of Nineveh or Babylon, and hence would be obtained the key to the mystic characters of the Assyrians—the cuneiform system of writing—and his predictions are now partly fulfilled.

In front of Massoul, and on the eastern bank of the Tigris, there is a plain intersected by the river now called Khausser. Here stood Nineveh.—What was the race of men that founded the Assyrian empire? On this point we have the undeniable testimony of scripture, and we find in Genesis, ch. x. “The sons of Sem were Elam and Assur.” “The sons of Cham, Chus and Mesraim, and Phuth and Chanaan. And Chus begat Nimrod,” and the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon. “Out of that land (the land of Sennaar) went forth Assur, and built Ninive.”

These passages admit of easy interpretation. Assur is the son of Sem, Assur is the father of the Assyrian race. This race was therefore Seacitic. Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord, was the son of Chus, the son of Cham; that is, he represents the Chamitic or Ethiopico-Arabian race, which invaded the land of Assur, and founded an empire of which Babel or Babylon was the capital. Then Assur, the Seacitic, who was expelled from the land of Renor, or Levoar, founded Nineveh. Unfortunately the scriptures add no explanation to this simple exposition of facts.

According to Genesis, we may be certain of the existence of a weighty revolution produced by a contest between two races of men, occupying the same territory; but we are not in possession of sufficient details to appreciate the causes and effects of this revolution.

The accounts of profane history are not more explicit. They tell us that the Assyrian Ninus, son of Belus, having been expelled probably from the land where the Cushites

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\* In the British Critic, in reviewing a work by Dr. Russell on the Connection of Sacred and Profane History.

had forcibly established themselves, took possession of the country north of Babylon, and founded on the banks of the Tigris a new empire, the capital of which was Nineveh. We are justified in admitting that the empire of Babylon was founded about 2,500 years before the Christian era; hence the foundation of Nineveh ought to be assigned to the same epoch. Some centuries later, (about A.C. 2000) under the reign of Ninus, and his wife Semiramis, the empires of Nineveh and Babylon were united under one sceptre, and these two states continued to form but one up to the period when Sardanapalus, in order to escape the vengeance of his revolted troops, ascended a funeral pile, and killed himself about A. C. 800.

It is not until we reach this period, still very remote from the Christian era, that Assyrian history begins to be cleared from the mists of mythology. The canon of the kings of Chaldea, which Ptolemy has preserved, and which was doubtless the work of the learned Chaldean astrologers, deserves to be ranked as one of the most precious historical documents. In fact, this chronological list appears worthy of all confidence.

Ptolemy's canon begins with Nabonassar, who ordered it to be commenced, and who desired, moreover, that all historical data relative to Chaldean history, should begin from his reign. The Scriptures inform us, that about the same period the kings of Nineveh were successively Theglath-Phalasar and Salmanasar.

The Babylonian sovereigns, apparently vassals of the Assyrian kings of Nineveh, attempted to free themselves from the supremacy of the latter, and formed an alliance with the kings of Juda, in order to make head against the common enemy. Merodach-Baladan united with Eze-kias against the king of Nineveh. The latter triumphed over this coalition; and a few years later, Asarhaddon, son of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, was set upon the throne of Babylon by his father, who thus united the two crowns of Babylon and Nineveh. Some time later, a new coalition was formed against Nineveh by the Medes and Chaldeans. Cyaxares, king of the Medians, appeared before Nineveh, the throne of which was occupied by a new king of the name of Sardanapalus. The latter was conquered, and, like the first of this name, perished in the flames of his palace. Nineveh was reduced to ashes, and fell, never to rise again, A. C. 626. The seat of govern-

ment was transferred to Babylon. Nabopolassar and his son Nabuchodonosor successively occupied the throne, which they surrounded with power and fame. The Chaldeans in their turn became conquerors. The Egyptians and their king Necho were driven away from the Euphrates; the Jews, always beaten, and always revolting, were carried away into captivity to Babylon in the year A. C. 588; Egypt itself was invaded. Nabuchodonosor on his return built a second Babylon, opposite the first, on the right bank of the Euphrates. The most wonderful works that the imagination can conceive, were executed by him in this sumptuous capital, which still elicited the admiration of Herodotus and Ctesias, notwithstanding the damage it had sustained from the invasions of the Persians.

Nabuchodonosor was succeeded in 561 by his son, Evilmerodach, who was assassinated two years afterwards by his brother, Neriglissor. This usurper did not retain the crown longer than four years, at the end of which he lost it, together with his life, in a battle against Cyrus, king of the Medes and Persians. His young son Labrosoarchod, then ascended the throne, of which he was very soon deprived by his ministers, who were exasperated by his cruelties. Nabonadius, the Labynetus of Herodotus, and the Baltassar of scripture, was appointed to succeed him. Cyrus, after his expedition against the Lydians, having now become acquainted with the road to Babylon, returned to the Euphrates. Nabonadius vainly attempted to arrest the progress of the conqueror; he was defeated, and shut himself up in his capital, which he believed impregnable. Cyrus then having turned off the waters of the river, and dried up its bed, entered Babylon the very moment when, according to the prophet Daniel, a mysterious hand was writing on the wall of the banquet-room, the terrible words: *Mane, Thecel, Phares*, the mere sight of which broke the loins of Baltassar. Babylon being now taken, an illustrious name was all that remained of the Chaldean empire.

Of the facts which we have here briefly enumerated, some are certain, but others are very doubtful. We will therefore confine ourselves to such historical data, as will enable us to conjecture the period when the recently discovered monuments were constructed. Nineveh was destroyed A. C. 626; it never recovered from this frightful

disaster, and 88 years later Babylon itself became the prey of Cyrus. As the Persepolitan cuneiform writing is found occupying the place of honour in all the written monuments, whether bilingual or trilingual, that we possess respecting the dynasty of the Achemenides, to which the conqueror of Babylon belongs, we may be certain that every monument in Chaldea, whether at Babylon or Nineveh, when unaccompanied by a Persepolitan translation of the written text, will be anterior to the Persian conquest, that is, to A. C. 538. From this very simple and natural remark it follows, that the construction of the palace of Khorsabad, discovered by Mr. Botta, was anterior to the conquest of Cyrus, and most probably to the destruction of Nineveh by Cyaxares, A. C. 626.

It is one of the characteristics of superior minds to take advantage of the circumstances in which they are placed, when these circumstances appear favourable, or unfold any striking information. This is doubtless the favourable side of that system of utilitarianism, which, unfortunately, at the present time, has sunk into the grossest materialism. It was doubtless with the view of enriching the human mind, that such men as Arquétel, Duperon, Grotefend, Lassen, Burnouf, Westergaard, Rawlinson, Botta, and Layard, devoted themselves with a highly meritorious ardour and zeal to investigations and researches, which, aided by archæology and philology, have enlarged the sphere of our historical knowledge.

In the exercise of his official duties, being placed in the immediate neighbourhood of that Nineveh, the name of which has so often excited the wonder of our childhood, Mr. Botta commenced excavations in the quarter marked out by English travellers, as the site \* of the ancient city. At first he found nothing but bricks and shapeless ruins: Without feeling discouraged at his bad fortune, he accidentally decided upon directing his men to work at a spot at some distance from the place where he had just failed, in the village Khorsabad. This village, built upon an eminence, at the north-west of which the men were set to work, contained a palace, one of the most admirable discoveries of modern times. He hastened to communicate this discovery to the learned world. Unfortunately

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\* This site is about one mile in length, and half-a-mile in breadth.

the splendid edifice, the ruins of which had just been excavated, had perished in a violent conflagration. The walls, formed of strong masonry-work and unburnt bricks, had been originally coated with gypsum, and everywhere covered with cuneiform inscriptions. But the nature of these coats of gypsum rendered their preservation almost impossible ; for as soon as they were exposed to the action of the air, they deliquesced with a most provoking rapidity, and, as the excavations proceeded, the previous discoveries became annihilated.

After some delay, the causes of which it is unnecessary to mention, the excavations were recommenced, and never more abandoned. A young artist of approved talent, and who was well prepared for the task by the long study which he had made of the monuments of Persepolis, (which are perfectly analogous to those of Nineveh,) Mr. Flandin was commissioned by the French government to make drawings of whatever antiquities should be discovered in the excavations at Khorsabad. As we have already stated, this village was, we might almost say, the sepulchre of an immense palace, which lay concealed there in the bowels of the earth, and which has been almost entirely disinterred by the excavations carried on under the direction of Mr. Botta. It had been ruined by a conflagration, hence the rapid destruction of the coats of gypsum with which the thick earth walls were cemented. These being no longer held together, deliquesced and formed the mound beneath which the lower parts of the palace remained buried. The state in which this Ninevite palace was found, might very well be compared to that of the ground floors of the houses at Pompeii, which lay buried several feet beneath "lapilli," or small pumice-stones, over which a thick layer of ashes was superimposed.

Nearly the entire plan of the palace admitted of being restored, as the excavations proceeded within the vast halls with which it had once been adorned. The walls, both within and without, were nearly everywhere covered with coats of gypsum of considerable dimensions, their average thickness amounting to nearly one foot. The sculptures which covered them were colossal figures of gods, priests, kings, warriors, eunuchs, and prisoners. In other places were scenes of every description ; attacks made upon fortified cities, troops landing, battles, triumphs, hunting and feasting. Where the figures in relief were

not of sufficient dimension to reach to the top of the wall, two rows of bas-reliefs would be seen placed above, and invariably separated by a zone of cuneiform inscriptions, no doubt explanatory of these, and made up of about ten lines, pervading the whole extent of the double bas-reliefs.

All these sculptures had been coloured. There was no possibility of doubting it. At last a great number of the gates of the palace were discovered. Who can conceive the joy of the antiquarians upon perceiving that these gates were constructed upon the same plan, and that like those at Persepolis, their casings were gigantic figures of winged bulls with human faces, wrought out of a single block of alabaster, having their heads covered with high rich tiaras. Behind these bulls were found other colossal figures, also monolithic, representing men strangling lions.

The joy and impatience which awaited the arrival of the wrecks of this sumptuous palace at Paris, were beyond all description. To satisfy the curiosity of an enthusiastic people, efforts were made to preserve some. It was found necessary for the conveyance of one of the wonderful gates of the palace, to construct a vehicle capable of transporting the blocks to the banks of the Tigris. But these colossal monuments of Nineveh, by their immense bulk, rendered all attempts to remove them unavailing. The only plan, therefore, to adopt in these circumstances, was to saw them into pieces of a more manageable size, at the same time taking the wise precaution of burying some colossal remains of the same kind in an entire state, in order to preserve some of these magnificent sculptures safe from the mutilations which an insufficiency of resources rendered unavoidable.

Now that these remains are deposited in the Louvre, and the colossal figures have been restored, every piece that was wanting having been readjusted with admirable care, we are enabled to transport ourselves in imagination to the palace of Khorsabad, in that very city peopled by a world of colossi and figures in relief, covered with sacred and historical inscriptions, and in such profusion, that every one of these coats of cement bears on its reverse a long inscription, destined nevertheless to be smothered in masonry work. What are we to think of a nation, whose capital contained a sufficient number of artists to execute

a work so gigantic in a few years, and with an unheard-of degree of perfection as regards both design and execution? We have said in a few years, because mounds similar to that of Khorsabad cover the plain of Nineveh, around the tracts of land which was believed to have inclosed the city itself, but which is, when properly considered, merely the site of a palace somewhat larger than the others. These wonderful mounds in which palaces are entombed, are found in great numbers in the plain of Nineveh, and Mr. Layard, an English antiquarian, did not sufficiently try to carry on excavations in the middle of the mound at Neeurand, distant a twelve hours' march from Khorsabad, and at the mouth of the Zaco, in the Tigris.

Two new palaces were disinterred: the one probably belonging to the same period as that of Khorsabad, had been, like that monument, ruined by fire; the other had fallen into ruins from its great age, and as a proof of this latter circumstance, some coats of gypsum, which had served the purpose of cementing its ancient walls, had been removed at the time that this palace was crumbling into ruins, for the purpose of binding the walls of the new palace. To economise time, they had been merely turned, and the primitive bas-reliefs combined with the masonry work of unburnt bricks. Thus at Nemroud Mr. Layard discovered a palace which had perished of age, the ruins of which served to build the modern palace, the date of which is at least six centuries before the Christian era. In the modern palace of Nemroud, there is the same arrangement as at Khorsabad, the same system of bas-reliefs and inscriptions. In the other palace, which the fire had not completely destroyed, were found numerous fragments of arms, and utensils in bronze and ivory, the study of which will enable us to gain a deeper insight into the Assyrian civilization, a fact which is now revealed to us after so many centuries of oblivion, we were about to say, of incredulity.

One of the finest conquests achieved by Mr. Layard, is a sort of obelisk of a hard black stone, in perfect preservation, and about fifteen feet in height. On the four sides of this obelisk are representations of warlike scenes, in which certain animals are very conspicuous, but which are now found nowhere but in India. These representations are accompanied by cuneiform texts; and these, when read, will doubtless one day assist in restoring some fine

pages of Assyrian history, which the now lost work of Sanchoniaton would, most probably, one day have supplied.

The British Museum has received a considerable number of bas-reliefs taken from the palace of Nemroud, for which we are indebted to the zeal and perseverance of Mr. Layard. They are all in an admirable state of preservation, and form some of the noblest ornaments of the Museum, where so many riches are already accumulated, awaiting the construction of a room adapted for their reception.

The Assyrian Museum at the Louvre, proud of its conquest, is now exhibiting to the public all those which have been brought from Khorsabad. In one of the rooms of the Louvre appointed for the reception of the Assyrian monuments, the walls have been completely covered with large frames of masonry work, in which the bas-reliefs have taken their proper place. Some of these bas-reliefs represent maritime scenes. A large number of vessels, impelled by oars, are conveying huge pieces of wood, apparently designed to assist in an attack which is about to be made upon a fortress built on a rock. Aquatic animals of every description are sculptured on the back-ground of the bas-reliefs—such as crabs, crocodiles, serpents, fishes, and shells. Amongst these monuments there is one which represents the image of the fish-god, or Dagon; on another there appears a winged bull, a symbolical animal, or more probably, the representation of an Assyrian deity; on a third sailors are hauling pieces of wood ashore, and the design of these figures indicates an action and a movement full of energy. In the same room there is a bas-relief, representing three warriors, the first two of whom are leading horses, in excellent attitudes, very appropriately designed, and bearing an exact resemblance to those which are found among the Greek sculptures belonging to the Achaian period. The Assyrian warriors have javelins in their hands, their shoulders and loins covered with sheep-skins; a tunic covers the body, and their shoes, with the toes turned up like those of the Indians, are tied in the front of the leg. Each of them has a little bag of an elliptic form hung to the girdle, the use of which it is very difficult to conjecture. This bas-relief was surmounted by a long cuneiform inscription, unfortunately, like the others, damaged by fire.

Above this precious piece of sculpture is let in a fragment of a blackish stone, harder than gypsum, representing the lower part of a figure, which holds in its hand a twofold lotus-bud. In front of the figure stands a mystic plant, no doubt the *homa* or *soma*, that divine herb which acts so conspicuous a part in the religious rites of India, and indeed of the whole of Asia.

In front of these bas-reliefs, and on an enormous piece of cement, appear two Assyrian warriors, bearing on their shoulders a war-chariot, probably forming part of the spoils taken from the enemy.

This chariot, the body of which rises vertically, is built like all the Egyptian war-chariots sculptured at Karnak, Medinet-Habor, that is, the axletree is placed at the hinder part of the platform on which the warrior and driver take their stand. This form was probably borrowed by the Assyrians from the Egyptians, because the Theban monuments, on which it is found plainly marked out, are most probably five centuries older than the palace of Khorsabad.

In the second room containing Assyrian antiquities, it is impossible not to witness without admiration the restoration of one of the colossal gates of the palace. Those enormous bulls, with wings and human faces, require to be seen, in order that an accurate conception may be formed of the prodigious effect which they produce. Their proportions are magnificent, and the different parts of the body are made out with a degree of accuracy and skill, evincing an extremely advanced state of art, and a very attentive study of nature. The muscles, sinews, and veins are all expressed with perfect propriety, and an incomparable talent is displayed in the execution of the whole. The heads are very beautiful, and the head-dress has a very noble appearance: this is a tiara of a cylindrical form, adorned with rosaces, from which a profusion of curled locks descend. A triple horn rises from both sides of the tiara; the beard, too, has a multiplicity of curls, that striking peculiarity for which the monuments of Persepolis are distinguished. The vast wings of these colossal figures are spread over the interior walls of the aperture, to which they serve as casings. Between the legs of the bulls there are long cuneiform texts engraved with extreme delicacy, and in a perfect state of preservation. It is much to be regretted that there was not suffi-

cient space to allow the two human colossi, which invariably accompany these winged bulls, to be placed beside them. These enormous statues, which have been placed elsewhere, are not less curious than those which we have just described. Imagine giants from fifteen to eighteen feet high, with their heads and bodies fronting the spectator, and the legs in profile in the act of walking towards the bulls, near which they are placed. In the right hand they hold a sharp crooked weapon, with a hilt adorned with the head of a heifer. In the left hand they are grasping the left fore-paw of a lion, which they are strangling by pressing it in their arms against their breasts. The pain and impatience of the animal are given with perfect truth. Certainly the muzzle of the lions on Parthenon were not more powerfully conceived and executed than those of Khorsabad. The hair and beards of the colossi are artistically woven like the human heads of the winged bulls, and, like them, they have elegant ear-rings. Their arms are adorned with massive bracelets and terminated by lions' heads. It cannot be denied, however, that the general aspect of these figures is displeasing, in consequence of the want of taste in the disposition of the legs, which are represented sideways, while the body is completely in front. The forms are also deficient in elegance. On the right and left of these colossi there are some charming little bas-reliefs let into the masonry work, which evidently represent Assyrian divinities, as intimated by their four wings. One of them has an eagle's head, and is in all probability the image of *Nesrokh*, the all-powerful eagle, the primordial deity of the Assyrian theogony, the prototype of the fabulous bird in the Arabian Nights, the gigantic eagle termed *Rokh*, a name which has preserved the final syllable of the primitive appellation of the now forgotten deity of the Assyrians.

In this second room there is also a stone altar with a circular slab, supported by a prismatic foot, the three angles of which are terminated by lions' claws. The anterior circumference of the slab is taken up with a cuneiform inscription belonging to the same system of writing which is found in all the texts collected at Khorsabad. Were it not for this inscription, the altar, although dug up at Khorsabad, but not in the palace which lay buried underneath that wretched village, might have been almost looked upon as a work of Grecian art. On the top of this altar is placed one of the most precious monuments of Assyrian

art. It is a bronze lion crouching, the back of which is furnished with a strong circular ring. This lion, which was found fixed to the threshold of one of the inner gates of the palace, is quite a masterpiece of the plastic art. This figure, which is admirably designed and executed, is more than twenty feet long; and a bronze antique of this size is very valuable, when it discloses such an advanced state of the art at so distant a period. What might have been the use of these lions, a few of which Mr. Layard discovered in one of the Assyrian palaces of Nemroud, we are unable to state. Nevertheless, it might be conjectured that the ring surmounting the lion found at Khorsabad, was used to support some tapestry hung before the door; and this conjecture is strengthened by the circumstance that a similar bronze ring was found fastened upon one of the pannels of the door.

Some bas-reliefs, generally in a good state of preservation, represent beardless eunuchs with rounded figures, clad in long robes reaching down to the heels, with sandals on their feet, fastened to the toe by a single strap. These personages are coming forward, with their hands crossed horizontally in token of submission, and with swords hung to their left side with elegant belts.

In another place, an Assyrian soldier is supporting upon his shoulders a car, adorned everywhere with beautiful figures of horses. Before him walks another soldier, carrying two vases terminating in lions' muzzles, which probably form, together with the car, a part of the spoil taken from the enemy. Farther on, a royal personage (for such he appears by his air of authority and his long sceptre) has on his head a conical cap, which bears an exact resemblance to the present head-dress of the Persians.

On another bas-relief, still more curious, appears a divine personage with four wings, having for head-dress a three-cornered tiara, surmounted by a real *fleur-de-lis*.<sup>\*</sup> He is extending his right hand, which holds a pine-apple; in his left is a vase, which no doubt is intended to hold water. It appears evident that we have here the image of some deity analogous to the Ormuzd of the Persians, bestowing upon mankind the two essential principles of

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\* Herodotus informs us, that the usual ornament for the head of a cone among the Assyrians was a lily.

nature, i. e., fire and water; the former represented by the pine-apple, the latter by the vase in which it is contained. In front of this deity there are placed two personages making a sign of religious invocation with the right hand. One of them carries with his left a wild goat, probably destined to be sacrificed on the altar of the deity which they invoke; the other holds in the same hand a triple lotus bud.

All these pieces of sculpture, without any exception, were undoubtedly covered with paintings. The traces are very numerous, and so apparent, that there cannot be room for the slightest doubt upon this subject. This fact reminds us of the discredit shown some years since to the statement of a traveller just returned from Persepolis, who affirmed that he thought some faint traces of painting were perceptible upon the bas-reliefs of those sumptuous ruins. The ruins of the palace of Khorsabad now confirm what has been hitherto regarded as a mere hypothesis.

The whole palace, whose precious remains now adorn the Assyrian Museum at the Louvre, was built on an area formed of a single row of bricks, which are very hard, and covered with inscriptions; underneath was found a bed of sand from the Tigris, ten inches thick, spread over a mass of bricks disposed in several rows, and cemented together by bitumen. In short, all the thresholds of the inner doors were covered with a stone slab, on which was engraved a very detailed cuneiform text. The cavities appear to have been originally filled up with copper, to judge from the numerous traces of green oxide which are still to be observed.

We shall conclude this article with the most precious portion, in our opinion, of the treasures discovered at Khorsabad. It will be perceived that we allude to the numerous inscriptions met with in this sumptuous palace, the deciphering of which will infallibly throw so much light upon the now obscure history of the Assyrian empire.

These inscriptions found at Khorsabad may be divided into several distinct classes.—1. Those which are read on the back of the coats of cement.—2. Those which are read on the thresholds of the inner doors.—3. Those which are read between the legs of the bulls.—4. Those which undoubtedly serve as commentaries to the countless bas-reliefs which decorate the surface of so many walls.—5. Those which are found on the bas-reliefs themselves. The

inscriptions of the fourth category contain very probably consecutive narratives, the possession of which would be of inestimable value; but it is hardly possible to succeed in the work of deciphering texts of so great an extent, notwithstanding the assistance afforded by the represented facts which are accompanied by these texts.

We should, perhaps, have more chance of guessing the meaning of the names of towns and personages inscribed on the bas-reliefs themselves. However, compelled as we are to have recourse to conjecture only, it is much to be feared that errors will be committed. We will, nevertheless, ourselves venture an opinion. Might not the texts, which are inscribed between the legs of the bulls, be religious texts? This conjecture is supported by the circumstance, that these texts are added to the representations of beings eminently religious. In like manner, might not the texts inscribed upon the thresholds of all the doors, contain some invocation in favour of the sovereign lord of the palace, some sort of prayer in his honour, or some pompous eulogium upon the monarch before whom those who pass through are about to appear? Every one who has travelled in the East, and is acquainted with the oriental languages, is aware of the custom of the inhabitants to cover their monuments with passages from the Koran, or any other religious inscription.

We now come to the inscriptions engraved, rather negligently it is true, on the backs of all the coats of cement. The existence of these inscriptions is indisputably one of the most extraordinary facts revealed to us by the excavations at Khorsabad.

What was the peculiar sentiment of that people, which rendered it incumbent upon them to trace enormous inscriptions doomed to remain buried in masonry work? Doubtless, as we have already said, a pre-eminently religious idea can alone have dictated such a practice.

Every one has heard of the system of writing, by general consent called *cuneiform*, from the name of the primitive element which forms its basis. This element is a sharp wedge or peg, which can be combined with itself by changing its size and position—and thus furnish groups representing all the articulations of an alphabet, to every degree of development. As may be seen, nothing could be more simple than the creation of a similar alphabetic system. Moreover the element of cuneiform writing was certainly

chosen in consequence of a religious idea, the traces of which we have lost ; for there is a Babylonian monument, the pebble of Michaud, in the Bibliotheque du Roi, cabinet des antiques, at Paris, amongst a number of figures having reference to evidently religious ideas. This monument represents a nail, the essential basis of all cuneiform writings, placed upon an altar as a sacred object. Such a coincidence as this could not be accidental, and assuredly there is in this fact, a sufficiently explicit indication of the religious origin of the principal element of these extraordinary writings.

Of these cuneiform characters, three systems have been hitherto distinguished, which were probably intended to express the sounds of three different idioms. Some epigraphic monuments, belonging exclusively to the dynasty of the Achemenides of Persia, have been discovered in the ruins of the palace at Persepolis. In general, these inscriptions present three cuneiform texts, and most assuredly relate to the three languages spoken by the three principal races subject to the dynasty of the Achemenides, that is, the Persians, Medes, and Assyrians, or Babylonians. It was natural that the idiom of the ruling race should retain the pre-eminence; hence, it was conjectured a priori that, in the trilingual inscriptions, the first rank should be assigned to the language and writings of the Persians. The same reasoning attributes the second rank to the Median writing, the third to the Assyrian, or Babylonian.

For a long time all attempts at deciphering these inscriptions were fruitless, but there is no problem of this nature which has not yielded to the triumphant efforts of human intelligence, and none should therefore be deemed incapable of solution. Accordingly, the knowledge of the cuneiform writings, the three classes of which we have already indicated, has made considerable progress within a few years.

One of them, the Persian, can now be read—not with extreme facility—but it can be read. A German, Dr. Grotfend, has achieved the honour of being the first to fix, although instinctively only, the value of some of the strange letters which constitute the Persian system. One day, casting his eyes upon a group of characters, he said to himself with a degree of confidence which was entirely instinctive : “ This is the name of Darius ! ” Grotfend

was right. It really was the name of Darius which he had thus singled out and designated. The learned Dr. Young had also either discovered, or conjectured by analogy, the name of Ptolemy long before Champollion, and yet the honour and the profit of the discovery have been assigned to the latter, the former having merely pointed out in a vague manner the locality where the treasure lay buried.

The German doctor discovered likewise that all the words of this first system were separated from each other by an oblique peg, which was isolated and sloped from left to right. From this moment the door was opened to discovery, and the attempts at deciphering became more and more numerous. To judge by the language of the sacred books, which have been collected and translated by Arquétill-Duperon, at the cost of such great sacrifices shamefully unrewarded, it might be affirmed *a priori*, that these cuneiform texts were known in that idiom which has received the name of Zend, and which bears the same relation to the Sanscrit, as the Italian to the Latin. In France Mr. Burnouf was the first who advanced with a firm and rapid step in this new path. Some important texts were analyzed and translated. The problem was therefore solved as far as the first species of writing was concerned. Since then several distinguished philologists have approached the same subject: Lassen corrected Burnouf's interpretation by his own, which was again corrected by the learned analysis of Mr. Rawlinson.

The honour of the first attempt made upon the *Median* writing is due to Mr. Westergaard. Here he had to contend with the disadvantage of not having the assistance of a sign constantly employed to separate the words from each other. The letters follow each other, and a Median inscription forms a compact whole, which resists interpretation the more effectually from the difficulty of separating them into significative groups. A tolerably clear idea may be formed of a Median inscription from the Greek version which accompanies the Egyptian text of the Rosetta Stone in the British Museum. The following is a specimen:

ΤΕΡΕΟΥΑΙΘΟΤΤΟΙΣΤΕΙΕΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΡΧΩΡΙΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ

*Translation.*—Be the decree engraved on a smooth stone, in sacred, enhorial and Greek characters.

However, as was already known beforehand by the

analysis of the corresponding texts of the first system, in which one found the names already deciphered in the Persian, such as Darius, Xerxes, Hystaspes, Achæmenes, and Ormuzd, it became easy to determine likewise the limits of these names, and to dissect them in assigning to each character a certain value, which was reserved for subsequent verification by the analysis of the words representing ideas—Mr. Westergaard undertook this charge. The labour, zeal, and patience, of this distinguished philologist will one day be attended with satisfactory results. But there is one circumstance which we cannot pass over in silence. A young German, Dr. Apper, who has devoted himself to these studies, discovered in the idiom of the Median cuneiform texts many points of resemblance to the idioms of the Mongolian stock. Now the numerous branches of the Tartar idioms, as it is well known, have grown out of the Mongolian stock. The ancient language of the Scythians might most probably be traced to the same origin; it is not therefore impossible that the language represented by the second species of cuneiform writing, was destined to represent the sounds of a language belonging to some race which had sprung from the same great family.

The third system of cuneiform writing, namely, that which is called by general agreement the Assyrian system, is now represented by very numerous monuments, thanks to the discoveries of Schulz on the borders of lake Van, and to those of Messrs. Botta and Layard. We are therefore at the present day in possession of texts sufficiently numerous and developed, to allow us to hope for a speedy success in acquiring a knowledge of the Assyrian writing. This solution of course cannot be arrived at otherwise than by proceeding from the known to the unknown. An attentive study of these trilingual monuments, which still exist at the present day, at Persepolis, Hamadan, Mourghâb, Van, and Nakchi-Roustam, has furnished philologists with the means of ascertaining some proper names, such as those of Ormuzd, Cyrus, Darius, Hystaspes, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Achæmenes. It will however be readily understood that the analysis of seven names only is a very feeble auxiliary for the explanation of several hundreds of characters. One fact has been ascertained beyond a doubt; this is, that the proper names of personages in Assyrian history are invariably preceded

by an isolated vertical wedge, with the point downwards, and which seems to perform no other office than that of an unpronounceable index, a simple characteristic of proper names. This fact allows us to discover at first sight, in any Assyrian text whatever, the place occupied by the names, but that is all. In regard to the extent of these names, it will be impossible to determine it, with any degree of certainty, as long as we are without a precise knowledge of more numerous alphabetical articulations than those which occur in the divine and royal names derived from the trilingual inscriptions. Unfortunately the comparison of the names of places and nations does not present any positive results, for it often happens that in passing from one country to another in the immediate neighbourhood, the name of the same locality changes its formation, so far as no longer to present the same characteristics. Such is not the case with the proper names of persons, because these, in passing from one idiom into another, undergo but very trifling alterations, such as are incapable of producing any radical modification in their appearance. On this account Mr. Rawlinson, a diplomatic agent of the British Government, who has been established for some years at Bagdad, copied with great care the famous trilingual inscription of Bistoum. This inscription accompanies an immense bas-relief engraved upon a rock, and representing Darius haranguing a multitude of chiefs of nations subject to his rule. Each of these chiefs is accompanied by a particular legend containing his name and that of the nation over which he presided. We doubt whether Mr. Rawlinson, desirous of reserving to himself the glory of being the first to discover the meaning of the Assyrian inscriptions, will communicate to the learned world the invaluable text which he possesses entire, and it will require some archaeological Jason sufficiently courageous to carry off this philological fleece, before which others have stupidly stood gaping without enriching their portfolios.

What, however, are the results hitherto obtained? For a long time the index of the Assyrian names had been observed in the trilingual texts. Mr. Isidore Lawenstein is the first who has delivered to the public any important work upon this interesting subject. Resuming the question *ab ovo*, he effected the analysis of these proper names, and the results of this analysis he has given to the public.

His researches have led him, moreover, to discover in the Assyrian writing the use of homophonic signs, i.e., according to the full acceptation of the word, signs in a variety of forms, representing, as is the case in the Egyptian writing, alphabetic articulations identical with these. On the other hand, Mr. Botta has begun the publication of a work of the highest importance. With a most surprising degree of patience he has dissected each letter of the innumerable Assyrian texts with which the palace at Khorsabad had supplied him. He has bestowed the same labour upon all the inscriptions at Van, and the trilingual inscriptions, and the result of this is an extremely curious catalogue, in which all the permutations of the Assyrian signs are recorded.

Hitherto the language itself has escaped us, and it is impossible, *a priori*, to determine its nature. Nevertheless the geographical position of the country in which this language was spoken, enables us to anticipate a connection more or less intimate with the idioms of the contiguous countries. The Semitic origin of the Assyrian race, which fact is sufficiently authenticated by Scripture, will enable us to feel certain of discovering numerous Semitic roots, resembling, most probably, those which constitute the Chaldean language.\* On the other hand, it is hardly possible henceforth not to recognize in the Assyrian writing a frequency of vowels, which circumstance seems to place it in very close connection with the Persian system itself, and consequently with the present tongue of all the Indo-Germanic idioms—i.e., the Sanscrit. Moreover, if it is true that the concealed writing of the Median system approximates to the Tartar or Mongolian idioms, there is no absurdity in presuming that certain words, certain forms, perhaps, will occur in the Assyrian writing. On the very soil which once bore the Assyrian race, an ancient race exists at this day which is evidently aboriginal, the

\* In pages 229, 216, of the *origines Biblicæ*, by the learned traveller in Abyssinia, Dr. Rake, the opinion is advanced, that Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, and other languages to which the particular designation of Semitic, Shemitic, or Shemitish, has been applied by philologists, are cognate with the language of Africa, and ought therefore to be denominated *Hamitish*.—See Blackwood's Magazine for Sept. 1844, vol. lvi., p. 324, and the Quarterly Review for October, 1844, vol. lxxxv., p. 349, and do. for June, 1846, vol. lxxviii., p. 173.

idiom of which doubtless contains many traces of the language of the Assyrians. This race is the Armenian.

It will now be seen that the problem to be solved presents serious difficulties, since it is absolutely impossible to anticipate what a certain word will be which represents a certain idea, even if this idea be ascertained beforehand. To ascertain the precise value of the characters is the first step to be accomplished; and hitherto the elements of determination, i.e., the proper names to be dissected, are not sufficiently numerous to permit us to proceed with any degree of confidence. When the Bristoun inscription, deciphered by Mr. Rawlinson, appears, more than half the labour will have been effected. Until the publication of this valuable text, the only progress we can make will be to feel our way with more or less success. And who knows whether we may not discover, in the legend of one of those kings conquered by Darius, the Carthaginian tongue, its mother, the Phenician tongue, its daughter, the Irish tongue, in short, the real and genuine language of the Celts.

In conclusion, although we have succeeded, by the aid of inscriptions, in restoring a mere shred of the genealogy of a royal dynasty, although the monuments of Khorsabad furnish us with the name of a king Aparamdis, who is certainly no other than the Aparamdis as of Ptolemy's canon, (he reigned from A.C. 699 to 693) still the question of deciphering the cuneiform writings of the Assyrians cannot make any rapid progress towards its solution, until a trilingual text, such as that of Bristoun, shall have been placed in the hands of philologists.

- ART. V.—1. *Ireland; Historical and Statistical.* By GEORGE LEWIS  
SMYTHE. 2 vols. London, Whittaker and Co.**
- 2.—*Condition and Prospects of Ireland.* By JONATHAN PIM. Dublin,  
Hodges and Smith.**
- 3.—*Large and Small Farms.* By HENRY PASSY, Peer of France,  
Member of the Institute. London, Arthur Hall.**
- 4.—*The True Law of Population.* By THOMAS DOUBLEDAY. Second  
Edition. London, G. Peirce.**

5.—*Letters on Monetary Science.* By ALADDIN. London, John Ollivier: Effingham Wilson.

THE history of Ireland is a melancholy record of systematiced injustice, the opprobrium of statesmanship, and a satire on civilization. On perusing its disheartening annals, the politician is compelled to acknowledge that every righteous principle has been violated, and the law of social progression designedly opposed. With a genial climate and fertile soil—with natural harbours capacious and approachable, and easily rendered secure by the ordinary application of engineering skill—with rivers and lakes admirably adapted to inland navigation, and inhabited by a population quick in intelligence, patient of toil, and remarkable for fortitude under privation, this unfortunate country, crushed by seven centuries of uninterrupted misrule, has been unable to participate in those advantages which art and science have bestowed on surrounding nations. The retrospect is the more painful when we consider that Great Britain, to which Ireland has been rather annexed than allied, has, during the same period, constantly advanced in the march of improvement, largely accumulating her wealth, and widely extending her dominion; conferring privileges on her transmarine dominions, while she has denied even bare rights to the sister country. In truth, Ireland has been domineered over as a conquered province, but never treated as an integral portion of the empire; nor has this injustice been perpetrated with the concurrence or for the benefit of the *people* of England, Scotland, or Wales, but for the exclusive interests of two privileged classes—an intrusive clergy, and an absentee proprietary—both of whom have combined together for their mutual maintenance and aggrandizement. Ireland has been administered on the principle of patronage, by which the minister of the day has promoted and secured his influence through rewards bestowed on needy dependants and cringing parasites; and thus a whole people have been sacrificed to the cupidity, jealousies, and intrigues of party. Awful warnings have been given in the severe visitations of periodical famines, but even these have been disregarded, or looked upon as inevitable casualties; but the last experience of these calamities, wisely and mercifully inflicted to arouse us to a sense of duty, seems to have taught the Government that this sin of indifference can no longer be committed with impunity, that punish-

ment will follow crime obstinately repeated, and that the superstructure of society will be endangered if its foundations are permitted to decay. "In the moral world," says Robert Hall, "it is part of the wise arrangements of Providence that no member shall suffer alone, that if the lower classes are involved in wretchedness and beggary, the more elevated shall not enjoy their prosperity unimpaired."

Prospective wisdom always adapts its means to its end, and therefore forms to itself a clear conception of the end at which it desires to arrive. In reference to Ireland, the evils to be removed are very various in character and degree, and to these the remedies must correspond. There is no single panacea for the multiplied abuses which there prevail, for they are ecclesiastical, social, and political. The great object of imperial legislation should be to render the people self-sustaining, for rewarded industry is the great safeguard of virtue and morals, and these are among the best guarantees of order. But those measures which might secure the activity and usefulness of labour in Great Britain would assuredly fail in Ireland, because the circumstances of the two countries are essentially different. In Great Britain, the rural population, driven from the plough, may seek and find a refuge in the manufacturing towns, but in Ireland no such source is available. This distinction is fundamental, and whoever overlooks it, will be disappointed in his plans of elevating the condition of the people. It has, however, been disregarded, if not studiously kept out of view, by that school of political economists who think more of the production than of the distribution of wealth, whose whole sympathies are with property, heedless of labour, and who, considering man as a machine, forget the producer while calculating the produce.

"In Ireland," says Gustave De Beaumont, "in place of being a luxury, land is a necessary; it is the only good to which all aspire—it is the subject of all contracts—it is the passion which agitates all minds—it is the interest which stimulates every intelligence—it is the only fortune of the rich, as it is the only hope of the poor. The land in Ireland is the general refuge. It is not correct to say that the people in Ireland desire the land. They covet it—they mutilate it—they tear it in pieces and quarrel about its shreds—they seize upon it by violence and crime. I will not seek to inquire if in Ireland the people long to become proprietors of the

soil, when I see them risking their lives, and taking the property of others, in order to occupy as farmers, patches of half an acre. The property of the soil is so far beyond their grasp, that it presents itself to them as a chimera after which it would be folly to aspire ; and, if they do not pursue it, it is not that they disclaim it, but because the acquisition is beyond their means."

This is not an exaggerated statement. The ivy does not cling to the oak with greater tenacity than does the Irish peasant to the soil, and well he may ; separated from it he can only encounter starvation and death, since his country contains none of those great workshops of industry to which he can retreat for subsistence. It is from this point of view, therefore, that we must steadily contemplate the distresses of Ireland in regard to remedial measures, and commence our plans of reform by working upwards from the humblest classes of society. Then every step we take will be on sure and solid ground. But to present the subject fully and fairly before our readers, and to give precision to our ideas, we must commence with the statistics of Ireland, which will serve as a moral, social, and economical map of the condition of its inhabitants.

" According to the Report of the Census Commissioners of Ireland for 1841, the surface of the island contains 8,175,124 persons, and 20,808,271 acres. Deducting from the latter 630,825 acres of water, the land will consist of 20,177,446 acres. Of these there are 374,482 which are covered by plantations, 13,464,300 of which are cultivated, and 6,295,735 waste.

" Upon the same authority we learn that the 8,175,124 persons inhabit 1,328,839 houses, of which 491,278 are mud cabins, containing only one room ; 533,297 are mud cabins, containing from two to four rooms ; 264,184 good farm houses, and houses in the back streets of towns, containing from four to nine rooms ; and 40,080 are houses of a better description. Out of the total number of 1,328,839 dwellings, therefore, no less than 1,024,575 are mud cabins.

" Again, of the total number of inhabitants, 8,175,124, no less than 625,356 families, numbering 3,470,725 persons, live in single rooms, while the rural population engrosses 7,039,659. The wages of the labouring portion of this monstrous majority vary in the South and West from 4d. to 10d. and in the North from 8d. to 1s. per day. Under so depressed a state of things, it cannot surprise us to find the Commissioners of Poor Inquiry, in the year 1836, reporting that 2,385,000 of the whole population are paupers.

" In all these details of the actual state of Ireland and its inhabi-

tants, the leading facts are so bold, and they stand so prominently forward, that the attention of the least reflecting minds must be attracted by them. Upon thinking men, they will necessarily produce so deep an impression, as to render the simplest recapitulation of them sufficient to fix their true character upon the memory. They are, 1st, the large quantity of uncultivated compared with cultivated land, 6,295,735 to 13,464,300 acres ; 2ndly, the vast preponderance in the number of persons dependant upon agriculture, 7,039,659 out of 8,175,124 ; 3rdly, the excess of mud cabins, 1,024,575 out of 1,328,839 dwellings ; 4thly, the abject poverty and ignorance shown in the low rate of wages, and the inability of 3,766,066 persons above five years of age either to read or write.”\*

The accuracy of this statement is not to be impugned, while it serves as an instructive guide in the selection and application of remedial measures. We have the land and its cultivators at our command, and in them we possess the prime elements of national wealth ; the disadvantages we have to encounter are, the poverty of the proprietary classes, the ignorance of the peasantry, and their low standard of living, as indicated by the state of their dwellings, food, and clothing. However, with millions of acres yet untouched by plough or spade, and other millions capable of being increased from threefold to fivefold in productive power, none need despair of the regeneration of Ireland ; she is quite capable of being rendered self-sustaining ; her mud cabins may be changed into comfortable houses ; her bogs may be reclaimed from sterility ; her people may be educated ; nothing more is required than the judicious application of industry, stimulated by the certainty of a just reward.

The first step in this great work of reform, is the emancipation of the soil from the ruinous consequences of very heavy encumbrances upon the land. It is the manifest interest of the public that every acre should be improved to the utmost, and that the owner of an estate should have every inducement to add to its capabilities ; but the obvious effect of encumbrances, being to reduce the possessor from the rank of a proprietor to that of a mere receiver of an annuity from land, he is, of course, disposed to expend as little as possible on its permanent ameliora-

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\* Ireland, Historical and Statistical, by G. L. Smythe. London : Whittaker and Co.

tion, and draws from it as much as it will yield. He has no motive to drain, repair fences, or erect buildings. In most cases the estate is charged with a jointure to the widow of his predecessor, and a provision for younger sons and daughters. He is compelled to keep up a certain appearance in society, and borrows money from an insurance office. Thus, loaded with direct and collateral burdens, he starves his estate to maintain a nominal respectability, and agriculture is sacrificed to the enrichment of money-mongers. Mr. Peirce Mahony, an eminent solicitor in Dublin, who gave evidence before the Select Committee on Tithes in Ireland, in 1832, and whose practical knowledge of landed property is as accurate as it is extensive, bore the following testimony to the evils of encumbered estates:—

“The very large estates so held in the South and West of Ireland are comparatively uncultivated, and are heavily encumbered by judgments, &c. Those judgments affect the whole and each part of the estate, as the system is not so much to borrow on mortgage; but even when money has been borrowed on mortgage, it is not borrowed as in England, upon separate and distinct portions of the estate, so as to enable the proprietor, if he thinks fit, to sell that separate and distinct portion of it, and discharge that particular class of debt; the Irish mortgages cover the whole, and thus it becomes scarcely possible for the owner to sell in small divisions.”

He then proceeds to state that

“It would be more beneficial to such landlords and their tenants, that they were forced to part with a nominal enjoyment of large possessions; after the landlord’s debts were paid, the surplus (if any) would be more beneficial to them and their families than the casual income they now receive, after deducting expenses of management &c., from their *nominal* estates. Let me submit one case out of many which may be mentioned. A has a rental, say of 5,000£. per annum; the interest on his encumbrances, &c. amount to 4,000£. per annum; while the charge for management, casual losses by tenants, law expenses, &c. may be estimated at 10 per cent. on the gross rental; so that the nominal owner of a rental of 5,000£. per annum, really has but 500£. a-year (supposing his whole rental duly received) to live upon. I have no doubt but that such an estate should be sold, and that selling it is the only prudent course which A could take. In the one case (a sale) he may preserve 1,000£. per annum clear rental; in the other, he has but 500£. encumbered, with the name and station of a gentleman with 5,000£. a-year estate. Such is the condition of many of the landlords of my country.”

Against the severance of estates family pride rebels. Land not only conveys political influence, but its possession, usually accompanied by ancestral traditions, confers an hereditary title to respect and power, so that the proprietor of thousands of acres enjoys in his district almost a local sovereignty. It is painful to descend from so lofty a position, and a father naturally desires to transmit, undiminished, so enviable an authority to his son. This is a laudable ambition, but the public welfare must not be perilled for its gratification. That law is vicious, and should be repealed, which militates against the general good while seeking to aggrandize individuals. It is a common phrase, that a man has a right to do what he pleases with his own; but it must not be forgotten that property has its duties to perform, on failure of which property is morally forfeited. Disguise it as we may, absolute unconditional proprietorship is a pure fiction, originating in usurpation and fortified by vanity; every rich man is a trustee for his poorer neighbour. Land was appropriated to exclusive ownership, that it might be rendered more productive than if permitted to lie in common, and here the obligation of culture is implied. If one proprietor, claiming to do what he pleases with his own, were allowed to leave his acres waste, every other proprietor might assert the same privilege, and, of course, such a system would cause society to retrograde to a savage state. The earth was given to man to subdue it, that he might obtain the means of subsistence. He was to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow. Hence it is obvious that labour becomes a religious and moral obligation, as well as a social virtue; and if individuals do not voluntarily exercise it, the intervention of Government becomes a duty.

Now, in the case of very heavily encumbered estates, which lie barren or half cultivated, owing to the poverty or indebtedness of their owners, it is clear that a law can unbind what a law has bound; and where the common weal demands it, the living are entitled, in human polity, to modify or abrogate the decrees of the dead. Institutions are ever changing and adapting themselves to the altered circumstances of society, and land is not exempted from this law of progression. The pride of families, the love of accumulation, the desire of being proprietor of an extensive domain,—all these feelings must give way to the production of food and the employment of labour.

"When," says Adam Smith, "great landed estates were a sort of principalities, entails might not be unreasonable. Like what are called the fundamental laws of some monarchies, they might frequently hinder the security of thousands from being endangered by the caprice or extravagance of one man. But in the present state of Europe, when small as well as great estates derive their security from the laws of their country, nothing can be more completely absurd. They are founded on the most absurd of all suppositions—the supposition that every successive generation of men has not an equal right to the earth and to all that it possesses, but that the property of the present generation shall be restrained and regulated according to the fancy of those who died perhaps 500 years ago."

We have said that property is a *trust*, to which responsibility is attached ; and it has been wisely ordained, that where a trust is violated, punishment follows. If it be said that corrupt legislatures, participating in the spoils of injustice, permit wrong doers to escape from the consequences of their crimes, we answer that such impunity is of short duration ; time is mercifully allowed for repentance and reformation, but that time is limited ; and through divine agencies, not less assured because unperceived in their approaches, the hour of retribution arrives. Does not the revolution of empires teach this salutary lesson ? Have we not seen it exemplified in that awful catastrophe which rent France asunder ; and may we not trace its influence in the recent famine which has filled Ireland with mourning ? There was the land to sustain its people, but it was uncultivated ; the proprietors had neglected their duties, the trustees had forgotten their responsibility, and they have been reminded of their dereliction through the anger of heaven and the chastening hand of the Most High ! Every human institution must fall, every form of political government must crumble into nothingness, unless based on religion. Man is but an instrument to effect the intentions of Deity ; and diplomats and statesmen are His servants. Not according to *their* wisdom, but according to His wisdom, are they permitted to act. To hope for a blessing on their labours, they must recognize God as the Supreme Legislator, and themselves as His accountable agents ; He is the sole Lord of the land, and universal humanity is His responsible tenant. He cares for all ; the humblest is not excluded from His benevolent watchfulness ; the mightiest are not exempted from His correcting supervision.

These principles, which proclaim the intimate relations between the creature and the Creator, and the doctrine of a particular providence, periodically manifest themselves in action, and confound the vain speculations of worldly-minded politicians. We discern their presence even now in the encumbered condition of a very large portion of the land which aggrandizes a class, and impoverishes the multitude ; hence we deduce its sinfulness, and the punishment of the sin is the tendency of the law to bring society back to its first principles, that is to say, to throw the land once more into common, and abolish proprietorship. If arrested before it reaches this extreme, it can only be done by a system of parochial taxation, which gives to those excluded from possession of the soil a claim to subsistence from its produce, prior to the payment of rent. Thus the injustice of the rich ultimately is the cause of their debasement, for, violating the duties of property, they forfeit its rights. Forgetting their responsibilities, they disturb the social machinery, and introduce disorder, while order is essential to the security and permanence of their station. They create the pauperism which devours them, and through a social revolution their estates pass to those whom they have wronged ; this is the punishment of abused trusteeship, and this is the government of God, who hurls down the mighty from their seats, when they cease to remember HIM from whom all power is derived.

Sir Walter Scott saw this process clearly, though not under the religious views we have exhibited.

"If," says that celebrated writer, "the existing system in England is not changed, it will happen before long that the total rental of the landlords will be absorbed by the poor rates. The time will come when the whole land will be hypothecated to the poor ; and by the strangest and most unexampled of revolutions, the labourers in the country will be substantially in possession of the whole rental in that soil in which any participation is now refused them. In this respect France, more equitable than England, has also shown herself more politic : while our laws favour, by a continual action, the accumulation of landed property; there, on the contrary, they tend to a perpetual subdivision of it. It is possible that the system of France may not be confined within proper bounds, but even were it carried to an extreme, it is less prejudicial than the opposite one."

The impoverished proprietor of an overburdened estate can only display a very spurious kind of magnificence, nor does

the nominal possession of thousands of acres confer upon him either genuine nobility or true greatness. The holder of a few fields, unclogged with mortgages or annuities, is far more independent and far more useful to society. We rejoice to find that Her Majesty's government have determined to afford facilities for the sale of encumbered estates, by which the evils we have sketched may be effectively removed. A bill for this purpose passed the House of Lords in 1847, but was unwisely withdrawn in the House of Commons, partly in obedience to remonstrances made by some Irish proprietors, who were actuated by a false family pride, but chiefly owing to the opposition of the great Insurance Companies, who enjoy the usufruct of a large portion of the soil of Ireland. Another bill has, however, been introduced during the present session, and we trust it will not again be defeated by any combination of the monied interest.

With a facility for selling encumbered estates, the numbers of the proprietary class would be rapidly and extensively augmented, and thus would be laid the foundation of a resident gentry, so incalculably important to Ireland. Such a class, possessing pecuniary resources and a superior intelligence, would at once direct their attention to agricultural improvements, and their interest in the soil would prompt them to encourage habits of industry among the people by whom they were surrounded. Living among the peasantry, observant of their conduct, visiting their cabins, such proprietors would have every inducement to inculcate prudence, perseverance, order, and thrift; and their own example, coupled with precept, could not fail to elicit those social virtues, which, teaching the blessings of independence and the means of obtaining it, would gradually render the people self-sustaining. Of the advantages arising from direct and frequent intercourse with the owners of the land, the Irish, to a very great extent, have been hitherto deprived, and, in many large districts, wholly so; in fact, absenteeism has been the rule, and residence the exception; and this circumstance should never be overlooked when comparisons are instituted between the agricultural labourers of England and Ireland. An appeal to facts will abundantly prove what immense good may be produced by the presence of a proprietary class, not only in the elevation and increased comfort of the people, but in the increased pro-

ductiveness of the soil and the extinction of agrarian outrage.

John Leslie Foster, Esq., M. P. and an extensive land-owner in the county of Kerry, gave evidence before a select committee of the House of Lords, in 1825, appointed to investigate the state of Ireland. His property had been sublet to a middleman, who failed to pay his rent, and Mr. Foster took possession. He found the people poor, semi-barbarous, and insubordinate, and determined to change the whole system. We extract the following passages from his evidence.

"I determined to try the experiment of *setting* to those families, dividing the property among them, and giving each a lease of twenty years. I had a survey made, and explained to the people my object and intentions, which they were slow to believe ; they could scarcely comprehend them, and would hardly believe that I intended to behave so liberally to them. The neighbouring gentry saw what was going forward with great dissatisfaction ; they were unanimous in predicting the failure of the experiment. I however proceeded, and "set" to the occupying tenantry at rents rather greater than the middleman ought to have paid me, but fully one-third less than they were bound to pay him. When they saw that I was in earnest, they entered very fully into my plan. One of the greatest difficulties that had been anticipated by my neighbours was, that the people would not consent to the separation of companies ; there was, however, no practical difficulty of that kind experienced ; the land was divided ; they even threw down, in many instances, the little cluster of hovels in which they had lived, and built good houses for themselves with very little assistance from me. For six half-years after dividing my property, they paid their rent with the greatest punctuality ; there was no default whatever, and I am persuaded they would have continued to do so, but for the circumstances that attended the autumn of 1821 in that part of Ireland, when Captain Rock interfered with that property as well as with others. However, they have renewed their payments, and within the last twelve months I have got a full year's rent from them, and I have no doubt they will go on paying it. This experiment has convinced me of the practicability and facility of introducing the English system of tenure into any part of Ireland, even when appearances are the most unfavourable. I have been there so lately as last summer, and the results have exceeded all my expectations. I think the greater part of the year's rent which I conceive the insurrectionary spirit of the South has operated to deprive me of, was employed in bettering their condition. Their houses, furniture, food, clothes, and stocks of cattle and pigs, are quite superior to any thing in their neighbourhood. *There is not a pauper on the property.*"

The late Lord Headley may also be cited as one of the best and wisest of improving proprietors. His estate of Glenbegh consisted of about 15,000 acres, and such was the lawlessness of the peasantry, that they rarely paid taxes, cesses, or other public dues; and it was their boast that none who took refuge in their fastnesses, was ever overtaken by the arm of justice. Lord Headley began his reformatory labours by employing the people, and, in the words of his agent, Mr. Wiggins, "he resolved to cultivate their good qualities without being at first very eager to punish their bad ones." Roads were formed communicating with the coast, the mud cabins were replaced by stone houses, having chimneys and windows, trees were planted, gardens were walled. In the course of a few years order reigned in this former land of outlaws and bandits. In 1821, when Whiteboyism was at its height, the people of Glenbegh held a meeting, and passed resolutions condemnatory of outrage, and pledging themselves to repel and discountenance all attempts at any insurrectionary movement.

We might also notice the beneficial results which have attended the plans of Lord George Hill at Gweedore; but his useful labours have been so honourably praised in the House of Commons, that it is sufficient to mention his name to call before our readers one of the greatest benefactors of Ireland. We have adverted to these circumstances, because they warrant us in concluding that none ought to despair of the regeneration of the sister country, if the means of improvement are placed within reach of the people. They merely want to be guided into the right direction to rival the English as producers of wealth. They must be instructed how to perform their duty and rewarded for its performance, and then the capital, now slumbering in their muscles, will be brought into operation, and extract the dormant wealth of the soil. In all the great towns of England, the hardest work is executed by the Irish labourer, and he performs it cheerfully; if he is idle or lazy at home, we see the cause in his wretched rate of wages, but transfer him to England, and we behold him industrious, persevering, and skilful. The phenomenon is explained by the difference between 4d. and 4s. a day, and by the fact of the superintendence of an employer interested in the progress of his undertaking, and personally contributing to its success. As human nature is

every where the same, though practically modified by circumstances and associations, we may confidently predict, that so soon as absenteeism ceases, and a resident proprietary take the place of agents and middlemen, agricultural prosperity, in its most gratifying form, will spread through the length and breadth of Ireland.

Society, to be permanent, must be graduated in its relations, since absolute equality is impossible ; but we must avoid the extreme of excessive wealth and excessive indigence. We have condemned the evils of inordinately large estates, and we are equally prepared to combat the evils of inordinately large farms. Let it not, however, be suspected that we are the advocates of that minute subdivision which would stud a country over with holdings, each approaching to the size of the squares on a chess board. We are no friends to tenure in rundale, or in conacre, but we fearlessly assert that the mischief which has arisen in Ireland is not attributable to the *smallness of farms*, but to the *uncertainty of tenure*. As we have contended for the advantages of a resident gentry, so also do we insist on the benefits of an independent class of yeomanry, united together by identity of interests, though inferior to each other in wealth and station. We attach the highest importance to the possession of property and the love of home, and we believe that of all improvers the moderate proprietor is the most valuable. The attractions of the court or the capital, the pursuits of ambition, and the allurements of pleasure, too frequently entice the higher class of country gentlemen from their estates; but the small proprietor is not assailed by such temptations. Transplanted to the metropolis or to great cities, he is lost in the crowd, and sacrifices that position which none would dispute in his rural district ; besides he incurs an expense inadequate to his means, and is thus wounded both in pride and purse. He, therefore, has every inducement to remain at home, a permanent sentinel of order, ever watchful, and with the class to which he belongs, ready on the spot and at the moment to repel and put down every tendency to civil commotion. Such a yeomanry are the best friends of peace, and far more effective as its conservators than the bayonets of the soldiery, or the bludgeons of the police.

It has been contended by an influential class of political economists, that the net produce of large farms exceeds

that of moderately sized farms, and that the subdivision of the soil tends to reduce a country to the condition of a pauper warren. These statements appear to us altogether without foundation, and opposed by experience; and we therefore intend to array against them a body of authorities which ought to dispel the dangerous illusion which has led astray the judgment of statesmen, and taught them to believe that the small holdings of Ireland were the sole cause of the wretchedness of the Irish peasantry, while they have entirely overlooked the *uncertainty of the tenure*. Adam Smith indeed thought differently on this point than Mr. Macculloch, for he says that—

“A small proprietor, who knows every part of his little territory, views it with all the affection which property, especially small property, naturally inspires, and who, upon that account, takes pleasure, not only in cultivating, but adorning it, is generally of all improvers, the most industrious, the most diligent, and the most successful.”

Mr. Laing, one of the most shrewd and observant of travellers, gives us the following account of Norway:—

“In Norway the land is parcelled out into small estates, affording a comfortable subsistence, and in a moderate degree the elegancies of a civilized life, but nothing more. With a population of 910,000 inhabitants about the year 1819, there were 41,656 estates. In Norway the law of succession has prevented property from being accumulated in large masses. The estates of individuals are in general small; and the houses, furniture, food, comforts, ways and means of living among all classes appear to approach more nearly to an equality to one standard, than in any other country in Europe. This standard is far removed from any want or discomfort on the one hand, and from any luxury or display on the other. The actual partition of the land itself, seems in practice not to go below such a portion of land as will support a family comfortably, according to the habits and notions of the country; and it is indeed evident that a piece of ground without houses on it, and too small to keep a family according to the national estimation of what is requisite, would be of no value as a separate property. The heirs accordingly either sell to each other, or sell the whole to a stranger, and divide the proceeds.”

In describing the different condition of the Tuscan and Neapolitan states, the same intelligent writer, in his “Notes of Travel,” furnishes the following instructive statistics of agriculture:

"In 1836, Tuscany contained 1,436,785 inhabitants, and 130,190 landed estates. Deducting 7,901 estates belonging to towns, churches, and other corporate bodies, we have 112,289 belonging to the people—or, in other words, 48 families in every hundred have land of their own to live upon. But in the whole Maremma of Rome, of about 30 leagues in length, by 10 or 12 in breadth, M. Chateauvieux reckons only 24 factors, or tenants of the large estates of the Roman nobles. From the frontier of the Neapolitan to that of the Tuscan states, the whole country is reckoned to be divided into about 600 estates."

The contrast between the physical and moral condition of the Neapolitan and Tuscan populations is most striking; the latter are frugal, industrious, and provident, while the former are reckless, lazy, and impoverished. The Tuscans live in good houses, and are well clothed; the habitations of the Neapolitans are mean and filthy, while the peasantry are clothed in sheepskins with the wool on, and notwithstanding their beautiful climate and fruitful soil, are in a lower condition than the Laplanders.

In Spain the large estates are strictly entailed, and badly cultivated; the peasantry are indolent and poor. The vast possessions are generally managed by stewards, and a middle class of agriculturists has no existence. Though the soil is everywhere fertile, it is, generally speaking, most unskilfully managed, and often abandoned to the caprice of nature. Nothing can be more painful than to behold this fine country, which rose to such a degree of prosperity under the Romans and Arabs, now so fallen, and so impoverished. The principal source of its degradation may be found in the landed monopolies, nearly the whole country being owned by large proprietors, to whose ancestors it was granted at the time of the conquest. They who preach the preservation of families and estates, and deprecate the subdivision of property, should make a journey to Andalusia, which immense province is said to belong almost entirely to the dukes of Ossuna, Alba, and Medina Coeli.

In favour of moderate farms we might appeal to Switzerland, to the Rhenish provinces, to Bavaria, to Belgium, and Holland. Indeed, Mr. Macculloch admits, "that the farms in the Pays de Waes, between Ghent and Antwerp, are cultivated with astonishing method and neatness, and afford the most perfect specimens of field culture on the principle of *gardening*." He further remarks, that "the

small farms between five and ten acres, which abound in many parts of Belgium, have much resemblance to the small holdings in Ireland ; but while the Irish cultivator exists in a state of miserable privation of the common conveniences of civilized life, the Belgian peasant-farmer enjoys, comparatively, a great degree of comfort. His cottage is built substantially, with an upper floor for sleeping, and is kept in good repair ; it has always a cellarage for the dairy, a store room for the grain, an oven, an out-house for potatoes, a roomy cattle stall, a piggery, and a loft for the poultry. The furniture is decent, the bedding amply sufficient, and an air of comfort and prosperity pervades the whole establishment.” He then describes the clothing and food of these cultivators, which are ample and good, and concludes with observing that the “great superiority of the Belgian over the Irish peasant-farmer is owing, not to any advantages of soil or climate, but to a better system of cultivating, and especially to established habits of sobriety, forethought, and prudent economy.”

This is not a just commentary ; for we ask why is the Belgian the better cultivator of the two ? why has he more sobriety and forethought ? The answer is obvious ; the Belgian is a *freeholder* ; he tills his *own* ground, and all his improvements belong to himself ; he has every motive to weed and manure, to fence and drain, because he is a proprietor. However small his stake in the country, it is solid ; he can say, with honest pride, “ This house is mine ; that field is mine ; and, when I die, the law will give them to my children.” How different is the position of the unfortunate Irishman. He is but a tenant at the will of another ; he has no security that he will enjoy the fruits of his exertions ; if he improve the land, the rent is instantly raised ; the comparison, therefore, between the Belgian and the Irish peasant-farmer is most unfair, and the conclusions of Mr. Macculloch are utterly untenable.

It is to France, however, which Mr. Macculloch prophesied in 1823, would become a “pauper warren,” that we may look with confidence for a complete solution of the problem, here under examination. Fifty years have elapsed since entail and primogeniture were abolished in that country, and a law of equal succession established. In that period the population has increased by five millions of souls, and yet, on the same area of ground, these additional numbers are better fed than their ancestors were

prior to 1789. It was imagined by our political economists that the principle of partibility would split up farms into such fractional dimensions as to render culture barren of all profit, and that from age to age this evil would so accumulate as to make every man proprietor of a solitary perch, or even of less. Experience has falsified these predictions and dispelled these fears, for, as Mr. Laing has remarked of Norway, it has happened in France that "the actual partition of the land itself seems, in practice, not to go below such a portion of land as will support a family comfortably, according to the habits and notions of the country."

M. Henri Passy, who was Minister of Finance during the administration of M. Thiers, has thrown a flood of light over this vexed question, in a Memoir which he read before the French Institute in 1843. In France a tax is always levied on the land, and the *cadastre*, or state valuation of property, furnishes an official and unerring guide to the subdivision of estates. The following table shows the relation of farms to the population in the periods compared, and proves that there are practical limits to subdivision:—

Years.	Number of Properties Taxed.	Population.
1815 .....	10,083,751 .....	29,152,743
1826 .....	10,296,693 .....	31,851,545
1835 .....	10,893,528 .....	33,329,573
1842 .....	11,511,841 .....	34,376,722

On this table M. Passy makes the following comments:—

"These figures show an increase of 14 per cent, in the number of properties during the twenty-seven years that separate 1815 from 1842. This is a yearly addition of scarcely more than one-half per cent., an addition that would be unworthy of notice in case the population, on its side, had not received any augmentation. But the case is otherwise ; the population, during the same period, has increased about 18 per cent. ; and it follows that, instead of having multiplied beyond measure, the number of proprietors has not even followed the general movement of the population, and was, relatively to the total mass of inhabitants in France, a little less in 1842 than it was in 1815."

M. Passy has adopted another test, which equally proves that all fears of excessive subdivision are groundless. He compares various cantons which were cadastrated in 1810

with the same cantons recadastrated in 1842, and the districts selected are quite dissimilar in soil and locality, which circumstance gives increased value to the inferences deduced. Their surface embraces 1,800,000 hectares, each hectare being equal to a little less than two and a-half English acres, and contains nearly a million of inhabitants; these cantons are essentially rural, including none of the great cities, and therefore furnish the most accurate and decisive evidence of the subdivisions and changes which property in land has undergone. Now, to what do these changes amount? Let us listen to the statement of M. Passy.

"First, 37 cantons, in which the cadastral operations have been completed, contain, at the present time, 163,277 proprietors. Of these there were, in 1810, 154,216, being a numerical increase of 5.7 per cent. As the total mass of inhabitants increased nearly 19 per cent, it follows that, instead of multiplying inordinately, the class of proprietors has been relatively a little diminished, and forms at the present time, the smallest part of the total population. Moreover, there are, at present, in the cantons placed in the first table, 120,000 souls more than they were in 1809 and 1810; and this augmentation of the population, necessitating the erection of at least 22,000 houses, has certainly led to the creation of several thousand new properties, and so entitles us to conclude, that property, strictly territorial, is not now divided amongst a greater number of owners, than it was thirty-two years ago. In regard to the parcels, their number has followed the same progression as the properties. In 1809 and 1810 they were found to be 1,594,874; they are now 1,688,916, which is only 5.9 per cent, more; thus affording a fresh proof of the fact that, in spite of the changes it has experienced, territorial property exists under forms that have been changed only in a very slight degree."

The evidence thus collected from various sources and various kingdoms, ought to be decisive of the superiority of small freehold estates, in which the cultivator has a permanent interest. Such a system raises the moral standard of the people, encourages industry, temperance, and prudence, represses crime, economizes the cost of soldiery and police, and reconciles those jarring and conflicting interests which ever result from excessive inequality of conditions. In England we have consolidated all the small farms, and then boast of the *surplus* produce, as if that produce, consumed by a vigorous race of happy yeomen, did not tend to the welfare of a nation as much as when carried to large towns to feed an enervated popula-

tion, living by the precarious returns of manufactures instead of the certain rewards of agriculture. Besides, the main facts upon which the sticklers for large farms rest their argument, are absolutely negatived by the experience of Tuscany, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Bavaria, the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, and France, for these countries show that the surplus produce from large farms is not greater than it would be from moderately sized farms.

— The plan that we would specially recommend to the careful consideration of the landed proprietors of Ireland has obtained in the Channel Islands for ten centuries, and with the most gratifying results. When we say that those islands sustain in comfort, upon every square mile, more than one thousand persons, while Ireland only contains about a quarter of that number, that a wandering mendicant is never seen in Guernsey, and that capital crimes are never perpetrated, we affirm enough to excite curiosity and invite examination. As the relation of landlord and tenant in those islands is but little known out of their respective bailiwicks, we shall endeavour to explain it by an example, which will sufficiently elucidate the whole system.

Suppose A possesses land valued at £1200, which he desires to *sell*, or to *give to rent*, as the phrase runs in Guernsey. The following would be the process:—A would either convey his estate to B, the purchaser, wholly in *quarters*, without receiving any cash, or, as is the more usual mode, he would receive in money one-fourth of the price, and convert the remainder into quarters. A Guernsey quarter is equivalent to £20 in local currency. In the first case, B would have to pay annually to A £60, the interest on £1200, the assumed cost of the estate, being at the rate of five per cent. per annum; in the second case, he would have to pay annually £45. The reason why it is usual to pay one-fourth of the purchase money in cash is, that such payment may be a guarantee to A that B will faithfully work the estate, and pay the rent regularly; for, should the rent fall in arrear, then A, by a process called *saisie*, may totally eject B from the property, and the £300 paid by B when the contract of tenure was passed, would be lost to him for ever. In this manner, then, is the seller or land *lord* secured in the receipt of the equivalent for which he has parted with the estate.

As soon as the contract is executed, B can perform any act that a tenant in fee-simple can perform in England. The estate thus acquired, descends to the heirs of the blood of the purchaser, lawfully begotten, and, on failure of direct issue, to his nearest of kin. Sometimes the quarters are made permanent, but most frequently they are made redeemable by certain instalments, as the buyer and seller may have agreed. Their value may be fixed at a definite sum in money, or may assume the form of a corn rent, thus fluctuating annually with the price of wheat.

We are aware of the prejudices of the great landed proprietors against such a scheme of partition ; their pride revolts against parting with the land in perpetuity ; but by what better mode can they extricate themselves from their degrading difficulties ? How different would their situation be if they consented to adopt the system here recommended, if they sold on perpetual leases, and at full value, a part of the lands which they are too impoverished to keep in their own hands, and which, divided into small estates of ten or fifteen English acres, would render the peasant-farmers orderly and comfortable. Every year, every new improvement effected by the new proprietor would add to the security of the annual rent due to the former proprietor, who, without care or anxiety, without labour or expense, without the annoyance of middlemen, without witnessing the distress occasioned by the evictions of yearly tenants, driven from their miserable hovels, would be sure to receive a fair income from the land ceded, and would do so with the good will and the good wishes of all around him.

Compared with this system of tenure on perpetual leases, so long as the rent is paid, let us examine some of the popular remedies recently propounded for the regeneration of Ireland. The poor law stands prominently forward as a favourite panacea. Now, if parochial relief were limited to old age, to those physically incapacitated from labour, and to helpless infancy, we should at once subscribe to the principle, so limited, as a christian obligation ; but when the principle is sought to be extended to the strong and healthy, willing to work but unable to find employment, we must demur to its adoption. A poor rate, in this sense, is to our minds evidence of an unjust distribution of property, which is first accumulated in the hands of a proprietary class, and then a portion is doled out by them in the

shape of charity; but had wages been higher, and accumulations less, the cause of a poor rate would not have had any existence, since the labouring man, adequately paid in the first instance, would have been self-sustaining. A poor rate merely seeks to remedy a prior wrong, and it does so very imperfectly, while it degrades the moral pride of the recipient, and thus inflicts a social injury. Raise him then from the abject state of a mere labourer, running the hazard of a precarious employment; give him land on a perpetual lease, and when you have thus created a small proprietor, you have, in his person, removed an expectant pauper, and by extending the system, you will extinguish pauperism in the sense in which we are now arguing.

Another popular remedy is emigration. To voluntary expatriation no objection can be raised; but if compulsory, it is unjust. Moreover, whence are the funds to be derived, to carry out this principle on any scale that can lead to practical results? A recent writer has forcibly shown the difficulties of this operation.\* To be effective, he considers that it would require, at least, a million of persons to be sent away. He then asks, "How is it possible to transport such a number at once? or to provide them with the means of subsistence when they have reached the port of debarkation? At the legal rate of three passengers for every five tons, it would require more than three thousand vessels of five hundred tons each. But suppose this difficulty got over, and the whole number safely landed in Canada, how great is the responsibility which it entails on the Government, that this multitude of people may be supported, and placed in some way of maintaining themselves by honest industry. It is evidently impracticable to act on so extensive a scale. But suppose them to be removed by degrees, say one-tenth, or 100,000 every year. Will such emigration have any perceptible effect? It has generally been estimated that population increases at the rate of one-and-a-half per cent. annually. If this estimate be correct, the amount of annual increase in Ireland would be about 120,000, and therefore the population would still go on increasing in spite of this emigration. The cost of such an emigration would be enormous. The estimate for cost of passage given in the Digest of Evidence above referred to, is £30 for each family, or £6 for each individual;

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\* *Condition and Prospects of Ireland.* By Jonathan Pim.

say, in all, £6,000,000, or £600,000 per annum. This estimate is founded on the evidence of John R. Godley, who seems also to think it essential that the emigrants should be a well selected class, comprising efficient labourers. This selection might be very useful to Canada, but would not so well serve the object of relieving Ireland. But even when properly located, a large amount would still be required for their employment and support, until they were fully in a condition to support themselves. It is much to be feared that they might consider themselves relieved from the necessity of any exertion, when they found the Government bound to maintain them."

These objections to systematic emigration, as a remedial measure, appear to us conclusive under pecuniary and industrial views. If the aged, the improvident, and the unskilful were deported, they would perish miserably on a foreign shore; if the young, the careful, the vigorous, and the skilled were sent away, Ireland would be impoverished instead of enriched by the operation, for she would lose the prime element of her strength, that real capital which resides in the brain and muscle of an intelligent and robust labourer. Besides, what greater folly can be committed than deporting an industrial army to reclaim the lands of Canada or Australia, when the fields of Ireland are not half cultivated, and millions of acres, susceptive of improvement, are in a state of complete sterility? If, therefore, funds were raised for emigration, we would strongly advise that they should be diverted from that purpose, and applied to home colonization and the reclamation of bogs and wastes. Experience teaches us the wisdom of such a system, as its usefulness has been tested by the allotment of small portions of land to agricultural labourers in England with the most encouraging success. Mrs. Davies Gilbert, and Captain Scobell, have given the plan a fair trial. Mrs. Gilbert has 443 allotment tenants in Sussex, and, in the course of thirteen years, only one of them was convicted of crime; and the rents are always paid with punctuality. In the parish of Hadlow, in Kent, there were thirty-five commitments in 1835; but on the allotment system being introduced in 1836, the commitments were reduced in 1837 to one, and in the following six years there was but a single solitary case in the whole of that period. Similar moral results have arisen in every district where the experiment has been tried.

As a general rule, the size of the allotment ought not to exceed what the allottee and his family can fully cultivate. According to Captain Scobell, the *maximum* of a holding should range from 50 to 60 rods, while 20 rods may be considered as the *minimum*. The following are the dimensions of Mrs. Davies Gilbert's allotments: two hundred and fifty-five, less than a quarter of an acre; one hundred and eight, quarter acres; two containing 60 rods each; thirteen are half acres; two are three-quarter acres; twenty-two are of one acre each; and sixteen others contain two, four, and five acres; and one includes nine acres. The pecuniary results of the system are thus stated in an able publication :\*

"Captain Scobell estimates the average value of an allotment at 2s. per week, or about 5£ per annum, and that, during the year, twenty days' labour is required. The profit is equal to ten weeks' labour at wages of 10s. per week. According to another estimate, the gross profit of half an acre is calculated at 19£. The produce consists of twelve bushels of wheat at 7s.; and six hundred weight of bacon at 6d. per lb.; and something is set down as the value of the straw. The rent, seed, and other expenses, it is said, will amount to 3£ 10s., leaving a profit (without deducting the value of the labour) of 15£ 10s., which is equal to 6s. a-week for the whole year. Such an allotment as the one here alluded to, will require about 30 days' labour in the course of a year; but it is necessary that the chief part of this labour should be given between Lady-Day and Michaelmas. Suppose that there are a million of families in England and Wales, who are in the same circumstances as the tenants of existing allotments, and that four families had an acre amongst them, the whole quantity of land in allotments would be 250,000 acres, or nearly 400 square miles, which is one-third more than the area of Middlesex, and about the 128th part of the area of England. This would be about one forty-third of the arable land in England. At three guineas an acre, the rent would amount to 787,500£, and the value of the produce, according to Captain Scobell, would be about 5,000,000£.

Reverting now to the fundamental position we laid down at the commencement of these remarks, that, in the absence of manufactures, the great body of the Irish people must necessarily be subsisted by agricultural labour, we may briefly recapitulate those forms in which rural industry would manifest its presence. Firstly, by the sale

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\* Knight's Political Dictionary. Article, Allotment.

and division of encumbered estates, we should introduce a resident proprietary, whose means would enable them to improve their lands, and extinguish the class of middlemen. From their personal vigilance and judicious application of capital, the soil would be cultivated to its full capacity, and the produce increased at least threefold. Their example and habits of life could not fail to elevate the condition of the people by whom they were surrounded, and as in the cases cited of Mr. Foster, and Lords Headley and Hill, a complete social and moral reformation might with confidence be anticipated. Secondly, next in the scale below the resident gentry, would be found the class of peasant-farmers, holding their lands on perpetual leases, so long as they paid their stipulated rent, and who could only be evicted through their own bad conduct and the neglect of those duties which they owed to themselves, their families, and society. They would become an effective race of improvers, introducing a better style of houses and dress, habits of thrift and perseverance, and they would take a pride in keeping their farm buildings and fences in the best condition. Thirdly, if the resident gentry, whose larger estates would require agricultural labourers receiving wages, were to grant to those labourers small allotments, this class, gradually accustomed to the sweets of property through this qualified form of possession, would quickly aspire to the rank of peasant-farmers, would save for that object, and, in most cases, would succeed in their honourable aspirations. Thus all would be working for themselves with a definite purpose, and where despair now rules, hope would reign. To use the beautiful language of the Rev. J. H. Mules, who has strongly recommended the allotment system,—

“The discordant elements of society would thereby become purified by this salutary admixture. Its several classes, weak in their division, and hostile, as separate from each other, would, as they were drawn together in the bonds of mutual interest and affection, become indissoluble; not only, as the fabled bundle of sticks, would they remain united and unbroken, but each, like the rod of Aaron, would again branch forth, and blossom into all the charities and virtues of domestic and social life. Then, indeed, the different ranks of society, instead of so many steps of a dungeon, would, like Jacob’s ladder, seem reaching up to Heaven, and the angels of mercy and gratitude would be seen ascending and descending thereon for ever.”

There is a view of Irish affairs, as they at present exist, which must not be overlooked, the more especially as a comparison between what we now behold, and the results we anticipate from the system recommended, will give additional strength to our arguments. The produce of Ireland is very largely exported to English markets, and there sold, the proceeds being handed over to mortgagees, Insurance Companies, and absentee proprietors. The people starve, while the food raised by their labour is exported. Their wages are so miserably low, that they cannot purchase what they have created, which is the strongest possible evidence of imperfect distribution, itself a most crying injustice. Now there are only two modes in which this evil can be cured. Either wages in Ireland must be raised as high as wages in England, which would enable the Irishman to buy the produce of his own country, or the price of food must be kept down to the scale of wages, when the same result would follow. The former is the wiser plan, and we believe it would be one of the consequences of the general system we have advocated ; the latter would require an act of parliament to prohibit exports, which would provoke the hostility of those who are the patrons of free trade.

We are inclined to attach very great importance to the dietary of nations. In the scale of living we possess a tolerably accurate index of the ratio of civilization. The food of the savage is precarious, depending on the success of his hunting and fishing excursions, and the nearer any people approach to that condition, the more closely do they approximate to semi-barbarism. When a man, able and willing to work, but unable to procure employment, is driven to feed on roots and sea-weed, as has been the case in Ireland, his position is far lower than that of the savage, who is free to seize game ranging through woods and fields, which are common property. The Irish labourer sees all the land occupied, and while he knows that his industry has fertilized the soil, he beholds its produce carried to the coast and shipped to England. This is a cruel aggravation of his misfortunes ; for though the earth is bounteous, he is the victim of scarcity and famine. If, in despair, he yields to these adverse circumstances, and becomes reconciled to them through habit, he must inevitably sink in self-respect and moral independence, for he vegetates rather than lives ; on the contrary, if the spirit

of manhood is not altogether dead in him, he will violate the laws by which he is oppressed, and endeavour to avenge himself by strong hand. In the one case we have a nation of abject slaves ; in the other, of agitators and rebels.

The dietary of nations influences their population, and, in a manner, the reverse of what might be expected from superficial views. Mr. Doubleday, in his "True Law of Population," has propounded a theory, based on the admission of medical and physiological authorities, and corroborated by past and present experience, which affirms "that populations are universally found thin in pastoral countries, where the food is animal food chiefly ; denser where it is mixed partly with vegetable elements ; denser still where it is vegetable only, but with plenty ; densest of all where it is vegetable, but with scarcity superadded." The general law on which this theory is founded seems to be, that whenever the existence of a species or genus is endangered, Nature invariably makes a strong conservative effort for its preservation and continuance ; and the great general inference from that law is, that in the plethoric state productiveness is arrested, while in the deplethoric state it is re-invigorated. Thus, excessive manuring destroys plants, and pampered living produces disease and premature death in man.

Observation and experience attest the truth of these principles. The dietary of the people in China, India, and Japan, where religion prohibits the use of animal food, is of the lowest kind, chiefly rice ; in those countries we find the population denser to the square mile than in any other kingdom. Throughout the pastoral districts of Russia, where vast numbers of cattle are reared for the value of the tallow, hides, and leather, butcher's meat is a drug ; all consume it, and the population is the thinnest in the world. In Poland, France, Italy, Belgium and Holland, the diet is of a mixed nature, both animal and vegetable, and there the population is moderately dense. The potato in Ireland, as rice in Eastern climes, is accompanied by a very crowded population, and a rapid tendency to increase. The true remedy, then, for excessive numbers, is an ample supply of nutritious food. In this dispensation we piously recognize the justice and benevolence of Deity ; for if individuals monopolize the produce of the earth, they are punished by the invasions of pauperism on their property, and the extinction of their own families. Under these views

society may be divided into three distinct classes: the worst dieted, the moderately dieted, and the superfluously dieted. "Hence it follows," to quote the words of Mr. Doubleday, "that it is upon the numerical proportions which these three states bear to each other in any community, that increase or decrease on the whole depends."

This doctrine bears so strangely on the case of Ireland, that we shall offer no apology for dwelling upon it at greater length. Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Hydriotophia*, alluding to the decay of the rich, says, "old families last not three oaks." Mr. Doubleday proves, that had not new creations been constantly effected, both the Peerage and Baronetage of England would, ere this, have been nearly extinguished. His estimates are computed from 1760 to 1837; but had he continued them to the present time, his case would have been strengthened. His table for the Peerage stands thus:—

The number of Peers in 1837.			Number created since 1760.		
Dukes	..	21	Dukes	..	5
Marquises	..	19	Marquises	..	18
Earls	..	108	Earls	..	58
Viscounts	..	17	Viscounts	..	13
Barons	..	185	Barons	..	153
Scottish Peers	..	16	Scottish & Irish Peers	25	
Irish Peers	..	28	272 created since 1760 up to		
Total	..	394	1837.		

The decay of the Baronetage has been even more remarkable than that of the Peerage. The order was created in 1611 by James the First. It was put up to sale, and realized a round sum of money. The results are thus stated by Mr. Doubleday:—

"Since the creation of the order of Baronets, in 1611, 753 Baronetcies have become extinct. In short, the number of extinct Baronets are more, *in toto*, than the existing Baronets, up to the year 1819, when the Baronets were 635 only. From 1611 to 1819, 139 Baronets had been raised to the Peerage, and thus taken out of the list of Baronets. Still, supposing all those Peerages to be now existing, which is not the case, this would only make the whole number, including those made Peers, 774; that is to say, the living Baronets, and Baronet Peers would, in that case, only exceed the extinct Baronets by twenty-one. Thus it is evident that but for perpetual new creations, we should hardly have had a Baronet existing. Of James the First's creations, in 1611, only thirteen families now remain. Of all he created up to 1625, the

year of his death, only thirty-nine remain,—a decay certainly extraordinary, and not to be accounted for upon the ordinary ideas of mortality and power of increase among mankind.”

This view of the law of population deserves the earnest attention of professed politicians, on account of its social bearings and influences. It furnishes the most powerful argument against the culture of the potato as the staple food of the Irish peasantry; and they who believe that the destinies of nations are ruled by the Hand of Providence must conclude, that since it is an appointed law that the worst dieted people shall become the most numerous, compared with the area of territory on which they live, the malediction of Heaven visits the injustice of the rich against the poor through a process which human ingenuity cannot evade. This law teaches us that we cannot starve off a redundant population, since nature will make redoubled efforts to keep up the race through the invigorated fecundity of the survivors; nor could we succeed in so cruel a design, even by the horrors of famine; we can only permanently thin our numbers by the progressive diminution of births, and this is to be effected by raising the standard of living, and dieting the people on beef, pork, and mutton. Humanity, ever allied with justice and true religion, prompts us strongly to enforce this argument, and let none think lightly of it because it is not popularized, since every thing now old once was new; and it is our destiny to progress from bad to better, from error to truth, whatever checks and hindrances may temporarily obstruct the march of society. Let then the food of Ireland, raised on Irish soil by Irish labour, be consumed by the Irish people; and let none of it be exported till every man, woman, and child have as much as they require.

We stated at the commencement of this article that there were 6,295,735 acres of land in Ireland uncultivated. Here we possess a mine of wealth to be worked by Irish industry, either by large capitalists or by peasant-farmers. Why are these vast tracts of land permitted to lie unproductive? The common answer is, because there is no money to set plough or spade into activity. But what is money? If it consists solely in a foreign metal, in gold or silver, then indeed the case is hopeless; but is it really true that the free industry of Ireland shall rot in uselessness, unless the slaves of South America, or the serfs of

Siberia first provide the material by which it can subdue the earth and make it fruitful, so that the people may earn their bread in the sweat of their brows? To so disheartening a conclusion we cannot arrive. There must obviously be some delusion about this matter. Certainly the earth was cultivated before gold or silver were discovered, and a long period must have elapsed before they were weighed, assayed, stamped, coined, and clothed with the conventional attributes of monied instruments of exchange. Surely generations lived by agricultural labour before a mint was established, and what once was effected may again be effected. We will not go back to remote antiquity, but appeal to North America, while yet it was a British colony. Thus writes David Hume, the historian, to the Abbé Morellet:—

“ In our colony of Pennsylvania, the land itself, which is the chief commodity, is coined and passes into circulation. A planter, immediately after he purchases any land, can go to a public office, and receive rents to the amount of half the value of his land, which notes he employs in all payments, and they circulate through the colony by convention. To prevent the public being overwhelmed by this representative money, there are two means employed; firstly, the notes issued to any one planter must not exceed a certain sum, whatever may be the value of his land; secondly, every planter is obliged to pay back into the public office every year one-tenth of his notes. The whole of course is annihilated in ten years; after which it is again allowed him to take out new notes to half the value of his land.”

Here, then, we have positive evidence that the land of North America was brought into cultivation without the intervention of gold and silver; and if paper could clothe its prairies with vegetation, it is difficult to see why it should fail to reclaim the bogs of Ireland from barrenness. To the same effect as David Hume, writes Dr. Franklin. In 1764, before the Stamp Act was proposed in Parliament, (which was passed the next year, and repealed in the following year,) Dr. Franklin being then in England, published the following vindication of paper money:—

“ On the whole no method has hitherto been framed to establish a medium of trade in lieu of money, equal in all its advantages to bills of credit, founded on sufficient taxes for discharging them, or on land security of double the value for repaying it at the end of the term, and in the mean time made a *general legal tender*.

The experience of now nearly half a century in the middle colonies, (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) has convinced them of it among themselves by the great increase of their settlements, numbers, buildings, improvements, agriculture, shipping, and commerce. The same experience has satisfied the British merchants who trade thither, that it has been greatly useful to them, and not in a single instance prejudicial. It is, therefore, hoped that securing the full discharge of British debts which are payable here, and in all justice and reason ought to be discharged here (in England) in sterling money, the restraint on the legal tender within the colonies will be taken off, at least for those colonies who desire it, and where the merchants trading to them make no objection."

This hope was disappointed, and England lost her colony, receiving in exchange a large addition to her national debt, as a permanent memorial of her injustice and defeat. The Americans had not gold or silver, but they had land which they desired to cultivate, and trade which they were anxious to extend. Neither could be accomplished on the absurd conditions dictated by England; so in order to live, colonists undertook the war of independence and triumphed. Their descendants are now enabled to feed us from the very soil which the British government forbade to be tilled, unless with golden ploughs and silver harrows.

In the extract cited from Dr. Franklin's correspondence, it will be observed that he simply asked for legal paper tenders "for those colonies that desire it, and where the merchants trading to them make no objection." Now this is all we ask for Ireland. We presume that its inhabitants desire to augment their wealth by agriculture, either by improving land already cultivated, or by reclaiming that which is waste. But they who will the end, must will the means, or failure will follow upon their inconsistency. If gold and silver be the conditions precedent to ploughing, draining, and fencing, those operations cannot be performed, and the end will be missed for want of the means. Ireland, therefore has no alternative but to follow the example of Pennsylvanian colonists, as explained by David Hume, and create the reality by the use of the symbol. She must learn that money is the sign, not the thing signified, the representative of wealth, not wealth itself, not condensing any labour, but the instrument by which labour may be developed into productive activity and usefulness. Symbolic money bears somewhat the

same relation to industry, that the whetstone does to the knife ; it sharpens it and draws forth its valuable qualities, which would otherwise remain blunt and ineffective. It will drain the bogs of Ireland, and clothe them with the luxuriance of vegetation.

We claim, then, for Ireland a monetary system of its own, suited to its own necessities, independent and irrespective of the monetary system of Great Britain. Let Ireland learn practical wisdom from the spider. It spins its web, source of its food, from its own body. Its power is intrinsic, not extrinsic. So should it be with Ireland. Its soil is its web, and needs no golden filaments wrought by the slave miners of Mexico or the Altai mountains, and sold, at a famine rate, by the usurers of the London Stock Exchange and of Lombard Street. If the mortgaged land is a good security to Insurance Companies, on which they lend money, it is a good security out of which money can be created without the intervention of those companies. What, though Irish paper money, guaranteed by Irish acres, should not command a single ounce of gold or silver, would it be worthless on that account ? Certainly not, unless fertilizing the soil, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, educating the ignorant, developing industry, and raising eight millions of people to happiness and independence, be a worthless undertaking ; and that paper money would produce these results, the testimony of Dr. Franklin establishes.

It would also operate as a tax on absentees from which they could not escape. As matters now stand, every paper pound is convertible into 5 dwts. 3 grains of gold of a certain fineness on the demand of the holder. We would free the national paper pound of Ireland from this obligation, and allow it to exchange for gold at the market price of that metal. In the payment of taxes into the Irish Exchequer, it would always pass as a pound of internal currency, no matter what its price might be in reference to the commodity, gold. Now if a rent receiver chose to live in England, he would have such pounds remitted to him, and by as much as they were inferior in purchasing power to 5 dwts. 3 grains of gold, by that amount would he be taxed as an absentee. To make the case clearer, let us suppose that the Irish rental of such an individual was 1,000£ per annum, and that his share of local taxation was twenty per cent. Then every pound remitted to England

would be excised one-fifth, that is to say, each paper pound would only buy 4 dwts. of gold instead of 5 dwts. of gold in London, because one dwt. would be due to Irish taxation; so that the Irish rental of 1,000£ would be reduced to 800£ in England. From this tax no absentee could escape, to whatever ingenuity he might resort. If he remained at home, he would enjoy the full benefit of his income.

Our task is now completed, but we are quite conscious of having left a wide field of inquiry untouched and unemployed. Our purpose has been to enumerate such remedial measures as would extend and improve the sphere of Irish agriculture, the true source of its permanent and progressive wealth, since the soil must feed a population who cannot retreat to established manufactures. We are well aware that no single remedy can regenerate Ireland, for her evils are manifold and are ramified in various directions. We might have advocated the prosecution of the fisheries, the formation of railways, and dwelt on the advantages of cultivating flax for the English looms. The imperfect state of municipal corporations might have furnished ample materials for commentary; and above all, we might have protested against the most hateful of all taxes, the taxes on conscience, which are levied on the vast majority of the people for the support of an intrusive and alien establishment, a pseudo-church established by act of parliament. But so extended a review would have far exceeded our space. Our object has been to work upwards from the humblest classes, for whose welfare the Catholic clergy have ever shown the most lively solicitude. We have unbounded confidence in the energies of Irish labour, if it be secure of its reward; and when agricultural industry, through the system of perpetual leases at fixed rents, is clothed with the rights of landed proprietorship, Ireland will prosper, agrarian outrage will cease, and peace, order, and christian fellowship, will bless the country and its inhabitants.

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- ART. VI.—1. *The Men of Letters and Science, who flourished in the Times of George III.* By HENRY LORD BROUGHAM. Article, EDWARD GIBBON. Charles Knight, 1845.
- 2.—*The Life of Edward Gibbon, Esq., with Selections from his Correspondence, and Illustrations.* By the Rev. H. H. MILMAN. 8vo. Murray, 1839.
- 3.—*Notice sur la Vie et le Caractère de M. Gibbon.* Par M. F. GUIZOT (The late French Minister). Paris: Maradan, 1812, and Lédentu, 1829.
- 4.—*Memoir of Edward Gibbon, &c.* By WILLIAM YOUNGMAN. 8vo., London: Robinson, 1830.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY, or the writer's narrative of his own life, though not the most faithful, is still perhaps the most attractive in this line of composition. It is usually, too, the seductive occupation of advanced and vacant years, when retirement necessarily succeeds the expired powers of action, and age complacently indulges the fond retrospect of a past course of fame and honour.

“Ampliat ætatis spatium sibi vir bonus: Hoc est  
Vivere bis, vitâ posse priore frui.”—Martial, x. 23.

We find it, consequently, sanctioned by the example of antiquity; for we learn from Tacitus that many distinguished personages of his own and previous times hesitated not to become their own biographers, without encountering censure or disbelief, proving, as the historian remarks, that the periods most fertile in merit are also the most competent to appreciate it. Of authors, however, by profession, and of the generally eventless tenor of literary life, it has been often observed, that the history of a writer is best viewed in his works; nor perhaps is there much in Gibbon's career to exempt him from the application of this remark. Indeed, every circumstance external to his studies or their fruits might be comprised in a few pages, as in the self-biographies of his predecessors, De Thou and Hume, though both had filled public stations involving active duties. Yet, who repines at the larger scope of Gibbon's volume, or would without reluctance retrench the details that have imparted such attraction to it? Goldsmith prefaces his English history with an expression of regret,

that in abridging Hume, he scarcely cut off a line that did not contain a beauty; and a similar effect must surely attend every effort to curtail or remodify, with some characteristic reserves, this most interesting recital of an author's acts and feelings. His editor, the Rev. Mr. Milman,\* asserts, "that the admirable manner in which Gibbon executed this sketch of his life, as well as the total deficiency of materials for a new biography, altogether preclude the attempt to recompose it." And doubtless, inconsiderable must be the gleanings which now remain wherewith to fill up any discernible vacancy in a work proceeding from the most authentic source, and apparently complete in all its parts. Still some facts may have been left dubious or obscure, and still demanding elucidation; and many of the author's views may well be supposed, from their known tendency, to require animadversion. It is in the hope, in some degree, of effecting these purposes, that we venture on an undertaking otherwise little called-for, which, in its process, will necessarily involve a continued reference to the biography. We shall thus succinctly present to the reader its general contents: to these,

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\* No Catholic, we believe, will disavow this gentleman's definition of the homage due to the Blessed Virgin, as expressed in his beautiful hymn:—

"Mary! we yield to thee,  
All but idolatry!"

We gaze, admire and wonder, love and bless:  
Pure, blameless, holy, every praise be thine,  
All honour save thy Son's, all glory but divine!"

Scarcely, indeed, can a great artist be named who has not exercised his talents with marked predilection on some delineation of this holiest of human creatures. M. Delacroix, a distinguished French painter, exhibited at a late "Louvre exposition," an admired representation of Margaret (Gretchen) kneeling before the image of the "Mater Dolorosa," so impressively portrayed by Goëthe, in his "Faust."—p. 222, Stuttgardt, 1825. The poet Novalis, in a similar strain of inspired veneration for the Mother of God, (*Schriften—Erster Bande*, Berlin, 1814.) unconsciously perhaps, but accurately, repeats the catholic belief, in a hymn which, like Mr. Milman's, so felicitously harmonizes with those which form that graceful wreath, "The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin"—justly eulogized in this Review, (No. XLV.)—that, interwoven with them, these would appear of kindred origin, sprung from the same source, and dictated by the same spirit. Would that Mr. Milman had ever written in this spirit!

we are bound to say, Lord Brougham has added no new facts, nor have his critical remarks altogether answered the public expectation, though occasionally sagacious and acute. The two minor and less pretending memoirs require no special notice, though, more particularly the French one, (whose author has had so deeply to regret the abandonment of his literary for ministerial life,) not without their distinctive value.

Gibbon commences his narrative with a cursory notice of his numerous precursors in this fond theme of personal story and reminiscence.\*

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\* Yet many are omitted, some, too, entitled to notice, such as Cardan, whose volume, "De Vita Propria," is one of the most singular productions of that eccentric being, or, indeed, of the age. Others, like Montaigne, without professing the design, and as if by the incidental escape of thought, have disclosed their acts and sentiments, revealing, with unreserved exposure, their failings, while through this veil of candour it is not difficult to discern an under-current of vanity, which dictates so many awowals of errings in order to obtain credit for overbalancing virtues, as exhausted libertines affect concern for past trespasses, as a cloak for vaunting their early successes. Montaigne and Rousseau wrote for the public eye, and dissemble not their thoughts, though surely not in humility of contrition. The quaint Gascon even exaggerated his imperfections, as shown by Paschal, (*Pensées Détachées*, IX.,) in the complaint of a defective memory, also noticed in the Port-Royal Logic, (Chap. IX.,) and by the Benedictine, Dom. Devienne, in the history of Bordeaux, (page 123.) Of memory the old philosopher (*Essays*, livre i., chap. 9,) positively affirms almost a total privation.—"Je n'en reconnois, quasi trace en moi," while every page of his book, "livre de bonne foy," though he call it, teems with evidence of the contrary, in his ever recurring quotations, which may be counted by hundreds in various languages, and that, too, when facilities of reference were by no means so accessible or abundant as they now, through divers channels, have become. And the eloquent Genevese, who, like Pascal, La Rochefoucauls, La Bruyère, &c., owes so much to Montaigne for apparently original ideas and classical authorities, of which he seldom acknowledges the intermediate source, not only courted the world's favour in his guilty disclosures, but arrogantly declared that his book of shame would be his best recommendation at the great last day! "Que la trompette du jugement dernier sonne quand elle voudra, je viendrai, ce livre à la main, me présenter devant le souverain juge." In accord with this confident anticipa-

Some pages are then devoted to his genealogy, a subject, which though assimilated to fable by Chamfort, is nevertheless so natural, and presents so many claims on our feelings or curiosity, that neither ridicule nor argument is likely to extinguish the desire for an honourable, or the reverence for an illustrious pedigree.—“Cui sine luce numen surdumque parentum nomen?” Of Gibbon’s family, however, we need only say, that it was respectable, and, as he expresses it at the close of his biography, he had altogether drawn a high prize in the lottery of life.

Born on the 8th of May, (N. S.,) he was delicately constituted, and until he had reached his fifteenth year, was more or less afflicted with recurring sickness. Never, he says, did he possess or enjoy the insolence of health; (no very correct phrase, by the way; for how could he enjoy what he never possessed?) After some irregular tuition at home, he was sent to Oxford before he had completed his fifteenth year, and arrived there “with a stock of erudition that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance of which a schoolboy would have been ashamed.” His description of England’s first University is anything but creditable to the institution, in a moral or instructive sense; and in this unfavourable representation he is confirmed by Adam Smith, after a residence there of some years. To the University of Oxford he emphatically denies all obligation. “I spent fourteen months at Magdalén College,” he states: “they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life. From the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, the fellows, or monks, both of Oxford and Cambridge, had absolved their conscience; and the first shoots of learning and ingenuity withered on the ground, without yielding any fruits to the owner or the public.” Lord Brougham opposes to this repulsive picture, the subsequently improved state of the University, when it produced the Hollands, the Cannings, the Carlisles, the Wards, and the Peels, under such profes-

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tion, well may we repeat from the impressive hymn of the Catholic Church—the pathetic “*Dies Iræ*:”—

“Liber scriptus proferetur,  
In quo totum continetur,  
Unde Rousseau judicetur.”

sors as Jackson, Coplestone, &c. Nor does Cambridge, now the Alma Mater of the Aireys, the Herschels, and the Adams, resemble the Cambridge in which Playfair could lament, as he with justice did forty years ago, in the Edinburgh Review, that the *Mécanique Céleste* of La Place could no longer find a reader in the haunts where Newton once taught, and where his name was since only known.

Gibbon, in one of the College vacations, while resident with his father at Buriton, in Hampshire, undertook to write a book, which he entitled the *Age of Sesostris*, in imitation of Voltaire's *Age of Louis XIV.*, then a recent publication; but the boyish project was soon abandoned. Lord Brougham, by a strange oversight, has transformed the title into the *Age of Socrates*, which can hardly be imputed to the press, nor is it in the "Corrigenda." But an event that occurred while Gibbon was still at Oxford, produced and justified considerable sensation. This was his conversion to the Catholic faith—an act then legally fatal both to the neophyte and proselytizer—under the un-repealed statute, which he quotes from Blackstone's fourth book and chapter. It is there stated, "that where a person is reconciled to the Church of Rome, or procures others to be reconciled, the offence amounts to high treason," with its consequent barbarous penalties, so often referred to by us, yet not too often, in flagrant demonstration of Anglican intolerance. Dr. Conyers Middleton's "Inquiry into the Miracles of the Early Ages of the Church," published in 1749, created doubts in Gibbon's mind, which, he felt, could receive no satisfactory solution, except in the belief of an indefectible doctrine, and a church, as described by Schiller in his 'Maria Stuart' (Act v. sc. 7.):

"Die Kirche ists, die heilige, die höhe,  
Die zu dem Himmel uns die Leiter baut,  
Die Allgemeine, die Kathol' sche heisst sie."

On this Gibbon repeats Dryden's powerful delineation of a fluctuating creed:—

"To take up half on trust, and half to try,  
Name it not faith, but bungling bigotry."  
Hind and Panther, v. 141-2.

"I was unable," he adds, "to resist the weight of historical evidence, that within the period of acknowledged miracles by the Pro-

testant church, most of the leading doctrines of Popery were already introduced in theory and practice ; nor was my conclusion absurd, that miracles are the test of truth, and that the church must be orthodox and pure, which was so often approved by the visible interposition of the Deity. The English translations of the two famous works of Bossuet, the ‘*Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine*,’ and the ‘*History of the Protestant Variations*,’ achieved my conversion ; and I surely fell by a noble hand.”

He told Lord Sheffield, however, that the arguments of Robert Persons had the chief influence on his mind ; and England then scarcely possessed a nobler work than that Jesuit’s “*Three Conversions*,” associated especially with Cardinal Allen’s various labours in the same field of controversy.

Resolved to profess the religion he had embraced, Gibbon was received into the church by a Jesuit Father, named Baker, one of the Sardinian Ambassador’s chaplains ; for no member of a monastic order could, without fatal consequences, then reside in England, unless under foreign protection. He had been introduced to this gentleman by a Mr. Lewis, a bookseller, who was summoned on the occasion before the Privy Council, but, it would appear, without any penal result. Chillingworth and Bayle, temporary proselytes like Gibbon, are here noticed by him. The former yielded to the arguments, as we learn from himself, of the Jesuit Fisher, (or rather Perse, according to Southwell’s “*Scriptores Societatis Jesu*,” p. 429,) but he quickly retracted, and, though promoted to rich benefices, the seductive bait, we may believe, of his relapse, he is supposed, and so Gibbon gives to understand also, to have subsided in Pyrrhonism, or general doubt and indifference ; but Bayle’s example is in clearer analogy with Gibbon’s eventual and continued infidelity. It would, we apprehend, be hard to define the ultimate sentiments of the late Blanco White, “one of those fickle changelings,” to use Shakspere’s phrase, and fleeting triumphs of the Anglican communion.

For the purpose of counteracting this change, Gibbon was hurried to Lausanne, and committed to the charge of a Calvinist minister, a Mr. Pavillard (not Pavilliard, as from unacquaintance with French pronunciation, the name is written by Mr. Milman and Lord Brougham,) and with whom he remained from July 1753 to April 1758. His newly adopted creed, after some struggle, gradually gave way, to end, as

his history unhappily shows, in the malignant aspersion of christianity ; but he diligently pursued a comprehensive sphere of study, which laid the foundation of his extensive acquirements, and then, too, ensured the lasting friendship of George Deyverdun, a native of the place, and not more than two years the senior of Gibbon, whose associate he became in various literary enterprises. He also engaged in correspondence with some learned men, and proposed to Crévier, the editor of *Livy*, a new reading for a passage in the Roman historian, (lib. xxx. 44.) which elucidated what was obscure in Hannibal's speech to his fellow-citizens after the disaster of Zama, but which, though approved of by Crévier, has not been introduced into his subsequent editions. Gibbon just had a view of Voltaire, " *Virgilium vidi tantum,*" he states, as Pope, in his letter to Wycherly, says he had of Dryden, and as Scott had of Burns ; a trite quotation, we may passingly observe, seldom traced to its origin in Ovid, (*De Tristibus*, lib. iv. Eleg. x.) or correctly given. There, too, he became enamoured of Mademoiselle Curchod, the future distinguished wife of Necker, whose personal attractions, virtues, and accomplishments, were alike the objects of his admiration. " At Cressy, her father's residence, and at Lausanne, I passed," he says, " some happy days. Her parents honourably encouraged the connection ; and I might presume to hope that I had made some impression on a virtuous heart." That he did so, indeed, is apparent from a letter of Rousseau to M. Moulton, the 4th of June, 1763, when Gibbon renewed his addresses, but, according to Rousseau, causelessly abandoned his suit, and deserted her. His father, however, he asserts, " would not hearken to so strange an alliance ; and to prevent it, had, on its original intimation, recalled him to England. " Without his help," pursues Gibbon, " I was myself desolate and helpless ; and, after a painful struggle, I yielded to my fate."

Lord Brougham, probably misled by George Colman, represents Gibbon during the courtship as falling on his knees before the young lady, but, from the weakness of his limbs, unable to rise. The story, however, is here wholly misapplied in time and person ; for he was then light of frame, and perfectly capable of ordinary movement. It was not thus, therefore, in his youth, but full thirty years after that the occurrence took place ; nor with Susan Curchod, but with Lady Elizabeth Forster, daughter of

the episcopal Earl of Bristol, and subsequently Duchess of Devonshire. The relator of the anecdote is the Chevalier Artaud de Montor, most advantageously known by his lives of the Pontiffs, Pius VII., and Pius VIII., who derived it from Lady Elizabeth's personal communication. "C'est de sa bouche même que l'a entendue l'auteur," is his assertion. While her first husband still lived, she accompanied her predecessor in the ducal title, the present duke of Devonshire's mother,\* on a continental tour, and

\* A little anecdote, scarcely, if at all known, of this celebrated lady's literary attempts, may here be not misplaced. To a copy of her poem, so lauded by Coleridge, on the "Passage of Mount Gothard," (after quitting Lausanne), presented to the French poet, Delille, she prefixed the following lines in his language :

" Vous dont la lyre enchanteresse,  
Unit la force à la douceur ;  
De la nature amant flatteur,  
Vous qui l'embellissez sans cesse,  
J'ose vous offrir, en tremblant,  
De l'humble pré la fleur nouvelle ;  
Je la voudrais immortelle,  
Si vous acceptez le présent."

Delille, who had translated the English poem, seemed not aware, nor apparently was M. Suard, who gives these verses in a sketch of the duchess's life, that the last four lines express a thought obviously borrowed from St. Sorlin's madrigal, forming one, and the most admired, of the sixteen which constitute the poetic portion of the famous "Guirlande de Julie," or homage offered to Julie d'Angennes, by her future husband, the Duke of Montausier. These madrigals were subjoined, in the exquisite penmanship of N. Jarry, to flowers painted by Robert; and Sorlet's on the *Violet*, was as follows :

" Modeste en ma couleur, modeste en mon séjour,  
Franche d'ambition, je me cache sous l'herbe ;  
Mais, si sur votre front je puis me voir un jour,  
La plus humble des fleurs sera la plus superbe."

This beautiful work of the painter and penman, produced at the sale of the Duke de la Vallière's library, in 1783, the sum of 14,510 livres, equal at the exchange of that time to £600, being more than any volume had ever before fetched at auction. It was purchased by the Duchess of Châtillon, a descendant of the Duke and Duchess of Montausier. In her letter of 1st September, 1680, Madame de Sévigné refers to the madrigal, on comparing the humble Madame de la Vallière to the proud De Fontanges, two of

stopped some time, in June 1787, at Lausanne, where Gibbon formed a frequent and welcome addition to their society. Attractive in person, yet under thirty years of age, and fascinating in manner, while utterly unsuspicuous of all amorous pretensions in a person of his mature years, ungainly form, and love repelling aspect, she checked not the exuberance of her admiration of his genius. But she had deeply impressed his imagination ; and one morning, just as he had terminated his elaborate enterprise, and felt elated with the achievement, as he so glowingly

Louis XIV's numerous favourites, but most distinct in character—the one, “la belle beauté,” in Madame de Sévigné's emphatic designation, exulting in her elevated depravity—the other, “la petite violette,” still abashed in penitent recollection of her temporary erring, repaired, we may trust, by her deep contrition, of which, adds Madame de Sévigné, no future example can be expected—“Jamais il n'y en aura sur ce moule.” This incidental advertence to plagiarism recalls to our mind two signal instances, which, though not in direct connection with our subject, may yet claim insertion in this Journal from their Catholic association ; nor do we believe that, except by ourselves, have they ever been published. The ensuing one is obvious, though, under the circumstances, difficult of avowal :—Des Barreaux, who died in 1672, had been one of the most profligate and audaciously impious men of his time ; but, finally struck with repentance, he composed the celebrated sonnet beginning with “Grand Dieu ! tes jugemens sont remplis d'équité,” &c.; and concluding with

“J'adore en périssant la raison qui t'aigrit :  
Tonne, frappe, il est temps, rends moi guerre pour guerre ;  
Mais dessus quel endroit tombera-t-on tonnèvre,  
Qui ne soit tout convert du sang de Jésus-Christ ?”

The two last lines will be found almost literally rendered at the close of the late Rev. Dr. Archer's sermon on Good Friday—“But where can His (Jesus Christ's) thunder fall ? All is covered over, all is shielded by his own blood.” Again, the epitaph of Sir Christopher Wren, under the choir of St. Paul's, is remarkable for its condensed expression—“Subtus conditur Hujus Ecclesiae Conditor..... Lector, si monumentum quæris, circumspice.” But may it not have been suggested by an inscription anterior to Wren's birth, of similar tenor, still legible in the old church of the Jesuits at Lisbon, (St. Jose) ? “Hoc Mausoleo condita est Illustrissima D. D. Philippa D. Comes, (Countess,) de Linhares—Cujus, si..... pietatem et munificentiam quæris, hoc Templum aspice—Obiit, MDCIII.

describes the sensation in his "Life," page 289, he invited the seductive lady to breakfast, when, in a bower fragrant with encircling acacias, he selected for her perusal various striking passages of the concluding sheets. Enchanted with the masterly performance, her ladyship complimented him on the successful completion of his mighty task with a warmth of language, which his prurient fancy much too licentiously indulged, as his writings prove, construed into effusions of a tenderer inspiration. Falling on his knees, he gave utterance to an impassioned profession of love, greatly to the surprise of its object, who, recoiling from his contact, entreated him to rise from this unseemly posture; but prostrate in the attempt, he vainly sought to regain his feet, until, with the aid of two robust women, he was replaced in his arm chair, from which it was pre-texed he had slipped. An irrepressible laugh escaped the lady, who could hardly view with displeasure this demonstration of the Promethean puissance of her charms, in quickening into vivid emotion such a mass of seemingly inert matter; and the circumstance consequently in no degree disturbed their friendly intercourse. Not so ended the impassioned declaration of Pope to Lady Mary Wortley Montague, which, repelled by a similar burst of merriment and derision, mortally wounded the ill-shaped poet's vanity, and converted his love fit into implacable hate, so often exhaled in the bitterest effusions of his mordant pen. Mr. Croker, in his "Introduction" to the recently published "Memoirs of John Lord Harvey," (pp. 35—55,) seems wholly unaware of this all-sufficient cause of the bard's and lady's alienation, for he expresses his inability to discover a satisfactory solution of the transition from an interchange of the most studied adulation to their mutual and poignant sarcasms, and vindictive animosity. These Memoirs, we must say, exhibit such a picture of immorality and courtly corruption, that, to the dynasty then newly enthroned, as emphatically protestant, cannot surely be ascribed the merit of introducing a *reform* in private virtue or public integrity; for profligacy could scarcely appear arrayed in a more hideous form, than during the period embraced in the narrative. Certainly, of vice it could not then be said, as in the glowing words of Burke, "that it lost half its evil by losing all its grossness." The Chevalier Artaud, long employed at Rome in diplomatic functions, enjoyed the familiar acquaintance of the duchess,

who, in 1814, fixed her permanent residence there, after her second husband, the Duke's, demise, and was her principal guide in publishing her magnificent illustrations of Horace, Virgil, and Dante, forming some of the most splendid productions existing of the press and graver.\*

Gibbon, on his return home, had the happiness to discover in his father's second wife a character very different from that usually drawn of a step-mother in contradistinction to that of the natural parent.

*“Αλλοτε μητριή πέλει ἡ φίσις, ἄλλοτε μητέρ.”*

and they ever continued on the most cordial terms of friendship. In 1760, he published his first work,—“Essai sur l'Etude de la Litterature,” of which he subsequently felt the defects. “Its faults,” observes the editor, “are clearly indicated by Gibbon, who, indeed, acknowledges that it had sunk in oblivion, until the popularity of the Decline and Fall, many years after, revived its memory.” In reference to it, Lord Brougham condemns the use of a foreign tongue, and justly we think, though Gibbon's command of the language was then superior, and always continued equal to his power and knowledge of his native idiom. Leibnitz wrote in French quite as well as in German, and several of his countrymen, Humboldt, the Schlegels, with many more, have composed works undiscernible for purity of diction from genuine French productions. The Great Frederick, indeed, was by no means so successful, unless Voltaire was at hand to correct his Teutonic barbarisms.† Many Italians, such

\* His expected general history of the Popes will present, we are confident, a contrast in every element of merit to the apostate Bowers' mendacious compilation, so cheered by the bigotry of the last century, but now fallen into universal and deserved contempt.

† In Gibbon's youth, German was little cultivated beyond its local sphere, nor did he study it; but we are assured that on hearing read the translation of Homer by Voss, (“Werke von Homer von J. H. Voss,”) the corresponding resonance of some noted passage, such as in the Odyssey, A 592, “*Καὶ μὴν Σίσυφον’ εἰσεῖσον*”—κ. τ. λ. in the Germanic rendering, so struck him, that he declared his determination to learn the language. We cannot, however, find that he ever attempted it; and, indeed, at that period, most of the writings by Germans, of which he could usefully avail himself in his history, were at his command in Latin.

as Alfieri, Galiani, and others, betrayed little or no indications of foreign birth; but in general, we must allow, as has been said, “que la langue Française est un instrument bien difficile à manier par des mains étrangères.” Our Mr. Towneley’s version of Hudibras has obtained praise far beyond its merits, for, in truth, it is a poor performance

The Great Frederick, with equal perversion of literary judgment and patriotic feeling, both by ridicule and example, discouraged the culture of his native tongue, while he never attained any elegance in his adopted one, to his use of which was not inaptly applied the line of Boileau, (*Satire*, ix. 241), “Qu'il s'en prenne à sa Muse Allemande en François.” Whatever was tolerable in his poetry was the fruit of alien aid, or direct plagiarism, of which we adduced ample proof at page 534, No xxxvi. of this Journal. His biographer, M. Casimir Paganel, on relating his flight from the field of Morlitz, the earliest scene of his warlike career, in April, 1741, contrasts that instinctive impulse of fear, so discordant from his established fame, with the declaration expressed in his epistle to Voltaire after the battle of Kolin, “that he would die as became a king rather than survive a similar defeat.” Frederick, however, did outlive more than one subsequent discomfiture; and that of Künensdorf, in April, 1759, was again memorable for his precipitate flight, though for a moment arrested in its course by an uncle of the present writer, then an officer under the Austrian commander, Laudon,\* who seized and held the royal fugitive’s horse, until disabled by a pistol shot, of which the ball never could be safely extracted, though we saw and well recollect the mark. The fact is alluded to by Voltaire; and the bold, though unaccomplished attempt, was long the boast of his corps and countrymen. Archinholz, in his history of the war, (*Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, Erster Theil, Berlin, page 259, 1830,) paints in graphic recital the renowned monarch’s danger. Pressed by a thousand of the pursuing enemy, he cried out to the officer who had just released him from our kinsman’s grasp: “Prittitz, ich bin verloren,” (Prittitz, I am lost.) “Nein, Ihro Majestat! das soll nicht geschehen, so lange noch ein Athem in uns ist,” (No, your Majesty! that shall not be so long as the breath is in us,) nobly exclaimed the intrepid Hussar, who could only oppose one hundred horsemen to tenfold that number of the assailing foe; but his object was achieved, and his sovereign saved a humiliating captivity. A descendant of Prittitz acted a conciliatory part in the contest, last March, between the soldiery and citizens of Berlin, much to his praise.

\* See *Dublin Review*, xxxviii. p. 311, and *Gentleman’s Magazine* for December, 1842, p. 588.

of doubtless an arduous task. The few specimens we possess of Voltaire's occasional attempts excite a regret that he did not execute the whole, unless, as in regard to Shakspere, he were designedly to prevent the sense. Mr. Beckford's *Vatheck*, and Mr. Hope's *Anastasius*, first appeared in French; but a suspicion always arises of the influence of wealth in the purchase of literary fame. Great, however, as was Gibbon's mastery of the language, the first intonations of his voice disclosed an alien accent, as a casual meeting at Schaffhausen in 1793, enabled us to remark, on his final return to England, under the advancing terrors of the French revolution. Bayle names several persons in Holland who spoke his tongue with difficulty, while they wrote it with ease and correction, like our University professors, in relation to Latin. Ten-Hoven, a *Dutchman*, composed in *French* his Memoirs of the *Italian* family of Medici, (La Haye, 1773,) thus combining a threefold national agency in the production.

The English do not appear so prompt as other people in attaining the use of foreign tongues in speech or writing. Lord Mahon will probably not be encouraged to make a second trial in French publication; and Anthony Hamilton cannot be viewed as an exception, for he was removed to France in his childhood. Milton's Italian poetry would not have attracted notice, but for the reflected light of his native performances; nor will the similar essays of Matthias add to the popularity, now, indeed rather faded, of his "Pursuits of Literature," which we have seen translated, or rather we may say, travestied into French, under the title of "Les Hostilités Littéraires," wholly in misconception of the meaning of the word *Pursuits!* Charles Fox, we remember, was reputed an accomplished *Frenchman*; but Napoleon strips him unequivocally of that advantage. In a conversation, during the short peace of 1802, on the subject of the Infernal Machine, Fox, though in stern opposition to the English ministers, indignantly repelled their imputed participation in that atrocious attempt, or in Bonaparte's words, reported by Las Cases, "Il me combattait alors avec chaleur, en me disant dans son *mauvais-Français*, Premier Consul, ôtez vous cela de votre tête." Napoleon himself was long before he acquired a pure French accent, or, in more idiomatic phrase, before he spoke without accent. Eventually, indeed, his native Italian became much less familiar to

him and to his brothers, as the eldest, Joseph, in a discussion on the relative characters of European languages, acknowledged to us. Lucien composed his prolix epic of Charlemagne in his adopted tongue, for which, we are told by Montholon, (tome 1, chap. 13,) he was severely condemned by Napoleon, not only in preferring to his vernacular idiom any other, but for having chosen one proved by the failure of Voltaire, so perfect a master of it, to be radically unfitted for that highest reach and rarest fruit of imaginative genius, the sublime epos. Their compatriot, though constant adversary, Pozzo di Borgo,\* who had been member of the Legislative Assembly at Paris, but afterwards distinguished as a Russian diplomatist, spoke the French with elegance and fluency, yet not without a marked Italian accent, as we can state from personal intercourse.†

\* Yet he could not be insensible to the renown shed on his native isle, though by his personal enemy; and accordingly, in 1833, he contributed a thousand francs to the subscription for a monument to the Emperor, at their mutual birth-place, Ajaccio; but, while not declined, as Rousseau's had been for Voltaire in 1770, the homage obtained little credit for him—

“Ah! qu'il est doux de plaindre

Le sort d'un ennemi, quand il n'est plus à craindre,”

was a sentiment expressed by Corneille, and repeated on this occasion. Pozzo di Borgo had been secretary to Sir Gilbert Elliot, while viceroy of Corsica, we are told by Napoleon in his interesting account of the island dictated to Montholon (chap. xvi.) where, as usual with foreigners, Elliot is named a lord, which he then was not. On the 8th of November, 1768, Burke, in adverting to Corsica, then conquered, said: “They [the ministers] saw the French take possession of Corsica—Corsica naked, I do not dread, but Corsica, a province of France is terrible to me,” an unconscious prophecy realized in the person of Napoleon, born there the following year, we may well say—Corsica became an integral part of the French monarchy in June, 1769, just two months before his birth; and to this short interval he owed his boast of being a Frenchman.

+ Experience, however, shows that great linguists do not always possess a corresponding range of mind; and memory, like the appetite, must be judged less by its voracity than by its power of digestion. Even the most renowned, Picus, Mirandula, Postel, Ludolf, Magliabecchi, Mezzofante, &c., appear in other respects of limited faculties. Not so, indeed, Sir William Jones, or Niebuhr, with whom we are little disposed to associate the Bible-Society's

Previously to the publication of Gibbon's French Essay, which, though evincing much diffusive reading, is deficient in the cohesion of its component parts, and exhibits no direct or unbroken view of its object, he was appointed captain in the Hampshire militia, of which his father was major. The service absorbed above two years of his time in irksome duties, ill-suited, as they were, to his habits and constitution. Some benefit, however, he does acknowledge; for the discipline and evolutions of a modern battalion gave him a clearer notion, he says, of the phalanx and the legion; and "the captain of the Hampshire grenadiers, (the reader may smile,) has not been useless to the historian of the Roman Empire." Various literary projects then engaged his thoughts, but were successively relinquished; and early in 1763, he again visited the continent. At Paris he passed three months, when, just after the triumphs of the Seven Years' War, the British name stood high in national distinction, and where his literary circle of acquaintance embraced most of the celebrities of the period. Thence he proceeded to Lausanne, where commenced his friendly intercourse with

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delegate, Mr. Borrow, though probably not less rich in the gift of dialects. The result of his mission to Spain was an utter disappointment, for not even was a congenial *Gitano* added to the Society's converts; but he was amply paid, and that was all he wanted; for he well knew the Basque proverb's import:—

“Chequel sos perella,  
Cocal tirella.”

Their other missionaries have generally employed their imperfectly attained knowledge in translating the scriptures from a notoriously incorrect text, the Anglican version, thus diffusing the word of God through a doubly vitiated channel, *this*, their original, and their own interpretation of it. It is now admitted by the most learned commentators among the Protestants, that of all existing translations the Catholic Vulgate is the best; and it was so declared in 1679 by the University of Oxford, as the late Dr. Bathurst, bishop of Norwich, stated, during the debates on the Catholic Question, in the House of Lords. For the corrupt versions of the Anglican missionaries, we would refer to the Rev. Ebenezer Henderson's "Appeal to the Bible Society, to the traveller Burkhardt, to Dr. Wordsworth, and to the learned J. J. Reiske, with other Protestant authorities. Even Morison's have not escaped the critical censure of Abel Remusat, the Chinese proficient.

Mr. Holroyd, afterwards Lord Sheffield, and his future executor. His stay there lasted nearly a year, when he pursued his course and reached the eternal city, as he and the universal voice distinguish it—the city of ever-fated renown, the mistress in arms, art, and mind of civilized men, the sanctuary of faith, and one fold of one shepherd—Rome :—

.....“l'antiqua sede  
Del valor vero, e della vera fide.”

in a word, “veuve d'un peuple roi, et reine encor du monde.” “After a sleepless night,” he says, “I trod with lofty steps the ruins of the Forum; each memorable spot where Romulus stood, or Tully spoke, or Cæsar fell, was at once present to my eye; and several days of intoxication were lost or enjoyed, before I could descend to a cool and minute investigation.” Shortly after his arrival there, on the 15th of October 1764, as he sat musing on the ruins of the capital, the idea of writing the “Decline and Fall of the city,” first started to his mind. His original plan, he adds, was circumscribed to the decay of the city rather than of the empire; and Lord Brougham pointedly condemns his deviation from his early intention, though, until 1452, and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, this eastern seat of transplanted rule assumed the title and exercised the prerogatives of the metropolis of the Roman Empire.

After his return to England in 1765, Gibbon resumed his literary views, revolving in his mind divers schemes of execution, mostly in French, with his friend Deyverdun; but none were pursued to completion, except a Journal, under the title of “*Mémoires Litteraires de la Grande Bretagne*,” of which two volumes had issued from the press when his associate left England to accompany to the continent young Sir Richard Worseley, who thirty years subsequently published the splendid *Musæum Worseleyanum*. An Essay on the descent of Æneas and the Sybil to the Infernal Regions in Virgil’s sixth book, in opposition to Bishop Warburton’s hypothesis on the subject, was his earliest English publication. The line, (896,) “sed falsa ad cœlum mittunt in somnia manes,” seemed to convert the whole scene into a dream, while to the learned prelate it appeared to represent allegorically the Trojan hero’s initiation into the Eleusynian mysteries. The solu-

tion was, not unsuccessfully, combated by Gibbon, who triumphantly adduces the praise bestowed on the dissertation by Heyne, still unquestionably, as he was then, the poet's ablest editor. The German commentator appears, however, to consider Virgil as involved in an inextricable dilemma into which his imagination had seduced him; for he thinks it hard to believe that the poet could have intended to impose the representation on his readers as a mere phantasm, or a dream. “*Quæ si poetæ mens fuit, nihil unquam a quopiam poeta magis sinistrum profectum esse arbitror.....nec quicquam excogitari poterat absurdius.*” (*Excursus xv.*)

From this publication in 1770, to 1776, when the first volume of his great work met the public eye, the press produced nothing from his pen; but he sat for some years in parliament, and after his father's death in 1770, removed from Buriton to a house in Bulstrode Street, which he occupied till 1783, when he fixed his residence at Lausanne. In parliament, where he represented the borough of Leskard, prudence, he felt, condemned him to be mute: he was not fitted by nature or education for an active part in debate; and even the success of his pen discouraged the trial of his voice. Addison's legislative career similarly failed to correspond with his literary fame; and the amiable Cowper's public incapacity of speech is on record. So, too, extraordinary as it may seem in a man of the highest rank, the known lover of a princess,\* and long mixed in scenes of factious turbulence, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, would not suffer himself to be proposed as a member of the French Academy, into which his rank and well known book of “*Maxims*,” equally ensured him a welcome reception, because he should have to pronounce a recipient's discourse. Nicole, the co-operator with Pascal

\* Anne de Bourbon, sister of the Grand Condé, and Duchess of Longueville, of whom he wrote—

“*Pour mériter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,  
J' ai fait la guerre au roi ; je l'aurais faite aux Dieux.*”

On their subsequent rupture he thus parodied, when he had become completely blind, this bold distich, in one not a little remarkable for its concluding bathos,—

“*Pour mériter ce cœur, qu'enfin je connais mieux,  
J' ai fait la guerre au Roi ; j'en ai perdu les yeux.*”

in producing the famous “ Provincial Letters,” and J. J. Rousseau, were similarly denied the faculty of bold and prompt address; and poor, indeed, was the figure in the imperial or revolutionary councils of France exhibited by the eminent names in science of Monge, La Place, and Chaptal.

Gibbon’s characters of the distinguished orators in parliament, while he was their silent colleague, including Lord North, Thurlow, Wedderburne, Burke, Barré, Dunning, Fox, and Sheridan, though briefly, or in single epithets conveyed, are luminously descriptive of their respective qualities. Then, too, he enjoyed for about three years the nearly sinecure, though lucrative place of a Lord of Trade, producing £.700 to £.800 annually; but losing it in 1782, (and not in 1784, as stated by Lord Brougham) he retired from parliament.

As we have just mentioned, in Feb. 1776, the first volume of his history appeared, and, with the exception of the anti-christian spirit of the 15th and 16th chapters, was received with the warmest approval. Hume and Robertson hailed him as a congenial associate; the former, in a letter, misdated in the biography the 18th of March, 1766, in place of 1776, addressed to Gibbon himself; and Robertson, in one directed to the printer Strahan, in which he says, “ that he had not read the obnoxious chapters, but that, from what he had heard of them, he regretted that such a tone had been taken as would give offence, and hurt the sale of the book.” To this passage the reverend editor subjoins a remark: “ There is something not quite honest in this prudential civility of Robertson;” and such has been the general construction of the letter, while Lord Brougham asserts his uncle’s strict veracity, and is quite sure that to avoid controversy he had not then read the objectionable chapters. Even so, it was an evasion of duty. The perusal of the volume which had been presented to him, should not have stopped where, more especially to a churchman, the subject rose in interest, solicited his attention, and commanded every effort of counteraction. Of the offensive portion also, he regrets not the immoral effect, but the pecuniary loss thence arising; so that Mr. Milman’s animadversion is perfectly just in its application.

On the other hand we find that Richard Porson, the *Hellenist*, after warmly espousing Gibbon’s side in the controversy on the “ Three Heavenly Witnesses ” in St.

John's First Epistle, turned against him the sharpest edge of his wit, and assailed with caustic and indignant sarcasms, the pruriency of the historian's imagination contrasted with the impotency of his nature, so constantly displayed in the insinuated or half-veiled licentious thought or allusion; an artifice of seduction, we are told by Tacitus, so effectually employed by Poppaea Sabina with Nero—"velata parte oris, ne satiaret aspectum,"—the more dangerous because least suspected in its object. "The historian," observes Porson, "pleads eloquently for the rights of mankind, and the duty of toleration; nor does his humanity ever slumber, unless when women are outraged, or christians persecuted." Among his opponents also came prominently forward Dr. Priestley, "who threw down the gauntlet to me," says Gibbon, "but I declined the challenge, exhorting him rather to enlighten the world by his philosophical discoveries. Remember the end of your Socinian predecessor, Servetus—not of his life, for the Calvins of our days are restrained from the use of the same fiery arguments—but I mean the end of his reputation. His theological works are lost in oblivion, and if his book on the Trinity be still preserved, it is only because it contains the first rudiments of the discovery of the circulation of the blood."\* The book of Servetus here referred to is, of course that printed at Haguenau, in 1531, 8vo., "de Trinitatis Erroribus;" but, as we have had frequent occasions to state, it does not contain a sentence on the great discovery. It is in the ill-fated Spaniard's work, the 'Christianismi Restitutio,' (pp. 170 & 259) which

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\* It is, notwithstanding, to his theological works that Servetus is mainly indebted, if it be a benefit, for the permanence of his memory; for his insight, however proximate, into the true system of the venous current in the human frame, remained long unnoticed, and is now only known to the curious in scientific research; while the burning pile, to which he was consigned as a holocaust, for daring to outstrip his model, Calvin, in the race of innovation, has imparted to his name a never-fading vitality, and commensurate notoriety. But the foul deed, in betraying the dark foldings of its perpetrator's character, has presented to our contemplation, in this patriarch of reform, a signal specimen of the prime movers in that momentous event, marked as their conduct has so often been, by the flagrant violation, in act and principle, of their own governing rule and example.—(See Gibbon, vol. x, p. 182, and Walpole's Correspondence, in October, 1771).

did not appear till 1553, above twenty years afterwards, that the anticipated glance of Harvey's established theory is to be found. The title of the earlier volume deceived Gibbon, as it did Chauffepié, whose article on Servetus he justly praises; (*Decline and Fall*, vol. x. p. 182.) but neither Priestley, Milman, nor Brougham, were aware of the mistake. Indeed, no copy of the "*Christianismi Restitutio*" exists in England; nor have above two survived the flames, which the condemned edition, "*femori codex alligatus*," contributed to kindle for the immolation of Calvin's victim. A reprint, however, assuming to be a fac-simile, but confined to a small number of copies, was published at Nuremberg in 1791.

After putting forth this first volume of his history, Gibbon undertook an excursion to Paris, determined, he says, by the pressing invitation of M. Necker and his accomplished wife, who had visited England the preceding summer. On his arrival he found Necker, Director-General of the Finances—an office similar to that of our Chancellor of the Exchequer—in the first bloom of power and popularity, and through their influence his circle of acquaintance embraced alike the heads of literature and of polite society. Lord Brougham, on this occasion, to which he, or the printer, assigns the date of 1771 instead of 1777, presents his readers, in a translation not altogether correct, Madame Dudeffant's laudatory report of Gibbon's manners, conversation, and talents. The lady was then in her eightieth year, but had for one-third of that period been wholly bereaved of sight, or in her definition of the privation "*plongée dans un cachot éternel*," though, from her unimpaired intellect, Voltaire, to whom several of her pointed observations were attributed, called her, "*l'aveugle clairvoyante*."\* His lordship, however, adverts not to

\* Thus the conversion of "*L' Esprit des Lois*," the title of Montesquieu's noble work, into "*De l'Esprit sur les Lois*," is usually attributed to the witty poet, though really this lady's prompt expression. Few, indeed, have been more favoured in such transfers of alien property than Voltaire, to whom we not long since saw ascribed, by a distinguished naval officer, in the *United Service Journal*, the energetic line "*Le trident de Neptune est le sceptre du monde*," but it belongs to A. M. Lemière, and is to be found in his poem, "*Sur le Commerce*," published in 1757. The assertion is traceable to Themistocles, as Plutarch, in his life (§ viii.) relates,

her ludicrous misapprehension, on passing her hand over Gibbon's face, her custom on the introduction of a stranger, substituting the sense of touch for that of sight, as a guide, from the form of the countenance, in the discrimination of character. But the anomalous conformation of Gibbon's features probably suggested the story, though generally credited at the time. Horace Walpole was her favoured friend, as their published correspondence shows; but she was a very unamiable cold-hearted woman, of whom Rousseau, on rejecting her hospitable invitations, courted, though they were by others, said, "J'aime mieux m'exposer au fléau de sa haine que de son amitié." Her dissension with Mademoiselle L'Espinasse produced a breach of union between the literary chieftains of Paris, when this female contest excited the greatest commotion in the *philosophic* metropolis! D'Alembert was the zealous partisan of Mademoiselle L'Espinasse.\*

After he had returned from Paris, Gibbon published the second and third volumes of his history, which gradually rose in sale, and advanced in public estimation to the level of their predecessor, though, as he acknowledges, more

and as we likewise are informed by Cicero, in a letter to Atticus. (lib. x., Epist. 8)—"Cujus (Pompeii) consilium Themistocleum est, Existimat enim qui mare teneat eum necesse rerum potiri." And England attests the fact. And in Lemière's poem, "Sur l'utilité des Découvertes dans les Sciences et les Arts," (1786, 8vo.) another thought of pregnant import occurs,—

"Croire tout découvert est une erreur profonde;  
C'est prendre l'horizon pour les bornes du monde."

Numerous ingenious sayings have, in like manner, been gratuitously appropriated to Talleyrand, and, amongst them, that which affirms "that words were given to man for the concealment of his thoughts." It was, however, to be found in Goldsmith's Third Essay, entitled *The Bee*; but more distinctly, and before the birth of that type of Protean versatility, though of still older date, enunciated by our poet Young :

"When nature's end of language is declined,  
And men talk only to conceal their mind."

*Apology for the Cathedral Service.*

And on no one in Rome was this unearned paternity oftener conferred than on Cicero, as he writes to Volumnius—"Ais omnia omnium dicta in me conferri," &c.—(Epist. Famil. lib. viii. 32.)

\* See Dublin Review, No. XLIII., pp. 219 and 227.

prolix and less entertaining. On the continent, he adds, his name and writings were slowly diffused. A French translation had disappointed the booksellers in Paris, who, indeed, employed very incompetent persons for the task; and, at that time, few were much conversant with our tongue, which made Voltaire compare their versions to the wrong side of tapestry. In fact, until M. Guizot revised the whole, which he published in 1812, forming thirteen octavo tomes, Gibbon's work appeared to great disadvantage in French dress. Mr. Lowndes, in his Bibliographer's Manual, page 784, gives a list of Gibbon's religious antagonists, to which may be added an able Italian refutation—"Confutazione dell' esame del Christianismo fatto da Gibbon."—(Roma, 1784, 2 vols. 4to.)

In 1783, finding his income, after the suppression of the Board of Trade, inadequate to his state of life in London, he removed to Lausanne, the cherished scene of his youth; and never had he reason, he affirms, to repent of his choice until the spreading flame of the French revolution compelled his return to England, ten years subsequently. He had then, however, to lament, in July, 1789, the death of M. Deyverdun, after a continued friendship of eight-and-thirty years. But, ere his arrival there, he had commenced his fourth volume, which he concluded in June, 1784, as he did the fifth in 1786, and finally the sixth and last, on the 27th of June, 1787. This consummation of his labours he thus impressively records—"It was on that day, or rather night, between the hours of eleven and twelve, I wrote the last page in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down my pen, I took several turns in a *berceau*, or covered walk, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake, and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent." He then subjoins two facts, of rare occurrence truly in the composition of so elaborate an achievement.—1. "His first rough manuscript, without any intermediate copy, was sent to the press."—2. "Not a sheet had been seen by any human eyes, excepting those of the author and printer." The anecdote related immediately after of the corrector of the press, who transported entire volumes from his mind to print, without having been written by the pen, is taken, though uncited, from Mercier's "*Tableau de*

Paris ;" and the name was Rétif de la Bretonne, not Bretonne, as misprinted in the biography.

After this termination of his undertaking, which he obviously contemplated with special self-satisfaction, he proceeded to London, in order to superintend the impression of the last three volumes; subsequently to which he returned to his favourite abode, where he enjoyed for a few days the society of Charles Fox. But the advancing French conflagration soon interrupted his repose; for his sentiments on that mighty event perfectly coincided with those of Burke. "I have sometimes," he says, "thought of writing a dialogue of the dead, in which Lucian, Erasmus, and Voltaire, should mutually acknowledge the danger of exposing an old superstition to the contempt of the blind and fanatic multitude." The idea was a good one, but would have been best executed by a renouncement of the principles of which the propagation by the writers of his school had caused the evils he had then to deplore, while Gibbon himself should have found his place among the interlocutors. The revolutionary excesses, though just then by no means arrived at their consummation, had opened his eyes to the danger of undermining the christian faith, designated, indeed, in his vocabulary, as a superstition, but still, thus proved by the fatal consequences of its abandonment, to be the safeguard of public morality and social order. Lamenting his share in the work of destruction, well might he have repeated with Ovid—

"Cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno,  
Me quoque, qui feci, judice, digna lini."

De Ponto. lib. i. Eleg. v.

Hurried, as we have seen, thus from Lausanne, he passed some months with Lord Sheffield in London, interspersed with short visits to other friends; but his declining health compelled him, in November, 1793, to consult the medical faculty. His direct complaint was a hydrocel, aggravated by hernia, under which he had long laboured, and the former of which, though, as we distinctly recollect, prominent and visible, he had until then studiously avoided mentioning to his most intimate friends. After various operations, his death, when little expected, it seems, by himself, ensued the 16th of January, 1794. His personal appearance has been often described: and the "silhouette," or "portrait en découpage," prefixed to the quarto edition of his

"Miscellaneous Works," is a perfect type of it. "La racine de son nez s'enfonçait dans le crâne plus profondément que dans celle du nez d'un Kalmouck; et le tronc informe de son corps à gros ventre de Silène était posé sur cette espèce de jambes qu'on appelle flutes (spindles)."

Such is the representation, "de l'auteur de la grande et superbe Histoire de l'Empire Romain," by M. Suard, the translator of Robertson, whom Gibbon reckons among the men of letters whose acquaintance he had formed in Paris. Before our accidental meeting, previously referred to, in Switzerland, on his escape from the revolutionary hurricane, we were little prepared for the visible contrast of his natural deformity of feature and structure, with the "beau ideal" of personal beauty suggested to our imagination by his description of Mahomet, in his fiftieth chapter, where the prophet is represented as conspicuous for that attractive advantage—"an outward gift," the historian adds, "which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused." Naturally enough, therefore, we did not anticipate the utter denial to himself of an attribute thus lauded, and greatly, in consequence, did the reality disappoint us, until the charm of his conversation, short though the enjoyment was, obliterated the impression.

Gibbon's historical compeer, Hume, though less grotesque in conformation, was much more deficient in intellectual expression of countenance. Lord Charlemont, who knew him well at Turin, tells us, (Hardy's "Life of Charlemont," page 8.) "that his face was broad and fat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes vacant and spiritless, and the corpulence of his whole person presented more the idea of a turtle-eating alderman than of a refined philosopher. His speech in English was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scotch accent, and his French was, if possible, still worse." Yet in Paris, when secretary to Lord Hertford, his literary fame procured him the most flattering reception, as we learn from Gibbon, by rank and beauty. So, too, we are assured by Madame D'Epinay and her paramour, Grimm, in their respective correspondence. "Il n'y a point de fête," says the lady, "sans Hume: toutes les jolies femmes se sont emparées du gros philosophe, qui ne dit pas un mot." And the caterer of news for the German courts similarly states: "Hume est laid: il n'a ni grâce ni agrément, et toutes les jolies

femmes se l'arrachent.” Wilkes, to whom nature gave no letter of recommendation, quickly effaced by his social agreeability any *prima facie* disfavour, and maintained that the handsomest man in England had only the advantage of the first half-hour over him. Mirabeau even boasted of the power of his ugliness: “Personne ne connaît la puissance de ma laideur,” was his vaunt. Many years subsequent to their intercourse at Turin, Lord Charlemont, (“Life,” page 120.) on meeting Hume in London, felicitated him on the happiness of enjoying Rousseau’s company in England. “Why, no,” replied the philosopher, “Rousseau is not the man you think him. He has a hankering after the Bible; and, indeed, is little better than a christian, in a way of his own.” Hume and Gibbon were, in fact, both morally and physically, cast pretty much in the same mould.

Twenty pages are appropriated by Lord Brougham to a critical review of Gibbon’s history; but the sketch does not exhibit, as already noticed, new views of interest, or any unpublished circumstance of importance; while some parts may be fairly contested. To the style, doubtless deficient in simplicity of diction, ease of movement, or variety of form, he is hardly just; for no English writer abounds with more pregnant evidence of the splendour, power, and copiousness of our tongue—none more eloquent, more energetic in its expression. He is peculiarly felicitous in his translations, for there, as had been remarked of the Italian interpreters of the classics, his imagination is coerced without impairing the riches or command of his language. The occasional versions of Tacitus, particularly in the ninth chapter, as well as of Montesquieu’s vivid image of the influence of religion on Theodosius, (*Esprit des Lois*, xxxv. 2.) in Gibbon’s twenty-eighth chapter, are admirable. In truth, it may be asserted of him, as Johnson did of Pope’s Homer, and encomium could scarcely proceed further, that there exists not a happy combination of words in the English language, not one of which it is susceptible, that is not exemplified in the “Decline and Fall.” And, on the other hand, that, while habitually magniloquent and stately, he could bend as the subject required it, is sufficiently testified by the playful or familiar, we will not say graceful, diction of his correspondence. Who, besides, will deny the extensive and diversified erudition, the sustained interest, and discerning

views of human acts and motives, displayed in his history, accompanied by observations, generally of corresponding sequence with the associated occurrences? Yet we are not insensible to the absence of those elevated or generous sentiments, which the events related in his narrative, should suggest to every historian who desires to counteract the adverse tendency of the repulsive facts that too often constitute the mass of his history. Reflections, indeed, are not spared, as we have just stated, perhaps even, as is charged by the Abbé Mably, they are too frequent in use; but we regret that they are not oftener of a higher moral tone, or more dignified character than, we fear, it was in his nature to feel, or his purpose to express, as a disciple of the soul-depressing, earth-bound Voltairian school. M. Guizot expresses himself with great force and propriety on this point.

Considered as a whole, the "Decline and Fall" presents, we must admit, with the reservation of occasional antichristian misrepresentations, fewer historical errors than almost any extant composition of equal compass; insomuch that on the continent, we are assured by M. Guizot, the work is constantly cited as authority, similar to that assigned by Gibbon to Le Nain de Tillemont's Ecclesiastical and Imperial Annals of the first six centuries of the Christian era. We are, therefore, the more surprised at the glaring anachronism in his fifty-ninth chapter, where he makes Pope Gregory the First, (in full letters,) implore the aid of Charles Martel, in 740, against the Lombards, whereas that Pontiff had ceased to live nearly ninety years before the French hero's birth, in 604. An inadvertence, too, relating to the classical history of Rome, has been overlooked by all reviewers. In the thirty-first chapter it is asserted that the Anician family was unknown during the five first ages\* of Rome, and that its earliest date

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\* Moliere, in his "Bourgeois Gentilhomme," introduces nine words (Acte ii. Sc. 6)—"Belle Marquise vos beaux yeux me font mourir d'amour," which the silly citizen's teacher attempts to place in four different ways; but, except the original, they are all barbarous, unidiomatic, and repulsive to a French ear. Not so the Latin, of which we may adduce a line of only eight words—"Tot tibi sunt dotes, Virgo, quot sidera cœlo," which Erycius Puteanus, in his "Pietatis Thaumata," &c., printed at Antwerp in 1617, showed, were susceptible of 1022 different positions, corresponding

found in the Annals of Pighius was that of Anicius Gallus, a tribune of the people in the year of the city 506. But we are surprised that Gibbon, in the vast extent of his reading, should have passed unobserved the explicit mention in Pliny, (*Hist. Natur.* xxxiii. 6,) of Quintus Anicius, as Curnulus Edilis, colleague in that office of Cneius Flavius, in the year 449 of the usual Roman chronology, or 442 of Niebuhr's more accurate reckoning, that is, full sixty years anterior to Gibbon's statement. That edileship, besides, was one of marked celebrity; for Flavius divulged the secrets of the civil law held in mysterious reserve by the pontiffs as an instrument of popular control, by compelling a recurrence to themselves on every contention which arose. "Civile jus repositum in penetralibus pontificum evulgavit Flavius," says Livy (ix. 46.) Aulus Gellius, (vi. 9,) Cicero de Oratore, (cap. 41,) and de Republica, (lib. i.) with Pighius himself, at page 377 of his Annals, (Antwerpiae, 1613,) dwell on what was deemed a memorable event, as occurring during the office of Anicius and Flavius; but the languid health of the former made him so little prominent, that, like Caesar's colleague in the consulship, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, his name was eclipsed by that of Flavius. It continued, however, an authentic record, and holds a prominent place in one of the noblest monuments of Roman genius, Pliny's great work, "opus non minus varium quam ipsa natura," in the emphatic eulogy of his adopted nephew, (Epist. lib. iii. 5.) The reader may likewise see in the Rev. Mr. Maitland's "Essays on the Dark Ages," at p. 230, the fallacious grounds on which Gibbon rests his sarcastic note in volume x. p. 193, on the imputed superstition of the dignitaries of the Church, relative to Gog and Magog. Still, notwithstanding these drawbacks

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with the number of fixed stars known to the old astronomers. But James Bernouilli, in his "Ars Conjectandi," (Basil, 1713), proved that the verse offered 3322 combinations. The French, in fact, admits of few inversions, compared even with the English or Italian, as was remarked to us by Joseph Bonaparte, who, in illustration, referred to the opening lines of the *Paradise Lost*, and the *Henriade*, with various passages of Ariosto, Tasso, &c., where, in all save the French, the words were susceptible of varied collocation, an advantage which accounted in his conception for the superiority of our orators over the French, from the versatility of expression thence derived.

on his accuracy, the work, as he anticipated, has taken root; and, with the unhappy exception of his antichristian sentiments, few are entitled, with a firmer tone of confidence, to say, "What care I what curious eye doth quote infirmities?"

The Rev. Editor, we must observe, in conclusion, cannot be presumed to have revised the Biography, teeming as it does with errors, of which not less than a hundred disgrace the impression. For his information, too, we may state that the name, at page 262 of that volume, and note, left in blank, is the prince of "*Beauveau*," the personal friend of Louis XVI.

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ART. VII.—*The Night Side of Nature ; or, Ghosts and Ghost Seers*, by CATHERINE CROWE, Authoress of "*Susan Hopley*," "*Lilly Dawson*," "*Aristodemus*," &c., &c. In 2 vols. T. C. Newby, 72, Mortimer St., Cavendish Square.

THIS is a very curious book, and well worthy of the attention of the reader. It is the unconscious testimony given by one, who is plainly not a Catholic, to the state of the public mind in England as that mind has been moulded, although not permanently fixed, by centuries of Protestantism; and it is, in itself, a disproof of the malignant charge so frequently preferred against the Roman Catholic religion, that it has a peculiar tendency to foster superstition, and to promote a credence in witchcraft, enchantment, and charms. This book shows that Anglican Protestantism is disheartened by dreams, and affrighted by ghosts, as Scotch Calvinism is beset by wraiths, and terrified by prognostics. It demonstrates that those who will not yield their faith to what is true, have to bow down as trembling slaves before what is false as it is foul—that those who turn away their eyes from what is bright, beautiful, and consoling, are compelled to go groping in the dark, on the chance of encountering some lurid gleams that may help to guide them in their progress through this world.

Disbelievers are here shown to be idiotically credulous;

and the heretic, in the maturity of his years, and the full possession of all his reasoning faculties, is found to be moved by an apprehension of things, which, if told in the nursery of a well-educated Catholic child, would be laughed at. The world of spirits is moved because Mr. Hobson has lost his shoe, or Mrs. Jenkins has mislaid her night-cap ! There are prophetic visions about the most common accidents in life ; and ghosts haunt the earth, because Mr. Dobbs, having booked himself for an inside place, has been compelled by a roguish coach-office clerk to travel three-score miles and ten beside the guard on a cold wintry night ! If a child is about to be blessed by death in the days of its baptismal innocence, then there is a dire dream symbolising its happy call to heaven, through a grim Death tearing it from its mother's arms, and slaughtering it with a tomahawk !\*

If it be not superstitious to believe that all visions are not vain and idle dreams, then, according to the narration of each particular vision, we can at once tell whether it has arisen within the precincts of the Catholic Church, or whether it is not an useless weed that has sprung out of the rank soil of heresy, or infidelity, or paganism. †

Belief in the supernatural is not confined to those who receive the gospel in pure, child-like simplicity of heart. It will be found as rife amongst those who deny the Church to be "the pillar and the ground of truth," as amongst those who are persecutors of the Church, as amongst those who are utterly ignorant of the great mystery of redemption. The credulity, if we must so term it, of the Catholic and the non-Catholic, is in most cases easily distinguishable: the one elevates the thoughts to heaven, or dwells upon the interests of the immortal soul ; the other has but reference to the weal of the body, to health, to sickness, to riches, power, poverty, accidents affecting life or limb—it is "of the earth, earthly." The one warns the sinner to repentance ; the other pre-dooms him to unwished-for sufferings. The one admonishes us to seek for happiness

\* See vol. i. pp. 88, 89, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 332, 353.

† "Die Gespensterfurcht reflektirt sich in schauerlichen Zerrbildern, die religiöse Begeisterung, die schwärmerische Ueberspannung in hohen und glänzenden himlischen Gestalten." Fischer, *Der Somnabulismus*, vol. i. §. *Die religiöse Vision*, p. 255.

in the next life ; the other encourages us in the search of sensual pleasures in the present. Abnegation of self is the motive of one ; indulgence of sense the impulse of the other.

Practical Christianity is the perfection of contentment. Firm in faith it seeks to know nothing beyond that which religion teaches. Full of charity towards all, it is satisfied with its own condition in life, and rejoices in the prosperity of its neighbour. It struggles to master the evil of to-day, and there is no to-morrow for it in this world ; its hopes and its fears are for that eternity which a moment may bring, and that once begun, shall never feel the gloom of a sunset. Christianity is undisturbed by vain cares or an idle curiosity ; and therefore it contemned in ancient days the arts of magic, as it despises in this the practices, the nostrums, and the revelations of mesmerism.

The history of superstitions in all ages of the world, is the history of impiety in all ages of the world : and so far from tracing in the superstitions of mankind the germ of that pure faith at one time possessed by them, that we have in these superstitions only the corroborative proof of the weakness and wickedness of mortals from the first moment that they dissented from revealed truth, and denied that their God was THE GOD WHO had created all things by His Word, and saved Noah and his family from destruction, when HE punished the world by the deluge. If we can discover in the remotest portions of the North, the knowledge brought from Asia of HIM who "liveth from all ages, governeth all realms, and swayeth all things great and small ;" who "hath formed heaven and earth, and all things thereunto belonging ; and that all that are righteous shall dwell with him in the place called Gimli, or Vingolf ; but the wicked shall go to Hel, and thence to Vifhel, which is below in the ninth world"—if we can discover these truths, it is but to find them speedily immersed in the filthy abominations of Freyr, and submerged beneath the bloody sacrifices of Saxnot.† The worship of the One God disappears, and adoration is

\* The Prose Edda. § 3, "Of the Supreme Deity."

† Ozanam, *Les Germains avant le Christianisme*, p. 85.

paid to sticks and stones, to growing trees and flowing rivers.\*

We can trace superstitions at all periods of time, not to the true religion, but to the false forms of religion; and their grossness and their wickedness will always be found in proportion to the greater departure and wider separation that has taken place between the human understanding and the simplicity and intelligibility of the one true faith; and whether the superstition was professed publicly as a national creed, or practised privately as a means of promoting some sordid and vicious desire, we find the elect of God repudiating it in either form, denouncing it, struggling against it, and seeking to extirpate every trace of it from the hearts of the people.†

There is no safety nor security against the vain and wicked curiosity of superstition, but within the Church. Those who will not now believe in Christ, believe in magnetism, as their predecessors gave full credence to magicians.‡ Julian, the apostate and persecutor of those,

\* Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 9, 10, 39. “Alii etiam lignis et fontibus clanculo, alii autem aperte sacrificabant. Vit. S. Bonifac. in Works of St. Boniface, vol. ii. p. 165: “Si quis ad arbores, vel ad fontes, vel ad lapides, sive ad cancellos vel ubicumque, excepto in æcclesia Dei votum voverit, &c.” Theodor. Arch. Cant. Liber Pœnitent. c. 27, § 18. See Capit. et Fragment, Theodor. de incantatoribus, § 3, Pœnitent. Ecgbert. Arch. Ebor. Lib. iv. c. 19.

† See Acts of the Apostles, c. viii. 9, 24.; c. xiii. 6. 12.; c. xix. 13. 19.

“En effet, lorsque le christianisme fut prêché, la magie étoit plus commune que jamais parmi les païens; nous le voyons par ce qu’ en disent Celse, Julien, les historiens romains et nos anciens apologistes. Les Peres s’ attachèrent avec raison à décrier cet art funeste. \* \* \* Le concile de Laodicée, tenu l’ an 366; celui d’ Agde, en 506; le concile in *Trullo* l’ an 692; un concile de Rome, en 721: les capitulaires de Charlemagne, et plusieurs conciles postérieurs; le penitential romain etc., ont frappé d’ anathème et ont soumis à une pénitence rigoureuse tous ceux qui auroient recours à la magie de quelque especie qu’ elle fut.” Bergier, Dictionnaire de Théologie, vol. v. pp. 94, 95, in verb. “magie.” See also Ozanam, Les Germains avant le Christianisme, pp. 397, 404.

‡ See Letter of M. Alexander Dumas in the *Presse*, and copied into the *Courrier de l’Europe*, October 23, 1847, pp. 687, 688.

who offered up their pure invocations to the Blessed Virgin, stained his hands with the blood of the victims sacrificed at the altars of Venus; as in modern times those who enforced the Penal Laws, and banished Catholics from the palace, the law-courts, the camp, and the city, sought favours from the daughter of the Countess Platen, and begged for bishoprics from Lady Sundon.\*

And here we may remark that full justice has never yet been done to the authors of the Penal Laws; for it has not been sufficiently noticed how much of the spirit, as well as the practical operation, of those laws has been borrowed from the imperial policy of Julian, the persecutor of Christians, and the admirer, as well as steady friend, of magicians.†

The horrors and delusions of magic have prevailed in all ages, from the days of Cham to the present. It has assumed different forms—resorted to various devices—has sold itself for gold—lent itself to the passions—co-operated with vice—captivated infidels, and fought against the faith. It is, under whatever disguise it hides itself, or whatever gross or grand, vulgar or philosophical name, it assumes the contaminator of faith, the rebel against hope, and opponent to charity, as religion presents these great attributes to the soul of the Christian. Its abominations are innumerable, and the mind shrinks from dwelling upon the disgusting crimes which its votaries, women as well as men, were induced to commit. We are not disposed to trace it through its development in former times, nor to exemplify it in the lives of those who practised it; because it would be as little to our present purpose to do so, as it would be to defend Moses from the antiquated imputation against him, that he was nothing more than a magician;‡ for as the heaven-inspired law-giver was

\* See "Memoirs of Viscountess Sundon," *passim*.

† See Vit. S. S. Juventin et Maximin. Act. Sanct. (Januar.) Vol. ii. p. 619.

‡ "Cumque Moises in testimonium mandatorum Dei, ex virga draconem fecisset, mox aquas omnes in sanguinem convertisset, totamque terram ranis opplesset: facientibus similia Chaldaeis, magicas esse artes, quaecumque per Moisen fierent, potius quam Dei virtutem, pronunciabat." Sulpicius Severus, *Sac. Hist. Lib. i.*

"Vetus hæc Ægyptiorum et Græcorum calumnia. Qui Mosen

assailed, so have Catholic saints and martyrs been calumniated, and their miracles have been repudiated but as the successful tricks of wily magicians. In this respect the heretic imitates the example of ancient infidels. Unable to deny the miracles of Catholic saints as facts, he perversely determines to disavow them as manifestations of Heaven in testimony of those saints' virtues, of their humility, their purity, their faith, and their charity ; and hence he boldly and resolutely impugns them as the deeds of sorcerers—as the delusions of Satan.\*

inter præcipuos Magos collocant. Plin. xxx. Justin. xxxvi. Apul. Apol. Strabo xvi. Plinii Verba sunt : *Est et alia Magices factio a Mose etiamnum et Iochebel Iudeis pendens. Fuit autem Iochebel ipsius Mosis mater. Locus corruptus, Lege Iochebed ex Sacris. Apuleius Mosen et Iannen, tanquam celeberrimus Magos, conjungit.*" G. HORNIUS. See notes on Sulpicius Severus, p. 69, (Leyden Edition, 1647.

\* A Dutch author writing in the year 1656, extracts from various sources an account of miracles all testifying to the truth of the Catholic doctrine respecting the Blessed Sacrament ; and to these facts he appends this observation : " Hisce præstigiis Satan figmentum Papisticum Transubstantione stabilire conatus est." *Magica de spectris et apparitionibus spectrum, de vaticiniis, Divinationibus, Lib. ii. p. 584, § 93,* in a chapter which bears this title. " De mirabilibus Satanæ præstigiis, ludibriis et imposturis ad stabilendam et confirmandam idolatriam de adoratione et invocatione sanctorum mortuorum, cultu statuarum sive imaginum, et ad confirmandum de purgatorio, &c., juxta vaticinium S. Pauli Apostoli, 2. Thess. 2."—p. 532.

A somewhat similar course to this is pursued by Gallé (Servatius Gallæus) in his Treatise on the Oracles of the Sybils : " *Dissertationes de Sibyllis, earumque Oraculis.*" He admits that they may have spoken true prophecies though inspired by demons, whilst he denies the gift of prophecy to holy virgins in the Catholic Church.

An English author, Mr. Godwin, includes the great saint and glory of the Anglo-Saxon Church, St. Dunstan, in his list of " necromancers ! " and professes to give a biography of which a single sentence will suffice to prove, that not one act in the life of the saint is truly stated.

" His (St. Dunstan's) career of profligacy was speedily arrested by a dangerous illness, in which he was given over by his physicians."—Godwin's Lives of the Necromancers, p. 223.

There is nothing in Brithfrith's, nor in Osbern's life of St. Dunstan, to justify this assertion ; and Mr. Godwin, it may be re-

It is curious to mark, in connexion with this subject, the struggles that are made by the opponents of the Catholic faith. They either endeavour to show that there can be no such thing as supernatural circumstances, because these tend to prove that our faith is given by Heaven ; or, being unable to deny them, they then affirm that these violations of the ordinary laws of nature emanate not from the AUTHOR of all good, but from the prompter to all sin. Having steeled their consciences to unbelief, because belief cannot be preserved without a mortification of the senses, they fly to heresy, and if heresy afford no safe shelter to their reasoning faculties, then they cast themselves into the slough of despair and deism. Even *there*, there is no rest for them in this world ;—they are disturbed by “dreams,” shaken by “presentiments,” and have to fight with the fantasies of *clairvoyance* and the phantasmagoria of magnetism. Their last staff—materialism—shatters within their grasp, and wounds the hand that wields it. Abandoning the simplicity of faith, they confound themselves with their own ratiocination, and promulgate as panaceas for reflection such notions as these :

“ Dreaming,” Ennemoser says, “ is the gradual awakening of activity in the organs of imagination, whereby the presentation of sensuous objects to the spirit, which had been discontinued in profound sleep, is resumed. Dreaming,” he adds, “ also arises from the secret activity of the spirit in the innermost sensuous organs of the brain, busying the fancy with subjective sensuous images, the objective conscious day-life giving place to the creative dominion of the poetical genius, to which night becomes day, and universal nature its theatre of action ; and thus the supersensuous or transcendent nature of the spirit becomes more manifest in dreaming than in the waking state. But, in considering these phenomena, man must be viewed both in his psychical and physical relations, and as equally subject to spiritual as to natural operations and influences ; since, during the continuance of life, neither soul nor body can act quite independently of the other ; for, although it be the immortal spirit which perceives, it is through the instrumentality of the sensuous organs that it does so ; for, of absolute spirit with body, we can form no conception.”\*

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marked, does not venture to cite any authority for his statements respecting St. Dunstan, except *his own*. It would be difficult to discover, even in the English language, a more complete perversion of facts than this narrative by Mr. Godwin, of the life and actions of the great Saint Dunstan.

\* *Night-Side of Nature*, vol. i. pp. 48, 49. This is Mrs. Crowe’s

We know not whether the reader can comprehend this. The authoress (Mrs. Crowe) seems to be under the apprehension that it is "rather difficult," and therefore kindly and benevolently appends the following explanation, to which we fear the same objection may be made, as that which Mr. Dangler, in *the Critic*, offers to the words of a foreign interpreter, viz., "that the *interpreter* is, of the two, the more difficult to be understood."

"What is here meant," (thus explaineth Mrs. Crowe) "seems to be, that the brain becomes the world to the spirit, before the impressions from the external world do actually come streaming through by means of the external sensuous organs. The inner spiritual light illuminates till the outward physical light overpowers and extinguishes it. But in this state the brain, which is the store-house of acquired knowledge, is not in a condition to apply its acquisitions effectively; whilst the intuitive knowledge of the spirit, if the sleep be imperfect, is clouded by its interference."\*

What a moiling with words there is here, because there is a manifest disinclination to recognise a distinction between the soul that is given by God, and the animal life of the body. The point may be admitted to be one of great nicety; but to our understanding, an old English monk has told more truth about it, and given utterance to that truth in fewer words and simpler language, than all the metaphysicians of the High-Dutch School were ever yet able to bring to bear upon any one point to which they directed their very keen minds, very refined intellects, and very mystified language.

The passage to which we refer may be found in Wolstan's Life of St. Ethelwold, the coadjutor of St. Dunstan in the reformation of Church abuses. Before Ethelwold

translation of Ennemoser; but whether correct or not we cannot affirm; for Mrs. Crowe, like many other lady-authors, quotes indistinctly—not stating precisely the page nor volume in which her authorities may be found. Upon seeking in the London Library for the two works of Ennemoser, for the purpose of this article—his "*Geschichte der Magie*," and "*Der Magnetismus in Verhältnisse zur Natur und Religion*,"—we discovered that at the moment some other subscriber was puzzling himself with their perusal. Our escape from such books we regard as fortunate, that is if the above extract be a correct specimen of them.

\* *Night-Side of Nature*, vol. i. p. 49.

was born, it is stated by his biographer, that "upon a certain day his mother stood in the midst of a great crowd which was in the church, and whilst she was desirous of being present at the celebration of the Holy Mass, she felt his soul entering the body of her unborn child, (*sensit animam pueri quem gerebat in utero venisse.*) This circumstance the saint, when a bishop, joyfully narrated to the present writer. The fact not only plainly shows that he was an elect of God even before he was born, but also that the soul of man does not, as some affirm, originate with his mere father and mother, but that it really and indubitably is to be believed, that it is a vital spirit given to each individual, and vivified by the Creator alone," (*et animam procreati hominis non, ut quidam aestimant, a patre vel a matre exsistendi initium sumere; sed, ut vere et absque omni dubietate creditur, a solo creatore vitalem spiritum vivicari, et singillatim unicuique dari.*)\*

That which is easy of comprehension, can readily be believed; whilst that which is mystified by many words, and clouded in obscure phrases, may find advocates, but must in vain seek for steady disciples, or ready martyrs. Amid the dark ages of superstitious idolatry, men gave credence to brazen-headed oracles, to "juggling fiends," to those who paltered with them "in a double sense;" and now that the age is supposed to be "enlightened," even whilst the dismal superstition of arianism is prevalent, men are found to hail as a prophet a juvenile cordwainer who ventilates his fabrications, under the designation of "the Poughkeepsie Seer."†

\* Vit. S. Ethelwold, c. i. §. 4. Act. Sanct. (August.) Vol. i. pp. 89, 90.

+ "The Principles of Nature, her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind. By and through Andrew Jackson Davis, the 'Poughkeepsie Seer,' and 'Clairvoyant,' Stereotype Edition. John Chapman, Strand." This is a miserable compilation of gross blasphemy, and rank nonsense. In it will be found "Charles Fourier, in more than one passage placed in the same category with our Lord and Master, and with Confucius, Zoroaster, Brahma and Mohammed." Fraser's Magazine for February, 1848, p. 136. See an excellent analysis of this publication in the same number of Fraser, pp. 127, 142. The English edition of the work has a laudatory preface by its publisher; the same person, if we mistake not, who has been giving to the world Unitarian Tracts under the deceptive title of

Ours is indeed a strange age,—and ours a most curious country ; for faith is to be found for things far harder to be believed than the mystery of the Redemption, or the miracles in “the Lives of the Saints.” Some are firmly persuaded that men are in a state of progression from tadpoles ; some believe that their neighbours can read not with their eyes, but with their stomachs ; some affirm that diseases are cured by the touch of the mesmeriser ;\* some are certain that a few passes with one man’s hand before the face of a second, will enable that person to know what is passing in the mind of a third ; that there is and can be no secret from the sensitive somnolescent ! And now we have the proof in “the Revelations of Nature,” that unbelieving Arians can believe that a beardless shoemaker is a prophet, because he has had a magnetic sleep, in which he acquired (as he says, and they repeat) a knowledge of all things, past, present, and future, from the creation of the world to the terminology of Kant and Fichte ; aye, far, far away “beyond the seven stars ;” in fact, every thing but—orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody !†

Superstition springs up after superstition in this country, and always finds willing adherents and ready followers. Can it be that there is something peculiar in the Anglican constitution which tends to foster this unhappy inclination towards what is a violation of the laws of reason and the ordinances of God ?

It is a curious history—the history of superstition in this country—from the days when Druidism had its great

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a “Catholic Series.”!!! The “Principles of Nature,” by “the Poughkeepsie Seer,” is an additional proof of the degradation to which Socinianism can reduce the human intellect.

\* It may be a consolation to some Irishmen to know, that a very distinguished person in this way formerly was a Mr. Greatrak, to whose honour, it was said by Mr. Glanville, “I think the man is free from all design, of a very agreeable conversation, not addicted to any vice, nor to any sect, or party ; but is, I believe, a sincere Protestant.”—Glanville, *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, p. 53.

+ It might have been supposed that the Revelation which brought to an uneducated man the secrets of science, might have taught him grammar too, to express them in ! The *Athenæum*, No. 1053, p. 6, Art. on ‘the Principles of Nature !’ See same periodical, No. 1055, p. 61, in which the motives to the publication of the book are referred to.

university established in Britain,\* to the present, in which bigotry parades about our roads its annual idol,† and doing so, reminds us of the cruel rites once practised in this country, and compels us to bear in mind, that those who are most eager in perpetuating the degradation of the Catholic, are themselves besotted by superstitions which that Church has always struggled to eradicate. †

Imperial Rome engrafted new superstitions upon those which had been indigenous to Britain, and the regret of the patriot and saint, Gildas, was, that the efforts of the Church had not been of sufficient avail to extirpate them. “*Nec enumerans patriæ portenta ipsa diabolica, pene numero vincentia Ægyptiaca, quorum nonnulla, lineamentis adhuc deformibus intra vel extra deserta mœnia solito more rigentia, torvis vultibus intuemur.*” §

It is from the laws of the Church, from the “Capitularies” of Archbishop Theodore, and the “Confessionale” of Archbishop Egbert, that we know what were the superstitions which the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes imported into this country; whilst the “*Modus imponendi poenitentiam*” demonstrates how much these superstitions were aggravated by the invasion of the Danes.

Mr. Thorpe, in his truly valuable edition of the “Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,” gives a specification of these several superstitions. They bear the following designations: Blot; Drycraeft; Ellen; Frith-geard; Frith-splot; Fyrht; Galdor; Hlytas; Hwata; Hwatunga; Liblac; Lic-wiglung; Man-weorthung; Stacung; Swefen-racu;

\* “*Disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translatâ esse existimatur; et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.*”—Cæsar, Bell. Gall. Lib. vi. c. 13.

† The stuffed figures of Guy Fawkes are but imitations of those described by Cæsar: “*alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent: quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus compleant; quibus succensis, circumventi flamma examinantur homines.*” Bell. Gall. Lib. vi. c. 15. As to the ancient British superstitions, see Camden’s *Britannia*, vol. 1. pp. lvi. lviii. Milner’s *History of Winchester*, vol. i. p. 6.

‡ See a collection of papers entitled “*Folk Lore*,” by W. J. Thoms, Esq., Secretary of the Camden Society.

§ Gildas, Hist. c. 2.

Treow-weorthung; Unlibbe; Wil-weorthung. We adopt the explanation given to these by Mr. Thorpe in his Glossary: *Blot* is a sacrificing to idols. *Dry-craeft*, witchcraft, magic. *Ellen*, the elder tree. “This tree,” observes Grimm, as quoted by Mr. Thorpe, “was held in great veneration by our forefathers; when they had to lop it, they usually repeated this prayer: ‘*Lady Elder, give me some of thy wood, then will I give thee also some of mine when it grows in the forest.*’ This was generally repeated kneeling, with head uncovered and folded hands.” *Frith-geard* was the enclosure around a sacred stone-tree, or fountain, and regarded as a sanctuary. *Frith*, *splot*, the latter part of this compound Mr. Thorpe regards as equivalent to the English *spot*, and *plot*, and hence that *Frith-splot* has the same signification as *Frith-geard*. *Fyrht*, a superstitious practice, the precise nature of which is not now known. *Galdor*, an incantation, enchantment. *Hlytas*, lots. This is the same practice—that of learning a person’s future fate, by the opening of a book, and reading the first line that presents itself to the eye—of which we have a memorable instance in the case of Charles I., and Lord Falkland. Both, it is said, consulted the Virgilian lots in the Bodleian. The former opened on,

“*Jacet ingens litore trunus  
Avulsumque humeris caput, et sine nomine corpus.*”

The latter on,

“*Heu miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas  
Tu Marcellus eris.*”

It is said by the author of “‘The unseen World,’” (p. 207,) that “the early Christians continued the use of the same lot, only substituting the Bible for Homer and Virgil. *But it was strenuously opposed by the Fathers, who called it an undoubted tempting of God.*” Hwata, augury, divinations. “*Homini Christiano certe non est permisum vana auguria facere, uti gentiles faciunt, (id est, quod credant in solem et lunam, et in cursum stellarum, et auguria tempora exquirant, ad negotia sua incipienda.)*” Egbert. *Poenitent.* Lib. ii. § 23. *Liblac*, witchcraft, particularly that kind which consisted in the compounding

and administering of drugs and philtres. *Lic-wiglung*, necromancy. *Stacung*, sticking pins or needles into a waxen image of the person against whom the witchcraft was directed. *Wil-weorthung*, well, or fountain worship. Some of these superstitious practices will not bear explanation, and other are comprised in the canonical prohibitions passed in the reign of king Edgar.

"And we enjoin, that every priest zealously promote Christianity, and totally extinguish every heathenism; and forbid well-worshippings, and necromancies and divinations, and enchantments, and man-worshippings, and tree worshippings, and that devil's craft, whereby children are drawn through the earth, and the vain practices which are carried on on the night of the year, and with various spells, and with Frith-splots, and with elders, and also various other trees, and with stones, and with many various delusions, with which men do much of what they should not."\*

With these may be included the various superstitions prohibited in Theodore's *Poenitentiale*, c. xxvii. § 1. 26. Egbert's *Confessionale*, § 29, 32. Egbert's *Poenitentiale*, Lib. ii. § 22, 23, and the Northumbrian Priests' Laws, § 48, 50, 54. By these men were forbidden to perform sacrifices to devils; to practise magic or enchantments; to destroy another by witchcraft; for a woman to put her daughter on the house-top, or in the oven; for any one to burn corn where there is a corpse; to seek the future in the Psalter or the Gospel; to admit diviners or fortunetellers into the house, (Egbert. Excerpt. § 149); to practise witchcraft for love purposes; for a woman to practise witchcraft on her child, or draw it through the earth, &c., &c.†

\* Canons enacted under king Edgar, § 16. Thorpe's translation, ancient LL. and Institutes of England. p. 396. This very canon, if it did not originate from, must have had the full sanction and approval of St. Dunstan, included by Mr. Godwin amongst "the Necromancers."

These canons will be found in Spelman, vol. i. pp. 447, 476. Labbaeus, vol. ix. pp. 682, 696. Wilkins, pp. 82, 97.

† See Thorpe's ancient Laws and Institutes of England. Index to the *Monumenta Ecclesiastica in verb*, "Superstitions." See also in Glossary "*invultucicis ligaturæ*"—the latter, we may remark, is illustrated by Bede, in his charming narrative of the soldier Imma, the pains of whose bondage were mitigated by the masses said for him by his brother, a priest. *Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv. c. 22.*

In looking to the progress and history of superstitions in this country, we must consider how successful was the invasion of the Northmen, popularly known as the invasion of the Danes; how they rooted themselves firmly into the soil, and held possession of the lands in so many parts of England, and in so doing, debased the population by a vice, for which it is still notorious—that of drunkenness.\* We cannot be surprised to find that their superstitions, like their evil habits, should have been universally diffused, and that both should, despite of all the efforts of the Church to the contrary, have procured and retained adherents.

The lands of the Northmen might be said to be not merely the home, or the refuge, but the very sanctuary of witchcraft and superstition. It was there that men worshipped Odin, an account of whom is a compendium of the feats of the modern mesmeriser, and the old magician, for

"Odin could transform his shape: his body would lie as if dead or asleep; but then he would be in the shape of a fish, or worm, or bird, or beast, and be off in a twinkling to distant lands upon his own, or other people's business. With words alone he could quench fire, still the ocean in tempest, and turn the wind to any quarter he pleased. Odin had a ship which he called Skidbladnir,

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\* In the Inglinga Saga alone, the following incidents are to be found, with respect to the drunkenness of the kings of the Northmen. In chap. 14, a king whilst drunk falls into a mead-tub and is drowned. In chap. 22, a king whilst dead drunk is tied up to a tree and hung. In chap. 24, two kings kill one another at a drinking feast, and the guests were so drunk, they did not perceive what had occurred. In chap. 40, six kings are burned at a drinking feast by their host. In chap. 44, a king, in the fury of drunkenness, burns himself, his wife, and his household; and in chap. 53, a king, when drunk, is killed by his slave. A monkish writer describing the potations of the Northumbrian Danes, states that it was a swine-like drunkenness "inebriate suatim." Act. Sanct. August, vol. 1. p. 91, § 12. At the time of the Norman invasion, it is remarked by William of Malmsbury, (Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. iii.) that "Drinking in parties was an universal practice, in which persons passed entire days and nights;" and in Book 2, chap. viii. he says distinctly that the English acquired the vice of drunkenness from the Danes—"a Danis potationem discenter." See on this subject Pontopiddan Gesta et Vestigia Danorum, vol. ii. pp. 208, 209.

in which he sailed over wide seas, and which he could roll up like a cloth. Odin carried with him Mimir's head, which told him all the news of other countries. Sometimes, even, he called the dead out of the earth, or set himself beside the burial-mounds; whence he was called the Ghost sovereign, and lord of mounds. He had two ravens to whom he had taught the speech of man; and they flew far and wide through the land, and brought him the news. In all such things he was pre-eminently wise. He taught all these arts in Runes, and songs which are called incantations, and therefore the Asaland people are called incantation-smiths. Odin understood also the art in which the greatest power is lodged, and which he himself practised; namely, what is called magic. By means of this he could know beforehand the predestined fate of men, or their not yet completed lot; and also bring on the death, ill luck, or bad health of people, or take the strength or wit from one person and give it to another. Odin knew where all missing cattle were concealed under the earth, and understood all the songs by which the earth, the hills, the stones and mounds were open to him; and he bound those who dwell in them by the power of his word, and went in and took what he pleased. From these arts he became very celebrated. His enemies dreaded him; his friends put their trust in him and relied on his power, and on himself. He taught the most of his arts to his priests of the sacrifices, and they came nearest to himself in all wisdom, and witch-knowledge. Many others, however, occupied themselves much with it, and from that time witchcraft spread far and wide."\*

How perfectly true this is, references to a single author—Torfaeus—and that not one professedly treating on magic, will abundantly testify. We are, for instance, told by Torfaeus, in his 'Historia Rerum Norvegicarum,' of Oddus, a magician who could overturn ships by his incantations; of a giantess riding on a wolf, and guiding it by a snake; of magic flies of a sky-blue colour, and believed to be evil spirits; of witches riding through the air; of a prophetess witch, so celebrated as to gain the name of 'a Sybill'; of a man turned into a serpent; of a witch changed into a cow; of giants who were great magicians; of witches riding on the backs of whales; of heroes having their skins so indurated by incantations, that they were impenetrable to the sword or battle-axe; of ships with

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\* The Ynglinga Saga, chap. 7, as translated by Laing, in Chronicle of Kings of Norway, vol. 1, pp. 220, 222. See Sagen der Könige Norwegens, vol. 1. p. 455.

black sails, and no sailors ; gigantic sea-witches, and of bags filled with fire.\*

These are but a few illustrations amid a multitude of the superstitions which the Northmen brought with them to England, that long agitated the ignorant, and the profane, and that always have been opposed, derided, or denounced by pious Catholics.

Thus William of Malmesbury, in alluding to the stupid tale about the body of Alfred the Great wandering about his tomb in Winchester, observes that the superstitious notion was derived from Pagans, refers in proof of his assertion to the tenth book of the *Aeneid*, v. 641 ; whilst the author Torfaeus, to whom we have already alluded, not only states that such a superstition prevailed amongst the Northmen, but gravely gives two recipes for preventing the wicked dead from walking again in this world.† The first is to burn the bodies, and throw the ashes in a running stream ; and the second is to cut off the head of the deceased, and then place it between his legs ! The same author admits that the superstition was in his day, believed even in his own country—that being one of the lands of Europe in which “the reformation” has been permanently established.†

And now we have in the book before us—‘the Night Side of Nature’—a testimony and a proof how much of superstition still prevails in England ; even though England does boast of itself as not merely an ‘enlightened’ nation, but as a peculiarly ‘Protestant’ country : and even though it may be affirmed that the most Protestant of all its kings—that is if Protestantism were to be tested by the severity, baseness, and cruelty of his persecutions of Catholics)—was a most vigilant and inexorable executioner of witches. If fire and faggot could have purified the land

\* See vol. 1. pp. 107, 108, 227, 228, 265, 321, 346, 437, 462, 467. Vol. 2, pp. 70, 71, 149.

† As to the existence of “malignant demons,” See Farmer’s Letters to the Rev. D. Worthington, pp. 65, and 70.

‡ Nec dum apud rude vulgus satis extirpata. Hist. Norveg. vol. 1. pp. 330, 331. For other superstitions of the Northmen respecting the dead, see same volume, pp. 401, 402, see also Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire infernal*, in verb, *vampire* !

from the very names of sorcery and witches, James I. must have succeeded in the effort.\*

The “reformed” faith in England was not strong enough to triumph over opinions and practices which had baffled the exertions of the Catholic Church. Witchcraft and superstition still remained, because wickedness, sin, and vice have always found an abode in the human heart, and because unholy desires will always seek their fulfilment through unholy means. If man will not place himself within the precincts of the Church—uplift his thoughts with her prayers, and guide his steps by her precepts—if he will fly from the Church and abjure alike her lessons and her commands, then he will find that the human mind is parasitical, that despite of him, it will cling for some support exterior to itself, and turning from the tree of life, will, in seeking for that of knowledge, find itself intertwined with the poison-bearing branches of error and of superstition.

We point to the fact of heresy flourishing in this country more than in any other—having a powerful establishment upheld by law, and maintained by immense wealth, and surrounded by an innumerable brood of sects—all “Protestants,” because all “protesting” against the Church of Rome; and yet all, whether within or without the rich domains of the Establishment, bewildered by so many ridiculous fancies about “dreams,” “presentiments,” “warnings,” “wraiths,” “self-seeings,” “apparitions,” “troubled spirits,” “haunted houses,” “spectre-lights,” &c., &c., &c., that it requires a book in two volumes to give any thing like an accurate idea of their essence, their variety, their symptoms, and their manifestations.

\* “Several unhappy women, inhumanly committed to the stake, though persevering in asseverations of their innocence to the last, were burnet quick after *sic ane crewell maner*, that *sume of thame deit in dispair*, renunceand and blasphemand; and *utheris half burnt brak out of the fyre*, and wer cassin quick into it agane, quhuil they war brunt to the deid.”—Haddington Collections, ad l. Dec. 1608, as quoted in the Darker Superstitions of Scotland, p. 672.

For an account of the cruel persecution inflicted upon persons accused of witchcraft in the anti-catholic states of America, Sweden, Scotland, and Switzerland, see Dublin Review, vol. xx. pp. 74, 75. The first to direct public opinion against these cruelties, was Frederick Spe, a Jesuit—same vol. p. 76.

Let it not be supposed that we cast a censure upon Protestantism in all its contradictory developments, because there has flourished along side of it a multitudinous variety of superstitions. We only point to it as a fact which should teach its adherents modesty, and at least render them cautious in making the Catholic Church responsible for witchcraft.\* We point to the fact as one calculated to inspire the discretion of silence, especially when it can be shown, that the recovery of "The Table-Talk of Luther," and its translation into English, are gravely ascribed to the visitation of a ghost!—to the manifestation of the spirit of Martin Luther himself.

"About six weeks after I had received the said book," says Captain Bell, its first English translator, "it fell out, that I being in bed with my wife one night, between twelve and one of the clock, she being asleep, but myself yet awake, there appeared unto me an ancient man, standing at my bed-side, arrayed all in white, having a long and broad white beard hanging down to his girdle steed, who, taking me by my right ear, spake these words following unto me: 'Sirrah! will not you take time to translate that book which is sent unto you out of Germany? I will shortly provide for you both place and time to do it;' and then he vanished away out of my sight."†

To prove the value of the book, which thus required a ghost to insist upon its translation, we shall content ourselves with a single extract, in which it is to be observed the words used profess to be those of Martin Luther himself, *strictly*, and, we are sure, when the task is performed by Mr. Hazlitt, *correctly translated into English*:

"There was at Nieuburg," says Luther, "a magician, named Wildferer, who one day swallowed a countryman, with his horse and cart. A few hours afterwards, man, horse, and cart, were all found in a slough some miles off. I have heard too of a seeming monk, who asked a waggoner, that was taking some hay to market, how much he would charge to let him eat his fill of hay? The man said a kreutzer, whereupon the monk set to work, and had

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\* See Bekker, *Die Zauberwelt*. Preface, p. 3. the German translation.

† Captain Henry Bell's Narration, or relation of the miraculous preserving of Dr. Martin Luther's book, as quoted in introduction to the Table-Talk of Martin Luther, translated by W. Hazlitt, p. vii. in Bogue's European Library.

nearly devoured the whole load, when the wagoner drove him off."\*

We must admit, in common justice to Mrs. Crowe's book, that, amid its incredibilities, there is nothing so monstrous as the two stories here quoted from the lips of Martin Luther himself.†

The book of Mrs. Crowe is one that has a great moral attached to it. A perusal of its details, as curious as they are interesting, will tend to convince the most sceptical that outside of the Catholic Church the soul cannot find rest, the spirit peace, nor the heart contentment—that man must, once he departs from the Church, prepare himself for sore trials, and sad conflicts—that a denial of Church dogmas can never bring with it that repose which their reception confers—that a disobedience to its commands more often harasses the nerves, and vexes the spirit, than the willingness and the struggle to put them into execution—that a refusal to believe in purgatory will not guard the recusant from a belief in ghosts—that a disavowal of the power of the Church to work miracles will not save their repudiator from a firm credence in the powers of the mesmeric manipulator—that an absolute disbelief of the promises of God to His Church, will not protect the infidel from the presentiments of accidental circumstances, nor the prognostications of fortunetellers; because the lives of the most virulent impugners of the Christian faith prove them to have been the most abject slaves of superstitious fears.‡ The extreme point of infi-

\* The Table Talk of Martin Luther, § d. lxxx. p. 251. (Bogue's European Library. In the same page and following paragraph, it is mentioned that Luther being asked what he would do with witches who spoil milk, eggs, and butter, in farm yards replied, "I should have no compassion on these witches, *I would burn all of them.*"

† The feat of devouring an immense quantity of hay is ascribed to Dr. Faustus.—Godwin's Lives of the Necromancers, p. 343.

‡ "—Comme Rousseau, ils ont peur du nombre 13; Comme Bayle, ils ont un préjugé contre le Vendredi; Comme Volney, ils recherchent l'explication des songes; Comme Helvetius, ils consultent les tireuses des cartes; Comme Hobbes, ils étudient l'avenir dans des combinaisons de chiffres; Comme Voltaire, ils redoutent les présages."—Collin de Plancy, Dictionnaire Infernal, Preface, p. 3.

delity, is the lowest limit of mental despair: “quello estremo stato di intellettuale disperazione.”\*

Yes, a great moral lesson can be drawn from this work, as if it were a book of devotion, and not, as it is, a combination of the wildest tales, that fear and fancy ever yet wove into a series of marvellous narratives, and that moral is, that “there is no rest for the wicked;” that in the Catholic Church, and the Catholic Church alone, in this world can the weakness and fragility of our nature find peace—peace with God, and peace with ourselves.

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ART. VIII.—*Histoire de Henri VIII. et du Schisme D'Angleterre.* Par M. AUDIN. Paris, Maison, 1847.

THE intellectual progress of France during the last half century has been unparalleled in history. In science, in romance, in intellectual and social philosophy, her writers are alike distinguished by number, genius, and fertility. Political and forensic oratory, almost unknown in France before the first revolution, and then suddenly developed only to rise at once to a pitch of frantic extravagance, has since that time been cultivated by the noblest intellects, with a success unexampled in any of the other countries of Europe.

But it is the progress of France in historic studies, the industry which her writers have displayed in elucidating the obscurities of the past, their zealous ardour in rooting out the errors which long deformed historical knowledge, and their success in regenerating history by substituting animated narrative for what used to be a catalogue of dates and battles accompanied by dry disquisitions,—this it is that presents the most remarkable feature in her intellectual civilization.

In truth, there appears something in the French mind peculiarly adapted for historic studies. That vivid imagination, which is one of its most distinguishing character-

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\* Rosmini, *Frammenti di una storia della Empieta.*

istics, from the faintest traces left in the ancient chronicles catches at and comprehends character. Hence, the genius of their historians is most triumphant in the descriptive school, and nowhere is it more conspicuous than in their works on mediæval history. We do not speak of professedly Catholic writers, as Montalembert, Le Normant, Jager, or Ratisbonne. There are others in whom it is equally remarkable. Capefigue, profoundly imbued with all the poetry of Catholicity, in those works in which he has most displayed his great genius and learning, portrays the labours of the priests of the middle ages, and the services which they rendered to the advancement of art, civilization, and christianity; and the same spirit is discernible in many of the historians of the philosophic school, even while they regard the Church but as a human instrument of progress and civilization.

But space would fail us in enumerating the French historians who have taken France for their subject. The number even of those who have contributed to the history of England is surprising; and especially if we confine ourselves within that period of time to which we referred at the commencement of our article. M. Guizot has produced one of the most interesting works in existence upon the English revolution; and to other works of French historians upon English history, although we have grave and serious differences with them on vital subjects, we cannot deny the greatest ability. Theirs are truly "painted pages." Carried away by their enchanting style, we behold the obscurity of former ages illuminated by their genius; the princes and heroes of the past live again before our eyes; we follow them to the council and the battle; we hear their voices and the clashing of their arms; and behold in a clearer light the motives and impulses which swayed their actions.

"Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit  
Purpureo."

Amongst the worthiest members of this distinguished school, M. Audin is deserving of a high place. He is already known to the public by his histories of Luther, of Calvin, and of Leo X.; his History of Henry VIII. now completes his labours upon that period; and these works, from the astonishing industry which they display in the search through almost every library in Europe for the most

authentic records, the discernment in the selection of materials for history from this huge and undigested mass, and the ability in reducing the whole to clear and connected narrative, fully entitle M. Audin to be styled the historian of the Reformation. It is gratifying to perceive also the progress of a Catholic spirit in the publication of these biographies, and the encouragement which they have received. They afford an entire safeguard against the historical misrepresentations of Mosheim and D'Aubigné; and we trust we shall soon see them all translated into English, and used as class books in every Catholic College throughout the kingdom.\*

Henry VII. had no more of legitimate hereditary right to the crown of England than his rival who perished at Bosworth; and the parliament which was summoned by the conqueror was careful not to acknowledge a lineal descent, or any hereditary right whatsoever. It was enacted "by the assent of the lords, and at the request of the commons, that the inheritance of the crowns of England and France, and all dominions appertaining to them, should remain in Henry VII., and the heirs of his body, and in none other;" thus, for the first time in English history, the parliamentary title founded upon the will of the people appears placed above all other claims. Hence, it was an essential part of the policy of Henry VII. to strengthen his crown by an alliance with foreign states; and after long negotiations, the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, was concluded with Katherine of Arragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella.

"The marriage took place in the church of St. Paul in the presence of an immense multitude on the 1st of November, 1501. Arthur was fifteen years of age; Katherine was some months older than her spouse. The prince had gained the affections of the court by his engaging qualities. His tutor André had made a brilliant scholar of him; the boy read Homer and Virgil. The young girl, by her modesty, her beauty, the dispositions of her heart and of her mind, became the object of general admiration."†

Almost all historians who have not been blinded by pre-

\* The Life of Luther and that of Calvin have both been translated into English, and published in Philadelphia.

† Audin, vol. i. p. 53.

judice or bigotry, unite in the praises of this unfortunate Queen. The talented authoress of the Lives of the Queens of England, avows that “the grand abilities of Katherine of Arragon, her sustained integrity of word and action, united with intrepid firmness, commanded even from her enemies that deep respect which her sweetness, benevolence, and other saintly virtues would not have obtained unsupported by those high queenly qualities. Sustained by her own innate grandeur of soul, her piety, and lofty rectitude, she pressed through all her little trials without calumny fixing one spot upon her name.”

And truly the daughter of Isabella of Castile was a worthy bride for the proudest monarch upon the earth. Educated by her mother among the orange-groves of Grenada, and in the towers of the Alhambra, she was able to read and write Latin—a knowledge which she employed in the careful perusal of the scriptures. Her person beautiful, her disposition amiable, wedded in the spring of life to the youthful heir of the crown of England—one certainly might have prophesied for her in this world a most fortunate and happy destiny. Alas for the instability of human hopes! Arthur and his bride dwelt at the Castle of Ludlow in Shropshire; and four months after his marriage he died suddenly, carried off by consumption, or, according to Bernaldes the Spanish historian, by the plague.

The avaricious and rapacious Henry VII. was unwilling to restore to Spain the moiety of the Infanta’s dowry, 100,000 crowns, which he had already received. And Ferdinand and Isabella were anxious to preserve the friendship of England, whilst they were threatened with the hostility of France. It was accordingly agreed that Katherine should remain in England, and that a marriage should be contracted between her and the youthful Henry, now Prince of Wales, within two months after the arrival of a dispensation from the Pope; that it should be solemnized when the young prince had completed his fifteenth year; and that Ferdinand should previously transmit to London another sum of 100,000 crowns, the remaining moiety of Katherine’s dowry. But this sum was not ready to be advanced by the impoverished monarch of Spain. And Henry VII., in consequence, compelled his son, on the day before he completed his fifteenth year, (23rd of June, 1505,) the canonical age of puberty, to protest that he had done and would do nothing to make the contract

made during his minority valid in law. Three years after Henry VII. died, regretted by none.

The accession of Henry VIII. to the throne was received by the people with the most unbounded joy. His youth and the beauty of his person attracted and fixed their admiration. Passionately devoted to every knightly exercise—fond of brilliant armour, of silk and velvet dresses, of tournaments and masques, and all opportunities for public display, he continually exhibited himself before the people; he was an excellent horseman, and an ardent follower of the chase. His education had been far superior to that which usually falls to the lot of kings. The policy of his father had destined him for the Church—for the Primacy of England. Hence he had been educated in all the scholastic theology; and even after his father's death, the taste for reading which his earlier education had implanted, continued, and Henry was in all probability the best informed monarch that ever sat upon the throne of England. The first public act of his reign was his marriage with Katherine, which took place about six weeks after his father's death. Our space does not permit us to go in detail through the various acts of Henry's reign during the nineteen years of his marriage with Katherine of Arragon. The charms, it is well known, of a young maid of honour, the sister of one of his former mistresses, but whose prudence would not yield dishonourably to his desires, caused him to abandon Katherine; and never did the indulgence of an amorous caprice effect such a singular and important revolution.

The fictions of the most tragic romance can exhibit to us no spectacle more mournful than the story of the guilty, but beautiful and ill-fated Anna Boleyn. Wonderfully endowed by Nature—her features cast in a classic mould, her complexion fresh and clear, her hands and feet of an exquisite beauty, her figure perfect, somewhat inclining to embonpoint, in Audin's words we might call her “*plus jolie que belle*;” but she fascinated less by the charms of her person, than by her graces and accomplishments, her sportive wit and amiable coquetry, her cheerful temper, her sweet-singing voice, her skill in music and the dance, her poetic talent, the taste and elegance of her dress. Still, though charming all by her alluring beauty and sprightly graces, eager to display her accomplishments, and fond of admiration, she preserved a heart cold and

almost insensible to passion. Ambition for her had more charms than love. Thus gifted she became the Queen of one of the most powerful monarchs of the age ; for a brief hour dazzled all in the splendour of her prosperity ; then in her wretched end mourned for the lot from which she had arisen, and the vicissitudes of her cruel fortune. As with other celebrated and unfortunate Queens who have perished on the scaffold—like Mary Stuart and Marie Antoinette—although it is almost profanation to compare her with either—the sympathy excited by her beauty and misfortunes almost effaces the recollection of her follies ; and at this distance of time we feel only commiseration for the fate of Anna Boleyn.

Anna had returned from France in 1523. The poet, Sir Thomas Wyatt, and Thomas Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, declared themselves her lovers. Percy was the more favoured ; but a new rival came into the field. The king no sooner beheld Anna than he became violently enamoured of her ; he separated the lovers ; and, by his direction, Wolsey used his influence with Percy to compel him to renounce Anna. Percy in a few weeks married the daughter of Lord Shrewsbury ; and Anna was sent to the country to hide her sorrow. This was her first cause of enmity to Wolsey ; she never forgot her early love, nor ever forgave the cardinal.

All this took place in the year 1523 ; not as Burnet, for obvious motives, misrepresents, in 1527. Henry now made Sir Thomas Boleyn, Viscount Rochford. Anna became the queen of all the balls which Henry loved to give ; when absent, she received from him the most tender letters. Of these, twenty-seven are now preserved in the Vatican library. As M. Audin justly remarks, these letters prove that, if Anna had consented at first to be Henry's mistress, he never would have thought of a divorce from Queen Katherine.

These court intrigues and whisperings of the divorce went on until, in September, 1528, Campeggio, the Pope's legate, arrived in England. Faithful to his instructions, the legate used his best endeavours to dissuade the king from the fatal project. He represented to him the stigma which the divorce would cast upon his reputation, the discontent of the people, the despair of a child, the death, perhaps, of the mother, the wrath of Charles V. These were the

advices which Campeggio gave him.\* But in vain. The court was summoned to decide upon the question of the divorce ; Katherine refused to attend ; and the legates were compelled to declare her contumacious. The interview of Wolsey and Campeggio with Katherine, when she announced her intention of appealing to the Pope, is graphically described by M. Audin :

" Heuceforth, certain that his cause was lost with the two legates, Henry had but one hope : this was, in alarming Katherine as to the issue of the process, to engage her to abandon herself to the generosity of her husband, and so to prevent an appeal to the Pope. At the moment Wolsey was going to his bed, Lord Rochford, the father of Anna Boleyn, comes to entreat him, on the part of his majesty, to betake himself immediately to Bridewell, and to try by all possible means to persuade the queen to have recourse to the tenderness of the king, and to terminate by this act of submission a process which might disgrace her. Wolsey, in putting himself under the orders of the king, could not conceal from Lord Rochford the little hope which he had of the success of this step. He added in a severe tone that his lordship, and the lords of the council, had inspired the king with a fantasy very dangerous to the repose of the state, and for which neither God nor Christianity would thank them.

" He rose, caused a boat to be got ready, and went to seek Campeggio at his residence at Bathhouse, whence the two legates directed their steps towards Bridewell. The gentleman in waiting announced them. The queen was engaged in spinning : a skein of silk round her neck, and a spindle in her hand, she entered the saloon where the legates were waiting. ' Pardon, my lords,' said she to them, ' if I have delayed you long ; what is it you want with me ? ' — ' To converse with you in your oratory, if it please your grace,' replied Wolsey. ' My Lord,' replied the queen, ' speak aloud that they may hear from this all that you shall say : speak, I have no fear.'

" ' Reverendissima majestas,' replied the Cardinal.

" ' Speak in English,' said the queen, ' although I know a little Latin.'

" ' Madame,' replied Wolsey, ' we have come to converse with you on a message from his majesty, entirely in the interests of your highness, to whom we are devoted.'

" ' Thanks,' said Katherine, ' I was working with my maidens when you entered ; behold my counsels, my lords, I have no others. They are not very skilful, my maidens, no more am I, and I know not how I, poor creature, shall reply to men like you. But, since

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\* Audin, vol. i. p. 466.

you wish it, we will proceed into my oratory.' The queen then lifted her skein of thread, arranged her spindle, presented her right hand to Campeggio, her left to Wolsey, and all three entered the oratory.

"What passed in this secret interview? No one knows; only, at the end of this conference, which lasted long, they remarked on the face of the queen traces of abundant tears, and on those of the two legates marks of deep emotion. Amongst the people it was said that Katherine had declared to the legates, that she, Queen of England, spouse of Henry Tudor, mother of Mary, daughter of Ferdinand, aunt of Charles V., would bear her appeal to the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff."<sup>\*</sup>

In contrast with this affecting picture, we give a speech of Henry's concerning his contemplated divorce from the queen. It is preserved by one of the old chroniclers:

"'If it be adjudged,' said Henry, 'that the queen is my lawful wife, nothing will be more pleasant or more acceptable for me, both for the clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions I know to be in her. For, I assure you that, besides her noble parentage, she is a woman of most gentleness, humility, buxomness, yea, and of all good qualities pertaining to nobility, she is a good companion. So that if I am to marry again I would choose her above all women; but if it is determined in judgment that our marriage is against God's law, then shall I sorrow, parting from so good a lady and loving companion. These be the sores that vex my mind! These be the pangs that trouble my conscience, for the declaration of which I have summoned you together, and now you may depart.'

Thus in hypocrisy and lying commenced the Reformation — hypocrisy which has no parallel except in the scene of duplicity which prefaced the final sentence pronounced by Cranmer in 1533.

"Commenced without shame, the part of a man with two faces was continued without remorse by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry, henceforth certain of the support of his accomplice, resolves to obtain from the clergy united in convocation the divorce which he laboured in vain for five years to force from the Pope. The preliminaries of the proceedings were confided to Cromwell. As Katherine would have been able, in invoking the protection of the pope, her natural judge, to perplex the measures which Cromwell wished to take, the parliament prohibited, by an act and under the

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\* Audin, vol. i, p. 484.

penalties inflicted by a *Præmunire*, i. e. imprisonment and forfeiture of goods and chattels, all appeal from the spiritual judges of England to the Roman Pontiff: they chained the tongue which they could not yet cut out.

"The members of the convocation were composed of two classes, the theologians and the canonists. To the one belonged the question of religion, to the other of law. It was asked from the theologians if a dispensation from the Pope could authorize a brother to marry the widow of his deceased brother in a case where the marriage had been consummated; it was asked from the canonists if the depositions made before the legates established according to the canon law, that the marriage had been consummated. The debates lasted two days, under the presidency of Cranmer. They collected the votes.

"The opinions of the theologians were taken by *aye* and *no*. On the question whether Henry could lawfully marry Katherine, sixty-six said no, sixteen said *aye*. Of forty-four canonists six only voted against Henry. At the convocation of York which had taken place on the 6th of May following, the same mode of proceeding was introduced; there were but two dissenting voices in each class.

"Then there passed between Cranmer and Henry, or Henry and Cranmer, for we know not which plays the first part, a scene like what we find in the ancient Italian Theatre, and which belongs rather to farce than to high comedy.

"The archbishop demands of the king in a letter, and with an emotion of piety agreed on beforehand, that it should be permitted to the primate to summon before the archiepiscopal court of Canterbury the case of the divorce, in order to avert the perils which menaced the succession.

"The prince resists; not because he refuses to believe in the dangers which the concerted zeal of the prelate intimates to him, but because in his supplication Cranmer has spoken of judging this spiritual cause by virtue of the divine laws of the Holy Church; and Henry wishes no more of this formula, which has served its turn. The archbishop, apologizing, becomes more pressing; prostrate at the feet of his sovereign, he asks him, in the name of God alone, authority to pronounce on the validity of the marriage. The king yields, but in yielding he reminds the archbishop that as king he recognized no master on earth but God, and submits himself to the authority of no created being. And since it is in the name of God, and of God alone, that the minister of the master of all spiritual jurisdiction in the kingdom wishes to take cognizance of the case, he could no longer resist the humble request of the suppliant."\*\*

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\* Audin, vol. ii. p. 77.

The year 1529 was signalized by the fall of Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey was raised solely by his talents from an humble origin to the highest offices in the state. "Begot by butchers," according to the old rhyme, his parents, however, had the means to send him to Magdalen College, Oxford, where his proficiency was so great that he was admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the early age of fifteen, hence surnamed the boy-bachelor. He was unquestionably one of the greatest ministers whom England has ever seen. Passionately ambitious of wealth and fame, he united with this personal ambition the utmost zeal for the glory of England, and the most earnest devotion to the interests of the Church. No ecclesiastic in England ever possessed such power. He had eight hundred servants in his train; and amongst them many nobles, many knights, whose sons, at the same time, in his house received the best education which the age and country could afford. He was a friend to the poor, and beloved by them; a zealous law reformer; a most ardent and generous patron of learning. Christ Church, Oxford, still remains a memorial of his munificence; the palace of Hampton Court a monument of his architectural taste. Foreign scholars, the most eminent, were invited by him to settle in England, and were there supported by his bounty. These revered his memory, with one exception,—Erasmus, who alone was found to cast slanders upon the great Cardinal after his fall.

"From his cradle  
He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one,  
Lofty and sour to those that loved him not,  
But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer."

In Audin's words, with the exception of probity, he had all the qualities which constitute a statesman. And in his old age, hurled from power by the spite of a minion to a tyrant's pleasure, he had good reason to utter in his last moments the celebrated words: "Had I but served my God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have forgotten me in my gray hairs." Wolsey died on one of the last days of November, 1530. As Dr. Lingard remarks, the best eulogy upon Wolsey's character is to be found in the contrast between the conduct of Henry before and after the fall of the cardinal; so long as Wolsey was in favour, the passions of the king were confined

within some bounds ; afterwards, their violence astonished Europe, and still remains the marvel of posterity.

The death of Wolsey smoothed the way for Anna Boleyn to that throne which was destined for her to be but the prelude to the scaffold. On the 1st of September, 1532, she was created Marchioness of Pembroke, being the first female peer that was ever created in England ; but the date of her private marriage with the king is one of the most disputed points in history, it being impossible to reconcile the various and contradictory accounts which have been preserved concerning it. The marriage was not publicly acknowledged until the 12th of April, 1533. It was the signal for far more important changes.

The assumption by Henry of the style of Head of the Church, the divorce of Katherine, and the coronation of Anna, were hurried through in rapid succession. The English schism became *un fait accompli*, and Catholicism was driven from England for a time. We entreat the attention of our readers to the following extract, where M. Audin, in one of his happiest efforts, pourtrays the benefits which England had derived from the faith which she now exiled from her shores :

" At the approach of the storm which is going to burst over England, the indignant reader has long since named the man who provoked it by his insane passion for a young girl. Remove from the heart of Henry his love for Anna, and England would still preserve the old faith of Dunstan. What then had Catholicism done to deserve to be so cruelly punished ?

" Catholicism had wrested England from the darkness of Paganism ; had instructed her in the divine truths of the gospel ; had civilized her ; after the conquest of the Normans, had protected her against the oppression of the conqueror, and during a period of many centuries had preserved her from the tyranny of the Barons. 'Tis to Catholicism that England was indebted for the Great Charter, for the important statute *de tallagio non concedendo*, and for many more laws, the foundation and the bulwark of her privileges and liberties. At the time of the schism she had but one shepherd, as she formed but one flock. There was no little village which had not its chapel, where the people repaired at the striking of the clock, to assist at the holy mysteries. On the borders of the roads were raised niches always adorned with flowers in the spring-time, and where the pilgrim in passing would salute the image of the Virgin Mary, or of the patron saint of the country. In the fields, the silence of the night was often interrupted by pious psalmodies ; for if the Church had taught the inhabitants of

the island to pray, she had also taught them to sing in an harmonious rhythm the praises of God. There was beside each cathedral a school of song for the child who was destined for the service of the altars, and also a library full of good books sacred or profane, intended for the use of the learned. Hospitals raised everywhere and endowed by the munificence of the bishops, and where the poor man was certain to find a bed, and remedies for his suffering body,—all these sacred edifices, these bridges with which England was covered, to whom has she owed them?—To the priests or to the monks. When she separated herself so violently from Rome, commerce, literature, the arts and sciences, were flourishing there. The court of the sovereign was brilliant, the treasury still rich: no national debt; the fourth part of all tithes was reserved for the subsistence of the poor: they knew no poor-rate.”—Audin, vol. ii. p. 106.

It has been so constantly insisted by Protestant historians and controversialists,\* especially those of the high-church party, that the Anglican Church reformed herself, that we are constrained, (although we have treated the subject at length in a former number) to give a brief summary of the historical facts of this Reformation, in order to show that the changes in the ecclesiastical constitution and doctrine did not proceed from the Church, but were forced upon her.

The first step in the English Reformation, was the compulsory acknowledgment of the king as head of the Anglican Church. When the hatred of Anna Boleyn directed the caprice of Henry against Wolsey, the king directed the attorney-general to file informations against the cardinal, on the charge of having violated the law by the acceptance and exercise of the legatine authority. Now, Henry himself, as by law he was empowered to do, had permitted Wolsey to accept and exercise that authority; but the cardinal, intimidated, suffered judgment to pass against him, and threw himself upon the king’s clemency. Two years later the attorney-general, at the command of the king, filed similar informations against the whole body of the English clergy. They had submitted to an authority, which, by the conviction of Wolsey, had been proved illegal, and had therefore incurred the penalties of a

\* Some indeed, like Dr. Miller, are compelled to admit that the Reformation in England began “on a mere claim of power.” Miller’s Philosophy of History, vol. iii. p. 294.

præmunire. The answer which the convocation returned to this proceeding was very characteristic of the times. It was supposed that money was Henry's real object, and the convocation, in January 1531, voted him a present of £100,000 in return for a pardon. But Henry replied that the present would not be accepted unless it should be accompanied by the acknowledgment that "he, and he alone, was the protector and supreme head of the Church of England," and that "the cure of souls, which they exercised under him, had been committed to his charge." The convocation was dismayed, and various interviews and negotiations ensued, until a compromise was effected, that the recognition of the king's supremacy should run in the following words :

"Of which Church we acknowledge that his majesty is the singular protector, the only and supreme lord, and also (as far as is allowed by the law of Christ,) the supreme head."

The convocation was besought to accept the recognition of supremacy in this form : the archbishop said that it would not be necessary for any individual to express himself in words, his silence would be taken for consent. "Then," exclaimed a voice, "we are all silent."\* In this manner was the recognition of the king's supremacy, even under this qualification, forced upon the English Church, with the penalties of præmunire hanging over its representatives.

The next step was a prohibition issued by the parliament, at the command of the king, against the payment of annates, or first fruits, to the Pope. In order to pave the way to the illegal measures which were about to be brought forward, Sir Thomas More was removed from the chancellorship ; and on the death of Warham, Henry placed in the see of Canterbury that crafty but clever hypocrite, Cranmer. We translate from M. Audin the narrative of Cranmer's consecration. It is a terrible spectacle of hypocrisy and perjury before the very altar of God.

"It was on the 30th of March that the ceremony of consecration was to have taken place in Westminster Abbey. Cranmer had as assistants the bishops of Exeter, Lincoln, and St. Asaph's. Be-

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\* Wilk. Con. iii. 725. Dublin Review, vol. viii. p. 340.

fore his consecration, the bishop, according to the pontifical ritual, is obliged to take the oath of obedience and fidelity to the Holy See, his hand extended on the book of the Gospels, and calling God and the saints to witness ; he is obliged also to swear to receive with submission the traditions of the fathers and the constitutions of the Apostolic See, to obey St. Peter in the person of the Pope his vicar, and of his successors, and to preserve his chastity.

" Cranmer, however, neither believed any longer in the authority of the fathers, nor in the constitutions of the Apostolic See ; for him the Pope was neither the vicar of Christ, nor the head of the Church ; the Pope, on the contrary, was marked on his forehead with the sign of the beast, to make use of the same expressions of the reformer which his niece had given him. The vows of chastity, which he was about to renew, were in his eyes but a sacerdotal mummery, since he was but recently married at Nuremberg. The words which were pronounced in consecrating him, were taken from a book which he rejected as stained with idolatrous forms. The saints whom he was to invoke could not, according to his doctrine, hear him from the heavens above. The bishops who consecrated him belonged to that Babylonish woman clad in scarlet, whom he had scoffed at in his suppers with Osiander.

" At the time of his consecration the bishop receives the power of raising to the priesthood those whom he shall deem worthy, and by breathing on the forehead of the neophytes, to give them the power of changing, by their holy benediction, the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, of offering up the Holy Sacrifice, and of saying Mass for the living and for the dead. But Cranmer neither believed in the Mass as a sacrifice, nor in the virtue of prayer for the dead, nor in Purgatory, nor even in the real presence. He had left all these superstitious beliefs in the bed-chamber of his second wife at Nuremberg ; married twice, he could not, according to the canons, even have been raised to the priesthood. What can he do now, tear the bull of Pope, break his crozier, rend his pallium, overturn the pontifical ritual, and confess in a loud voice his new faith ? This would have been too much courage for Cranmer.

" Perjured before his oath, according to the expression of Cardinal Pole, a few moments before his consecration, and with the permission of the king, he called four witnesses and a notary into the chapel of St. Stephen. And before them he protested that in the oath which he was about to be obliged to take, for the sake of form, to the sovereign Pontiff, he meant to bind himself to nothing which might do an injury to the law of God, or to the rights of the king or of the state, or which might place any obstacle to those reforms which he might judge it suitable to carry out in the Church of England, disowning every sort of oath, that his representatives at Rome might have taken contrary to that which he had taken to the king his master. Cranmer then entered the Church, put on

the sacerdotal vestments, walked to the high altar, where the bishops of Exeter, Lincoln, and St. Asaph awaited him, turned towards his witnesses, declared to them that he persisted in the protest which he had just read to them, raised his hand, and upon the open book of the Gospels swore the oath appointed by the ritual. He promised not to divulge any secret that the Pope might intrust to him, directly or through his legates; he promised to defend the Holy See and the rights of the Holy See; he promised to treat with honour the Apostolic legates, and to aid them in necessity; he promised to go and pay his homage to the sovereign Pontiff at least once every two years; he promised neither to sell nor to alienate, nor to infest the possessions of his See without the consent of the sovereign Pontiff.

"The ceremony of the anointing began. When he had been consecrated Cranmer reminded the witnesses a second time of his protest, took the oath a second time to the Holy See, and received the pallium from the hands of the Pope's legates.

"Three oaths, three perjuries, in two hours, if we count accurately. Cranmer, in taking off his mitre, ought to have applauded himself for this day's work, if it be true, as a modern historian assures us, that these three oaths, and these three perjuries, are a proof of the candour and loyalty of the Archbishop."—Audin, vol. ii. p. 76.

The work of destruction went on: appeals to Rome, the suing out of licenses, dispensations and bulls, were forbidden under the penalties of *præmunire*. Now all this was the work of the civil power,—of Henry's creatures in either house of Parliament, who already foresaw the destruction of the monasteries, and were eager for the spoils. The convocation gave no consent; it cannot be pretended that the church consented by the votes of her bishops in the upper house; out of the twenty-one bishops only seven appeared in the upper house during the session, and of these only four attended the debates on ecclesiastical affairs: viz., Cranmer, Stokesley, Gardiner, and Clerk. These were the very men employed by the king in his plans of overthrowing the papal power. Of the rest of the bishops we can only say, that by their absence they showed that they disapproved of what they had not the courage to oppose, and, like all seceders, were in the wrong.

But the fact which shows most clearly how the Anglican Reformation was forced by the civil power upon the church is, that after that the parliament had passed an act declaring "that the king, his heirs, and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the church of England," Henry

found it necessary to delegate his spiritual jurisdiction to a layman. Thomas Cromwell was appointed his vicegerent, "with full power to exercise and execute all and every that authority and jurisdiction appertaining to himself as head of the church, and to appoint others his delegates and commissaries to execute the same under him; authorizing them to visit all dioceses and churches, to summon before them all ecclesiastical persons, even bishops and archbishops, to inquire into their manners and lives, to punish with spiritual censures, to issue injunctions, and to exercise all the functions of the ecclesiastical courts."\*—Monstrous delegation of usurped power to a layman, raised by the unscrupulous exercise of talent from a most humble to an exalted position! This Cromwell too, when the clergy were assembled in convocation, alleged, that as of right the first place in the assembly belonged to the king, as head of the Church, so in his absence it belonged to his vicegerent; and accordingly Cromwell was admitted to preside, and to subscribe the resolutions before the archbishops.

Thus the power of a wicked and lascivious tyrant, backed by the strength of his nobles, rapacious for the wealth which their ancestors in better times had consecrated to learning and religion, commenced, and carried it forward, step by step. The cry had been raised by these men that the Papal supremacy was an abominable tyranny; yet they substituted for it the supremacy of Henry, nay, the delegated supremacy of Cromwell, whose path through England was so soon to be marked by confiscation, rapine, and sacrilege.

We must pass over the scenes of violence which follow—the subjugation of the parliament, the coercion of the bishops and clergy, the martyrdom of Fisher and Sir Thomas More. Neither can we dwell upon the bull of Paul III., though it was fraught with so many important consequences. It is not easy to keep pace with the events which followed.

The year 1536 was a busy year in England. The public mind was astonished by the succession of numerous and important events; the death of Queen Katherine, the execution of Queen Anna, the marriage of the king with

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\* Wilk. Con. iv. 784. Dublin Review, vol. viii. p. 348.

Jane Seymour, the suppression of the monasteries, and the consequent insurrection.

The suppression of the monasteries was in effect a revolution, when we consider the number and wealth of these institutions. According to Hume, 645 monasteries, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals were suppressed. The revenue of these establishments amounted to £161,100, being about the twentieth part of the national income derived from land. Although money has since that period been greatly reduced in value, it is still worth while to compare this income of the monasteries with what has lately been computed to be the revenue of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The annual revenue of Oxford amounts to £174,000; that of Cambridge to £149,000.

M. Audin's account of the processes by which the ruin of the monastic institute was effected is exceedingly interesting; but as we have already entered at some length into this question, we must be content to refer the reader to the work itself. Few positions in history are more incontrovertible than the justice of the character of the English Reformation, which has been summed up in a few words by M. Guizot.

"It is not true that in the 16th century the court of Rome was tyrannical; it is not true that the abuses of it were very numerous; never perhaps, on the contrary, was the ecclesiastical government more easy, more tolerant....The religious revolution was in England a royal work; the king and the episcopacy divided amongst themselves, whether as riches or as power, the spoils of the preceding government, that of the papacy."

M. Audin reads the panegyric of the monasteries of England, and its other religious institutions, in the commotions to which the suppression gave occasion. The famous Pilgrimage of Grace was one of the most formidable risings which England ever beheld. A starving peasantry, deprived of the relief which the benevolent monks had been accustomed to afford them in their season of distress, were joined in their assemblage by all the upholders of the ancient faith in the Northern counties, and proceeded en route towards London. In Yorkshire 40,000 appeared in arms, bearing white standards with the cross of Christ upon them. As in previous popular insurrections in England, the leaders assumed mock names, such as the Earl of Poverty, Captain

Cobler.\* Their complaints were set out in the articles which they sent to the king. They first complained of the suppression of the religious houses, "whereby not only is the service of God not ministered, but the poverty of the realm unrelieved." In their fourth article they say, "Wee, your trew and faithfull subjects, thynkes that your Grace takes of your counsell, and very nygh about you, such personages as bee of lowe birth and small reputation, which have procured the premysses, most especiall for their single lucre and advantage; the whych we suspect to be the Lord Cromwell, and Sir Richard Rich, chancellor of the augmentations."

However, by the sagacious management of the Duke of Norfolk, who was appointed by the king to lead the forces against the insurgents, this formidable gathering was at last disbanded.

Cromwell, the king's most active agent in the suppression of the monasteries, was himself destined to be the next victim to the royal caprice. His fate, at least, it would be difficult to regret. Although he had apparently secured his own power to the fullest extent, by the policy with which he had divided the abbey lands and the confiscated wealth of the monasteries amongst the greedy courtiers, yet his fall was one of the most sudden in history, and he was not supported by a single friend except Cranmer. His prosperity, up to the very time before the caprice of the king flamed into open hostility against him, was unexampled in its career. The successful minister, the builder of fortresses, the levier of subsidies, the suppressor of monasteries, the king's vicegerent upon earth, lately created Earl of Essex and Knight of the Garter, Lord High Chamberlain of England—who could have predicted his fall? It appears one of the mysteries of history. The only probable solution is, that Henry's savage temper, enraged with the deceit which he considered had been practised upon him as to the beauty of Anne of Cleves, inclined him to listen to some false accusation brought forward by Cromwell's enemies at court.

Cromwell, a short time before this, had put a question to the judges, viz., whether, if parliament should condemn a man to die for treason without hearing him, the attainder could be disputed? This most unconstitutional question

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\* Speed, 772.

the judges were of course unwilling to answer in such perilous times; but being pressed by the king's command, they at last replied that an attainder in parliament, whether or not the party had been heard in his defence, could of course never be reversed in a court of law. Historians who are fond of contemplating the retributions of Providence, remark, that he who thus solicited the ministers of the law to give the seal of their approval to a violation of justice, was himself the earliest victim to the new system which he had thus laid before them. Arrested and attainted without trial, or opportunity of defence, in the prison all courage deserted him. The haughty arrogance which had characterized him in the zenith of his splendid career was changed into the most abject cowardice. The walls of his prison at one time resounded with entreaties for mercy, at another with blasphemies and imprecations. He sends this letter to the implacable king:—

“ Written at the Tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highness's pensioner and most miserable slave. Most gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy.”

In vain.—On the 28th of July, 1540, he was executed on Tower Hill.

So perished Cromwell. His wonderful ability, his laborious and unceasing application, his great capacity for affairs, his finesse and diplomacy have been made by Protestant historians the groundwork of the most extravagant eulogiums. These qualities Cromwell is admitted by all to have possessed; but when we also consider his avarice, servility, contempt for honesty and justice, we must brand him as one of the worst characters of that bad time—that bad time when England and London submitted to those fearful spectacles which now we can scarce contemplate without a shudder.

We translate from M. Audin a description of a strange and horrible execution.

“ Two days after the punishment of Cromwell, London was the theatre of horrible executions. Catholics and Protestants were condemned to death, the one for having denied the supremacy of the king, the other for having rejected certain dogmas of the Church of Rome. Dreadful time! when to admit the authority of the Pope was a treason, or to reject the tenets of the Pope was a

heresy; two crimes, of which the one carried with it the punishment of the axe and of the halter, the other that of the pillory and of the funeral pile. Bowell, Abel, and Featherstone, doctors in theology, were convicted of having formerly defended the validity of the marriage of Katherine, and of not acknowledging the sacerdotal supremacy of the king; Barnes, Garret, and Jerome, of supporting heterodox opinions. Imbued with certain doctrines which were beginning to spread themselves in Germany, Barnes and his disciples pretended that man reconciled with God could not fall away from grace: that God is the author of sin: that good works are not necessary to salvation: that forgiveness of sins is not an obligatory precept. The same decree visited with the same punishment a man for having corresponded with Cardinal Pole, another for having wished to surprise Calais, a third for having concealed a rebel. Catholics, Protestants, traitors to their country were fastened on the same hurdle, and dragged from the tower to Smithfield. At the sight of these sufferers, turned back to back, a stranger would wish to know the cause of their condemnation: they would reply to him that some were about to die for having attacked the Catholic religion, the others for having avenged it. None of the accused had been permitted to defend himself. Barnes, after having explained his belief to the people, turned himself towards the sheriff, and asked him if they knew the crime for which they conducted him to Smithfield. The sheriff indicated to him, by shaking his head, that they were ignorant. Barnes approaching the stake, said, 'that the species of punishment which he was going to suffer would sufficiently inform them of the crime of which they had judged him guilty.' Catholics and Protestants prayed to God for the king before they expired.\*

The last years of Henry's life were occupied with the divorce of Anne of Cleves, the execution of Katherine Howard, an unimportant war with France, the intrigues and contentions between Cranmer and Gardiner.

Henry's last victim was the celebrated Earl of Surrey. A poet, a warrior, and a statesman, a leader of the king's armies abroad, an ornament to his court at home, without fear and without reproach, this noble youth did not afford the slightest pretext for the accusations of his enemies. The charges which were preferred were the weakest and most paltry to be found even in the reports of the State Trials of England. His father, the Duke of Norfolk, in right of his wife, had quartered upon his shield the arms of her father, the Duke of Buckingham, which, by reason of

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\* Audin, vol. ii. p. 413.

his lineal descent from John of Gaunt, was the royal arms. Surrey, even after the attainder of Buckingham, had continued to bear these arms quartered upon his shield. This absolutely was the chief of the charges brought against him upon his trial for high treason. On that trial he proved that his ancestors had invariably worn the same arms at home and abroad, and that he himself had constantly borne the same shield in the king's presence. The packed jury, however, of course, found him guilty, and within a week after he was executed with extreme privacy, almost mystery, all the circumstances attending his death being concealed.

London, for fifteen years accustomed to the bloodiest executions, still was affected to a wonderful degree at the fate of the gallant Surrey.

"The women recalled to mind his beauty and his youth, the soldiers his courage, the learned his poetic talents, the artists his love for pictures and statues. Never more, said they, will he see again the cottage which he constructed at Norwich, the first attempt to introduce the Grecian architecture into England. The fair Geraldine has lost her chevalier and her bard. Never more shall he, in the magic mirror of Cornelius Agrippa, see her carelessly reclined on a couch of flowers, reading the verses of the poet."

But the world was now to be freed from the burden of this loathsome tyrant, King Henry VIII. For some time past, owing to the enormous size of his ulcerous body, it had been necessary to use machinery to lift him into his chair, or from one room to another. His sufferings were terrible; a slow fever consumed him, whilst the agonies of his mind would not permit him to think of death.

On the 26th of December, 1546, Henry called for his will, and made some changes in it. He erased from the list of executors Gardiner, Norfolk, and Shirly: he founded a certain number of masses for the deliverance of his soul from purgatory—a strange disposition in the will of Henry VIII. It was evident that his end was approaching; but the doctors remembering that one of those acts of parliament which had created so many new treasons, rendered it capital for any one to prophesy the death of the king, were afraid to announce to him his doom. Sir Anthony Denny at last had the courage to tell him the fatal news. The king heard it with apparent resignation, then sent for Archbishop Cranmer, who remained with him to the last.

Henry sometimes murmured the name of Anna Boleyn; anon a horrible agony would come upon him, and with glaring eyes fixed upon the darker recesses of his chamber, he exclaimed, "monks, monks, monks." So he lingered. About two in the morning, Cranmer perceiving that the hand of death was on him, asked him to show by some sign that he died in the Christian faith. Henry pressed his hand, and at the same time exclaiming "all is lost," gave up the ghost. So perished this mass of clay, moistened with blood, the founder of a church between which and the apostles there is a chasm of fifteen hundred years. He was fifty-six years of age, and had reigned thirty-eight. He expired on the 28th of January, 1546.

The king was carried to Windsor to be buried. The coffin stood all night among the broken walls of Sion House. The leaden fastenings having given way by reason of the shaking of the carriage, the pavement was wetted with the king's blood.\* The plumbers who came in the morning to solder the coffin, saw a dog creeping and licking up the king's blood. This was regarded at the time as the fulfilment of Friar Peyton's prophecy in 1533, when he compared him to Ahab, and told him that the dogs in like manner should lick his blood.

We have now reviewed the history of the Tudor dynasty up to the accession of Edward VI., a little more than three hundred years before the time when we are writing. Withdrawing our minds from the excitement of the politics of the present stirring times, and in the pages of this history retracing the annals of the past, there appears much to give sorrow, much to give joy to one interested in the progress of the world, the advancement of mankind.

Whether we have advanced in real morality and virtue since that time, may be a question, but we have at least got rid of that open indecency which then characterized the manners of the great, and which is evidenced in the unhappy story of Katherine Howard, and the scandals which were current concerning the Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth's life whilst under the roof of Admiral Seymour. †

\* State Papers, vol. v. p. 94.

† Hayne's State Papers, vol. i. p. 99.

What shall we say of the days which are yet before us? Who shall unravel the web in which the weird sisters have inwoven the destinies of our own generation? Who shall venture to predict what is to be the state of society in Europe within the next half century? One thing at least is certain:—

“ Still we know that through the ages one increasing purpose runs,  
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the  
suns.”

Faith, Labour, Honesty, and Perseverance, have still their power to elevate in the scale of humanity the nations of the world which adopt them. God is great: He is watching us: His mercy and goodness endure for ever. The fertile lands smile in verdure beneath the heavens: the seed multiplies beneath the warm showers of the spring: the summer suns ripen the bountiful harvests: the process of life goes on. The millions of the human race are fast increasing, and day by day become more prosperous and better educated. The words, God, Liberty, Truth, have still a significance, and find a response in men’s hearts even in the saddest days of atheism, despotism, and dishonesty. “ Neither is it the part of a well-regulated, but rather of a perverse mind, to seek glory rather than practise virtue, and for one to desire to be crowned before he hath contended. In vain does one endeavour to rise to the height of glory, who has not first been illustrious in virtue.”\*

ART. IX.—1. *Pius the Ninth; or the First Year of his Pontificate,*  
By Count C. A. DE GODDES DE LIANCOURT, of the Pontifical Academy of the Lincei at Rome, and JAMES A. MANNING, Esq., of the Inner Temple. Two vols., 8vo. London: Newby, 1847-8.

2.—*Lombardy, the Pope, and Austria.* By G. BOWYER, Esq., D.C.L. London: Ridgways, 1848.

3.—*Pio IX.* Por D. JAIME BALMES, Presbitero. Madrid, 1847.

A MONG the great characters that occupy the theatre of European affairs, there is none more conspicuous, none more illustrious than the august Pontiff, to whom

\* St. Bernard, (*Sermon on St. Victor.*)

these works principally relate. Perhaps it may appear to some readers that this sentence was penned some weeks, or even months ago, when a full tide of popularity, domestic and foreign, seemed to bear him triumphantly along. But it is not so; we are writing after many outward circumstances of his position have changed, after tidings the most afflicting have reached us, of his temporal subjects' conduct towards his sacred person, and of his virtual deprivation of worldly power; when he stands before Europe as renouncing the offered glory of being the head of an Italian confederation, and sacrificing to his highest duties all that to most had seemed most brilliant, in his public position. Even at such a moment, more than at any previous one, Pius IX. is in our eyes the noblest and most exalted character among the princes of Europe. It is not yet time for us to explain our reasons for this opinion: we must first address ourselves to a wearier task, that of reviewing what has been written concerning him; because we are sure that nothing is more likely to give a false view of the real greatness of character, which distinguishes our holy Pontiff, than the miserable collection of spurious anecdotes which have been circulated about him, and which form the staple of the first work upon our list. Where simplicity of habits, earnestness of purpose, mildness and even tenderness of disposition, and straightforward honesty form the real features of character; what can be more wretched, or more annoying than to see these overlaid with tinsel, and converted into the artificial forms of one acting a part? The work itself is a joint composition; and we should have little hesitation in setting down the compilation to its French, and the translation to its English, author.\* To the former consequently is due the

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\* There are many blunders which must be attributed to this two-fold parentage, and which we should not think worth mentioning, were they not cautions against trusting the book in graver matters. Thus, priests are called repeatedly *abbots*; i. e., *abbés*! Pope Sixtus V. is always in the first volume called *Sextus* (p. 186); we are told that the Pope was born in a city "in the *marshes* of Ancona" (p. 158), that is, the *Marca* or *Marches*, (as it would have been called in ancient times with us, when we had a "Lord of the Marches.") We read of an officer called "President of the *Cences*" (p. 270), which we defy any mere English reader to understand. The Pope is said to have appeared "habited in the red

substance and the romance of the book. For, romance certainly it is, far more than history. Its author has the privilege belonging to writers of fictitious narrative, of knowing what passes in the most confidential interviews between the Pope and foreign ministers, or cardinals, which neither party can be well supposed to have told. For we do not think the Austrian ambassador, for instance, or a cardinal in opposition, would be likely to detail the smart repartees here said to have been darted out upon them by the Pontiff; and still less do we believe the latter likely to retail how, to use a phrase more expressive than elegant, he had "snubbed" the Austrian envoy, a truly good man. Nor, we will further add, is it in our estimation any thing less than a libel, to impute to one so gentle, so mild, and at the same time, noble-minded, the ill-bred and undignified, though perhaps dramatic speeches attributed to him. For example, take the following.

"One day, the Pope presided over a general assembly of the Cardinals, summoned to receive a communication of great importance. Cardinal Gizzi had just entered upon his functions as Minister Secretary of State, and was reading before the Grand Areopagus, a project of reform, which he had assisted his sovereign to bring about. This project, full of liberal and generous principles, suited to the wants of the state, was received with murmurs of disapprobation on the part of the majority of the Sacred College. The Pope listened in silence, without appearing to notice the opposition which manifested itself; the minister, on his part, also continued, until the interruption to the reading of the project of the hardy reformers became so violent that Cardinal Gizzi put down the paper, turned towards the Pope, and addressed him saying,

"'Holy Father, shall I continue?'

"Pius IX. nodded affirmatively; but on recommencing his task, at a fresh article of the project, the murmurs redoubled, and the Secretary of State was compelled to stop short.

"'You see, Holy Father, the opposition of their eminences compels me to resign those functions which your holiness had conferred upon me—permit me to lay at your feet the resignation of my office.'

"'It is impossible for us to accept it,' replied the Pope; 'your good and loyal services are too important to the happiness of my

*pluvia*" (p. 285), that is *pluviale*, or *anglicè*, *cope*. Cardinal Macchi is called the *sub-deacon*, for *sub-dean*, of the Sacred College, (p. 288.) *Perugia* is always *Perouse*, &c.

people, to permit us to replace you by another less zealous, and less talented, perhaps. Remain where you are.

"At this critical moment the Holy Father turned, with sovereign dignity, towards the refractory Cardinals, and added, still addressing the minister of state, Gizzi,

"'If these gentlemen will not have me Pius, they shall have me Sixtus.'”—Vol. ii. pp. 12, 13.

Any one who knows that all the Cardinals are never convoked in this manner, to hear reports of the Secretary of State, nor to deliberate on secular affairs; that these "gentlemen" are too truly so, and moreover something higher, to raise murmurs of disapprobation, still less, after the fashion of her majesty's honourable Commons, violent interruptions to the reading of documents in the presence of their Sovereign Pontiff; any one who knows one whit of the manners, usages, and forms invariably observed among these exalted, refined, and truly Christian princes, and sees them all violated in Cardinal Gizzi's conduct as here detailed: finally, any one who can appreciate the character of the Pope, and *feel* how absurd the last sentence is in his mouth, will at once say to the author of such an anecdote,

"Quæcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi."

The character of a "Pius" is not one put on, as the story would insinuate; and he who has it in heart and nature, could no more doff it, to put on what we are told is meant by being a Sixtus ("haughty, determined, and severe," and "the terror of the world!") than the lamb could change natures with the lion, or, according to this description, with a fiercer animal.

At page 230 we have the narrative of an interview between the Pope and Count Lutzow, which winds up by the Pope's lifting up his eyes to heaven, and exclaiming:

"Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autre crainte."

Had the verse been Dante's, we might have been half seduced into believing a quarter of the story.

But there is another class of anecdotes on which we wish to caution our readers, and of which this book is full, as the newspapers have been before it. Unfortunately, to people residing in Rome they are quite news; and they wonder how they should have been known afar off, and

not on the spot. We allude to those narratives, pleasing no doubt, which would lead one to think, that the Pope was quite in the habit of walking about the city alone and in disguise, talking to little boys and girls, and doing kind things to them (which he would be sure to do) and picking up adventures, nobody knowing him at the time, but all finding him out afterwards. We are aware that the Pope has visited schools and hospitals, and has sallied forth early to churches, as that holy and wise Pope Leo XII. had done before him, in a private manner, and sometimes on foot: and possibly he may have wandered, disguised, about the streets, to look after the state of the city or the poor. But if so, we have found, on enquiry, that the mass of stories based on this supposed practice are spurious, and were inventions. And such we have no hesitation in pronouncing a number of other anecdotes which have passed current, and which have been recorded in these volumes. But there are some which we consider deserving of more serious reprehension, because they are calculated to convey unjust impressions regarding preceding Pontiffs. And we feel sure that no one would more severely reprove the attempt to raise his reputation on the ruin of that of his predecessors, than the Holy Father himself. Unfortunately, contrast forms one of the easiest, and therefore most tempting, of common places: and we seldom see one person exalted, except at another's expense. This is the line which our biographers of the present Pope have thought proper to adopt.

We remember once reading a very clever Italian commentary upon Cooper's "Bravo," which went far to show the absurdity of supposing men to have lived in such a state of things as the novelist describes, where no one could walk two steps by day or night, without fear of an assassin's knife or of the lion's mouth. And really we are confident that any one who has had the happiness to live in Rome during the last fifteen years, will find the following description of its condition as completely fabulous, as that of the American romancer.

"This miserable system engendered demoralization, at the same time that it impoverished the public treasury. The police existed only in name, the safety of the person, and public as well as private property, depended upon chance or caprice, the good or bad disposition of the authorities. The high dignitaries, fatly endowed, pressed most unjustly and tyrannically upon their subalterns,

who were almost reduced to a state of mendicity. The scales of Justice were broken, the band torn from its eyes; even the general officers did not hesitate to convert the army supplies to their own profit. Merit was powerless in its endeavours to penetrate the obscure mists of ignorance—talent was of no avail—favouritism was all in all. Intrigue and corruption, as naked as the statues of antiquity, openly displayed themselves without a blush. Military commissions replaced the regular tribunals for the condemnation—not trial—of political offenders; for all was accusation, defence was impossible, and the publication of the evidence being forbidden, the proceedings were conducted only in darkness and mystery. A simple inquisitorial examination, based upon the accusation of a suborned spy of the police, sufficed to procure the banishment, imprisonment, or execution of the innocent. Bands of police assassins—centurioni—thronged the city in the evening, and scoured it at night, insulting, ill-treating, and imprisoning all those whose manners or appearance displeased them. A neckcloth, waistcoat, or pocket-handkerchief, having the three colours, green, white, and red, even as depicting the natural colours of flowers, was a proof of guilt, which incurred the severest penalties. The private meetings of youth and friendship, at dinners or suppers, were punished as contrary to the safety of the state; and all societies and associations, except those of a purely religious character, were strictly prohibited. The administration marched onwards without control, the taxes depended upon the will of the treasurer or the caprices of the secretary of state, and the revenues of the Corporations were delivered over to the tender mercies of the chief of the provinces. There was no national representation, no code, no laws, no secrecy in correspondence, no respect for seals; arbitrary power, corruption, and abuse reigned paramount. Liberty and patriotism were, by the government authority, expunged from the Italian dictionary; the learned academies were suppressed,\* the scientific Congress forbidden, authors inserted in the register,† and the social and political improvements of man deemed a criminal idea of the deepest dye.”—Vol. i. p. 193-196.

We most deliberately assert that there is not in the whole of this passage one sentence that is true, or rather which does not contain a collection of untruths. It is positively reckless. To confute would be useless, though

\* “Amongst others the famous Academy of the Lincei.”

† “All works upon philosophy medicine, politics, astronomy, geology, &c., were submitted to a council of Index, and if disapproved, their author’s names were inserted in the Index or register, and their works suppressed in the Roman States.”

not difficult ; but as the whole is a tissue of assertions, we trust they can deserve nothing more than a denial. But by way of specimens we will take one or two points. Let one be the second note. "All works upon philosophy, medicine, politics, astronomy, geology, &c., were submitted to a *Council of the Index*, and if disapproved their authors' names were inserted in the Index or register, and their works suppressed in the Roman States." A reader at first sight would suppose that the *Index* was a modern invention, certainly not that it dates from the Council of Trent! Now under Gregory XVI. nothing more was done than had been done in every pontificate since that period. Not *all* works on these subjects, but such as were denounced by proper authority as containing errors against doctrine or morals, on any subject, were as heretofore carefully and conscientiously examined by the Congregation of the Index, and if proved to be unsound, they, and not their authors, were put upon the *Index*, and forbidden, not in Rome alone, but through the entire Church. This statement we pledge ourselves to be literally true : alter the other to it, and see how much truth there was in it.

Another specimen of the truthfulness of this passage we will select in the following sentence. "A simple inquisitorial examination, based upon the accusation of a suborned spy of the police, sufficed to procure the banishment, imprisonment, or *execution* of the innocent," (accused of political crimes.) We will observe that the late Pope had a peculiar sensitiveness of mind, the result of a most delicate conscience, respecting the execution of a capital sentence, which led to his never permitting one, without first reading carefully through the entire acts of the trial; and many a life was spared, through his not feeling personally satisfied by the inculpating evidence. The charge here made, therefore, would bear against the Pontiff himself: he must have been a party to the atrocities here described, not merely by implication, as the sovereign obliged by his office to prevent injustice, but directly and immediately as revising the whole of the proceedings. And is it likely that a man like Gregory, whose virtue and piety even the work before us admits, made himself a party to such nefarious, nay murderous, transactions as these?

But there is a better confutation than this induction ; but to bring it better before our readers, we must give

another specimen of the historical accuracy of our biographers, in one of those wretched romances, whereby it is intended to exalt the character of the present Pope. We are told that there was a certain state prisoner, who had been immured in the Castle of St. Angelo for *twenty-two* years. The date is important. Soon after the present Pope's accession, a priest made his way into his dungeon: how, it seems difficult to make out; he seems to have given no bribe, to have had no permission, to have held no recognised office; he was unknown to the governor, cursed at by the turnkey. But no matter, some how or other he got in, though the prisoner "was forbidden to communicate with a living soul." (p. 213.) A dialogue took place, of which the following will suffice as a specimen: "Do you also come to count the furrows ploughed in my forehead before the natural time, to feast your eyes and your heart at the sight of my intense despair, and thus augment the malice of my butchers? Answer me!" The priest soothes him, and at last persuades him to write a letter to the Pope, which begins as follows: "When in despair I was cursing, one of your priests came and taught me to bless your name;" and is signed "*Gaetano*," which is much the same as if an English prisoner, petitioning the crown, were to sign himself "*William*." For *Gaetano* is but a christian, and very common, name. But letters are signed so in romance; and hence we have in this work a lady writing to the Pope, who subscribes herself "*Julia*," and he marries her in the church of the *Madonna degli Angioli* to a youth named "*Joseffo*," which is certainly no Italian name, though meant doubtless for Joseph!\* But to return: the priest is turned out by the turnkey, and makes his way to the governor, who being always an officer of noble family and high rank, had no doubt before this been to present his duty to the new Pope.† But this would have spoiled the story. Wherefore he gruffly accosts the intruder as "*Mr. Abbot*;" and on his demanding the liberation of *Gaetano*, answers very naturally: "Why *Abbot*, you must be mad." Then comes the *denouement*, which reminds us of several old melodramatic windings up; when a disguised monarch throws open his cloak and shows his stars. *Mr. Abbot* turns out to be the Pope, and

\* Vol. ii. p. 106.

† Count Alex. Bolognetti-Cenci.

there and then orders Gaetano to be freed, and the guard at the gate to pay him military honours, and finally, oh! sad conclusion to the act of mercy! turns off the poor turnkey, whose chief offence seems to us to have been neglect of orders, in allowing an unknown person that access to the prisoner, without which the whole scene would have been lost.

But we have not got to the end of this wretched figment; and the rest we must give in the author's own words:

"Twenty-two years before the period in question, a young man of seventeen was accused of conspiracy, and condemned to death. He was marching boldly to the scaffold, when a young priest, who was passing, was greatly touched by his courage, his youth, and above all by his resignation. He calculated the time he would remain in the Chapel. Four hours were still before him. He set off instantly for the Vatican, and implored so earnestly the then reigning Pope, that he obtained the life of the young man, whose sentence, however, was commuted into worse than death—perpetual imprisonment. The young man was Gaëtano—the priest was Pius IX."—Vol. i. p. 221-222.

This is altogether too absurd. Persons "marching"—i. e., carried in a cart—to execution, in a state of "resignation," are not kept above a quarter of an hour in the chapel, or, as it is called, the *conforteria*, at the place of execution. It would be incredible, if it were not false, that a young priest could get pardon or reprieve from the sovereign, for a culprit already at the place of execution. Had such an unheard-of event once happened, all Rome would have rung with it; yet no one had ever heard of this occurrence. But let us look at dates. Gaetano was delivered from the scaffold by the present Pope *twenty-two* years before his accession. The latter event took place in 1846; therefore the former occurred in 1824. Now the Canonico Mastai, now Pope Pius IX., left Rome for South America, July 3rd, 1823, and returned on the 5th of the same month, 1825; so that, by a most unlucky chance, he was away the very year that he is supposed to have acted the first scene of the drama allotted to him. But now let us come to a more serious and important conclusion. Gaetano is represented in this narrative as going to execution, because "*he was supposed to be a liberal.....but he was neither a traitor nor*

a conspirator." (p. 214.) In other words, in the reign of Leo XII., men were executed merely if *supposed* to be liberal ! This is a falsehood so wicked, whether spoken of that pontificate, or of any before or since, that we cannot find an epithet sufficiently strong to mark our condemnation of it. So far from the statement being true, there was not even an instance of capital punishment at Rome during that or the following reigns for political opinions, not even for conspiracy or treason. Some were indeed executed for committing murder upon individuals with whom they had not even quarrelled, at the mere bidding of the secret political societies ; for of such stamp were the "liberals" of those days. Two wretched men of this class, Targhini and Montanari, were executed for this very crime in Rome, having walked arm in arm with their intended victim in the evening, and then stabbed him at the church of St. Andrea della Valle. They died impenitent, and denying belief in christianity ! If these be thy gods, O liberalism ! the men "who dared to exercise the intelligence with which God had endowed them," (p. 214.) we, at least, will avow no sympathy with them. Nor will we allow the character of our holy and noble-minded Pontiff to be sullied, rather than praised, by depreciating that of his saintly predecessors by means of such paltry fictions and gross misstatements.

Among these we rank a tale that follows the above, intended to show the pernicious influence of what are called "Abbots." The lady alluded to in it was the Princess Seiarra ; and a sufficient confutation of the story is to be found in the fact, that the young lady mentioned in the narrative was, as there stated, only her adopted child, and consequently not her heiress. The father therefore could have no control over any fortune left her by the princess, who chose, no doubt wisely, to leave her executorship in other hands. As to the "Abbot" who is said to have wormed himself into the princess's favour, and so supplanted the father in the administration, he had accompanied her to Italy, was, we believe, her near relation, and certainly under cruel trials, had proved her best friend. He is now in Paris in a position that would enable him easily to defend himself, being proprietor of one of the leading Catholic periodicals of that city. But enough of this. One thing puzzles us ; how the *Centurioni*, beings

for many years about as fabulous as the Centaurs,\* had any thing to say to this matter, as M. de Liancourt insinuates. (p. 196.)

We must crave indulgence of our readers if we have been tediously long in our criticism of a book, which seems written with a view of exalting the present Pope. For, in truth, it is a calumnious and most uncatholic work, containing sentiments which no sound member of the Church can view with less than abhorrence, and yet affecting † to be a Catholic production. If the reader doubts what we say, let him, in addition to former references, glance at p. 154 of vol. 2., and he will throw down the book in disgust. ‡

We now proceed to touch upon some of the real incidents of the life of the Sovereign Pontiff, chiefly keeping in view what may be justly supposed to have tended to the formation of his character, or may serve to show it in its proper colours. Born of noble parentage, † he received in early life that education which is generally bestowed in Italy, and which may be termed, in fact, Catholic, framed, not with reference to any particular profession, but preparatory to any choice that may be made in maturer years, either of a secular pursuit, or of that better part which can be neither taken nor flung away. Hence it is not surprising how easy was the transition in the early life of the Pope, from the military, to the ecclesiastical, career. Every year of previous application had qualified him to be either

\* These were a sort of rural police, instituted at the troubled beginning of Gregory's pontificate, but who had nothing to do with the Roman police.

† The following passage, being shorter, may be quoted at length.

"The lower orders of Rome, as well as those of Ireland, have much to learn before even the doctrines of Christianity can be truly associated with the consequences of the religion they so wildly profess. In fact, a prayer before a Madonna, a declaration of repentance before a Crucifix, a sign of the cross, or absolution, effaces for ever from the memories of the lower orders of Italy, Spain, or Ireland, even the recollection of the crimes they have committed."—Vol. ii. p. 190.

‡ The arms of the Mastai-Ferretti are given wrong in the work before us, (p. 159.) They consist quarterly of two lions crowned, standing on an orb, and two *bends gules* on a ground azure. We copy these from an impression of the Pope's own seal, now before us.

a religious and devout nobleman, or a zealous and virtuous priest. We know the anecdote to be correct, that having been excluded by Prince Barberini from admission, after a trial, into the noble, or body, guard, in consequence of being subject to epilepsy, the young Count Mastai was encouraged by the saintly Pope Pius VII., to embrace the ecclesiastical state, with an assurance, that if he did so, his infirmity would cease. The result proved this to be a prophecy. But our biographers are singularly unfortunate as to dates. The Pope was born in May 1792. This attempt to enter the army, and its consequent change of vocation, are placed by them in his eighteenth year, (p. 162.) which would bring us to 1810. As usual we have the whole dialogue given us between the actual and the future Pope; but then Pius VII. had been carried into captivity on the 5th of July, 1809, where he remained for more than five years. If we go back before the French occupation of Rome some months previous, we carry this most important epoch in the Pope's life into his boyhood; but in fact it belongs to a later period, after the restoration, and to a maturer period of the Pope's life. This occurrence took place in 1816.

There can be no doubt that this event produced an important influence on the subsequent life and pursuits of the future Pontiff. He entered the Church under a call, that could not be considered by him other than a voice from heaven. It was not with a view to its dignities, or the public offices reserved to it, that he embraced this state; and consequently his studies, his thoughts, and occupations took only a religious, and thoroughly ecclesiastical, direction.

At that period there existed at Rome a body of learned, zealous and edifying secular priests, just in the prime of life, connected in great measure with the schools of the Collegio Romano, not as yet restored to the Jesuits. Many of these have since risen to high ecclesiastical honours, as nuncios, bishops, and even cardinals. Among them were young ecclesiastics of high birth, but devoted to the humblest offices of the ecclesiastical ministry. One of these was in character, in virtues, and in tastes, so akin to Count Mastai, that it is no wonder a lasting friendship should have been formed between them. This was Don Chiarissimo Falconieri, who was very soon named Archbishop of Ravenna, and afterwards Cardinal: a prelate

whose unbounded charity, humility of mind, and unaffected piety, preserve alive, in the episcopal office, the great models of ancient times.

As an illustration of this character we can give, with assurance of its truth, the following anecdote. One day a gentleman in decayed circumstances brought secretly to a silversmith, two silver candlesticks for sale. The tradesman observed that his manner was confused, and that the plate bore upon it the falcon, the *stemma gentilizio* of the Archbishop. Still the high character for integrity of the vendor did not allow him to entertain the suspicion, naturally excited by the circumstances of the case; wherefore, requesting him to return later, when the value of the articles would have been ascertained, he went to the auditor of the Cardinal legate (our informant), and communicated the occurrence. This prelate, at once guessing, from previous experience, the truth of the matter, went directly to the good Archbishop, who modestly, and with entreaties of secrecy, acknowledged having given away this portion of his plate, having no money left to give. Similar incidents will be found in the biography of the present Pope, now before us; which, when stripped of their French dramatic dress, we believe to be correct. For we know instances of this same mode of acting since the Pope's accession. We have been told, by the agents of his charity, of most munificent and considerate acts of charity, on behalf of persons in altered circumstances. His Holiness, on ascertaining the reality of their distress, has sent large sums, in the most delicate manner, and through the hands of prelates in immediate attendance on his own person. On one occasion, last year, the Cardinal Secretary of Memorials (Altieri) presented the Pope, as usual, with a number of petitions for relief. After allotting something to each case, the Pope said, in his usual cheerful way, that now he had cleared out his purse, and had literally no money left in the world. In a few moments after his audience, the Cardinal returned. He was grieved to say that he had forgotten the most urgent case of all: from having, for greater security, placed the memorial relating to it apart from the rest. What was to be done? After a moment's consideration, the Pope directed the Cardinal to a drawer, in which was a beautiful gold piece of high value, struck as a specimen of a new coinage, intended, but never issued. "Take that," he said, "and I am glad it is gone, for I

fear I valued this too much ; now in truth I have nothing left to give."

These were the sort of men who came from the school to which we have alluded ; and if the Pontiff has chosen and found his present friends among those of his youth, he has at once discharged the duty of rewarding merit to none known better than to himself, and enjoyed the consolation of proving that connexions based on virtue are not destroyed in a mind like his, by change of relative positions. Not many months ago, as the late venerable Monsignor Gasperini was driving out near Santa Croce, he was not a little surprised to see his carriage door open, and the Pope, on foot, taking the opportunity of announcing to him that he had named Monsig. Palma his coadjutor in his canonicate. The former was the Rector of the Roman Seminary and College at the time of which we have been speaking, the other an able and most promising assistant to the professorship of ecclesiastical history, which he has since so honourably filled, and illustrated by his works. The Abbate Graziosi, who died last summer, and whose funeral was one of the most striking proofs ever witnessed, that the virtues of a simple priest devoted to his duties can gain the respect and love of an entire city, was another of that body ; as was the zealous preacher and missionary Ponzileoni, with many others whom we could enumerate. Among those ecclesiastics not only was learning cultivated by diligent study, but every work of zeal and charity had its promoters. The confessional and the pulpit, the hospitals and the prisons, missions in the country, and evening oratories in the city, were the scenes of their labours, as well as the public schools, and the *Accademia teologica*. Cardinal Falconieri used to devote himself to the spiritual and temporal assistance of the poor in the Ospizio di Santa Galla, a place of refuge for the houseless, who are there every night lodged, fed, and religiously instructed. The Canon Mastai undertook a work of charity still more important, and more arduous. He attached himself to, and we believe was superior of, the establishment known by the simple name of "Tatta Giovanni," in plain English *Daddy John*. The person thus called in affection, by those to whom he became truly a father, was one of those single-minded holy men who spring up in every age, in the Catholic Church. He opened a house for collecting together the very poorest

boys—a ragged school on a grand scale, and based on religious principles, where the children are supported by charity, and go out daily to work with tradespeople. It requires no small share of patience and kindness to train such wild plants as these; and yet there are persons now teaching in the public schools, and standing high among the clergy of Rome, who were the present Pope's little charity-boys, in this humble *hospitium*.\* Now it must be observed that the Abbate Mastai's dedication of himself to this work of charity was entirely voluntary; it was truly a work of love, which at once manifests his character, and could not fail still further to form it. The young man of family and sufficient wealth, who embraces the ecclesiastical career, and then, instead of seeking that position in the Church to which his social rank seems to invite him, by choice devotes himself to the care of the poorest, most abject, and perhaps most troublesome of all objects of charity, must have a heart not only uncorrupted by the world, but tender, affectionate, compassionate, and easy of mould, to adapt itself to the rude and wayward dispositions with which it has to live in contact. We may easily too, understand how much this youthful familiarity with the miseries of life, never so sensibly shown as in early destitution, must have influenced a character naturally sensitive, and have tended to form the peculiar attribute of the Pontiff, which none dares deny, which friend and foe alike admire, which strikes one in his manner, speech, looks and acts, which led to the first great deed of his pontificate, and has marked every subsequent one, which has made him loved to adoration by his subjects, and—we add it with shame—has encouraged the basely wicked objects of his clemency to be ungrateful,—his goodness of heart. In Italian one can express it better. *PIO NONO HA UN GRAN BEL CUORE!*

It will not surprise any Catholic reader to learn, that at the period of his life to which we refer, a holy man should have advised one now alive to attest it, to make Ab. Mastai's acquaintance, adding: "You may kiss his foot, for he will one day be Pope."

If we have lingered somewhat long upon this portion of

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\* For a full account of this beautiful institution we must refer our readers to Monsignor Morrichini's work upon it.

the Pontiff's biography, it has been with a consciousness that we were discharging a duty of gratitude. It was about this period that the College of S. Thomas of Canterbury in Rome was restored to the English Catholics, and they who first colonized it, fell immediately under the influence and direction of that body of secular clergy, with which the present Pope, then a simple priest, was so closely connected. These were their first professors, tutors, and directors, and continued so for several generations of students; nor have they yet entirely disappeared from the scene. Often has it seemed to us, that a latent germ of that school, transplanted, almost unconsciously, into England, has developed, and brought forth more fruit than we have been thankful for. Its growth was not rapid at first, but it was sure; and, like all that receives motion by attraction rather than by impulse, the gravitation of our ideas and feelings towards their natural centre, has increased in a ratio greater than that of time. Looking back to a distance of many years, each one will perceive events, and even incidents, which seemed of no moment when they occurred, but which are now found to have exercised an important—perhaps an essential—influence on all that has since happened to him. Even a passing gleam of thought may seem to us now like the star of our nativity. And the same may be said of the influences which determine the fate, or the course, of a community. In this way we do not think we can be wrong in asserting, that a glance at the past opens to us many points of contact between theological, moral and ecclesiastical developments in England, in the last quarter of a century, and the influence of those men and those principles that we have been endeavouring to describe. It can necessarily be only a few who have it in their power to trace this connexion of cause and effect; but they who can must feel how much is due to it, and how thankful they should be for its having been permitted.

To return, however. An important event in the Pope's life meets us at this point, and it is one which cannot have failed strongly to act upon his mind, and direct his thoughts in after life. Our English biographers give but a very brief account of it, and even that is not correct. The event to which we allude was, his taking part in the "mission," as it is called, of Monsignor Muzi, to Chili. This was not an enterprise of conversion, but an ecclesi-

astical commission, if one may use the expression, for the purpose of restoring things to their proper state, after the war which had separated South America from Spain. It was appointed upon the strong recommendations and entreaties of Don Jose Ignacio Cienfuegos, plenipotentiary from the republic of Chili to the Holy See. He had arrived in Rome on the 22nd of August, 1822, at the head of a numerous embassy; and Pope Pius VII., appointed a special congregation of Cardinals to take the request into consideration. It consisted of most illustrious characters: Cardinals Della Genga, (soon after Pope Leo XII.) Della Somaglia, Consalvi, Pacca, and De Gregorio. The result was the appointment, first of Abbate (now Cardinal) Ostini, and then of Mgr. Muzi, as Vicar Apostolic, Canonic Mastai as his companion, and the Ab. Sallustj as secretary. The party left Rome July 3rd, 1823, in company with the members of the Chilian legation. Travelling by slow stages, or rather by slow conveyance, through the centre of Italy, they reached Genoa only on the 17th, and there learnt the news of the Pope's fatal illness. They were most hospitably entertained by the Archbishop (now Cardinal) Lambruschini. How little could any guest at the table have read the future history of host and guest, have seen how each in his turn would sway the destinies of the papal dominions, and the one build up with great care, what the other would find it necessary to overturn. Perhaps to both, the days which they passed in peace and cheerfulness, discoursing of better things than the kingdoms of this world, may, at this distance of time, appear more charming, than the more stirring scenes in which now they move. By a series of almost ludicrous delays, the expedition, after embarking several times, was kept at Genoa till the 11th of October. In the mean time, Pius VII. had died, and had been succeeded by Leo XII. This excellent Pontiff instantly confirmed the power of the Vicar Apostolic. In a Brief addressed to the President of the Chilian Republic, dated October 3rd, he informs him that it was by his advice that Car. Mastai, most dear to him, had been appointed to that mission. "Tibi etiam plurimum commendamus Dilectos Filios, Canonicum Joannem Mariam de Comitibus Mastai, et Josephum Sallustj, ambos presbyterali chartere insignitos; quorum primus Nobis apprime charus nostro potissimum consilio ad id muneris electus est."

The only incident of the voyage mentioned in the English biography is, that "the captain was washed away by a dreadful sea, which swept the decks, and was lost in his sight." (p. 168.) Happily this is not correct. It so happens that years before the Pope's election, a full narrative was published of this expedition, and we are only surprised that it has been [so completely overlooked. The Abbate Sallustj, mentioned above as a member of the commission, published, in 1827, at Rome, a work entitled "*Storia delle Missioni apostoliche dello Stato del Chile*," in four octavo volumes. Of these nearly one and a half are devoted to the history of the missions, properly so called, among the Indians in Chili, under the Spaniards: (for, unfortunately, revolutionary changes do not seem particularly to favour apostolic enterprises:) the remainder of the work is occupied with the travels of the Apostolic Vicar and his suite.\* The minutest details are related with the good humoured garrulity of a new traveller, who, to habits of business, and practical acquaintance with graver matters, unites, as is common in the South, a dash of comic humour, and a keen sense of the ridiculous, and withal a charming simplicity and freshness of mind, which render the book amusing as well as instructive, in spite of its heavy quotations from that lightest of poets, Metastasio. Had the writer foreseen that one of the party would, in a few years, have occupied the sublimest dignity of the Church, he might have been tempted to suppress the many little incidents interspersed through his work, in which the future Pontiff appears subject to the wretched little ills of travelling humanity—bad inns, worse suppers, saucy landlords, disagreeable companions; and where the land journey is over Cordilleras and Pampas, and that sort of country, to many inconveniences of even a worse character, viz., no inns, and no supper, the danger of savage visitors, fatigue, fever, and a thousand strange adventures. But here we have them all recounted with a *bonhomie* that is always pleasing, and at times diverting. Then when one who, in the familiarity of companionship, is simply called *Mastai*, is represented to us as the victim of these casualties, we own that it is a pleasure to us to

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\* The author promises a fifth volume, containing a narrative of the operations of the Commission. If published, it has never come before us; though it would be the most interesting of all.

see lurking under the disguise of that name, one far more glorious, but not destructive of individuality: and to imagine the person whom the Catholic world loves and reverences, and whom all the world admires and respects, once unconscious of coming honours as any poor missionary, sojourning in mud hovels, and feasting on very meagre fare. Perhaps a few extracts may amuse the reader, while they certainly will not lead to any disrespectful thoughts. The following is an account of a night at the post of Las Hermanas in South America:

"The post consisted of only four huts, built according to the fashion of those half-savages, of bones of animals and mud, and covered only with straw.....Monsignor (Muzy) Mastai and I slept in a hovel, without any door, and with a straw thatch which seemed intended for an observatory, so that the entire course of the planets might be observed from one's bed. The walls also, by their numerous cracks opened a sort of lateral look out, especially towards the North, where a crevice nearly a foot wide gave a beautiful view of the tail of *Ursa major*. However, this smiling cottage, so very agreeable from its scientific construction, and from its venerable antiquity, had the misfortune to be full of rubbish, and of hardened mud, heaped up here and there, and all over, and served the post-master as a slaughter-house, and store for his meat and other viands, whether for his own consumption, or for that of his ill-starred visitors. There were also boards hung from the rafters by ropes, on which were laid quantities of meat several days old, suet fresh and seasoned, cheese, and skins, small and large, placed to dry. Any one may imagine how savoury were their exhalations. If the room had been constructed with fewer apertures than it possessed, we should certainly have all of us expired that night, from want of respirable air in that mephitic atmosphere. However, fatigue and want of rest, which soften any bed, and prepare the best chamber, brought us most placid sleep; and I, though stretched with my thin matress on pieces of timber and hardened clods, heaped up close to the door, had the good fortune to sleep nearly the whole night, through which the wind disturbed me more than the close air."—Vol. ii. p. 95

A more lamentable account of a night spent in a ruined hovel occurs a little further in the same work, in which "Canonico Mastai" was the principal sufferer.\* The readers of Mr. Waterton's adventures will have there found a vivid description of one of its molestations, but not by any means of all. We must, however, find room for another very different adventure. On their return the

\* Page 165.

vessel touched at Montevideo, and on landing, the party were met by a large crowd. "But," writes their historian, "not all received us in the same manner; for, as we were landing, and I was on the left hand of the Vicar Apostolic, a young man, tall and stout, drest as a countryman, came upon me, with his arm uplifted, as if to drive me back by fistcuffs." (Surely he was a Northern of some kind.) "I having cleverly eluded his blow, he ran to attack Signor Canonic Mastai; but shouted at by many, and pushed back by a soldier, he ceased to molest us."<sup>\*</sup>

But whatever may be the misfortunes which beset the ways of the *homo viator*: upon firm land, they are nothing compared with the perils and annoyances of the deep, especially to an unlucky landsman. Hence we always receive with more than one grain of salt such a one's account of storms, and waves mountain-high, and imminent shipwrecks, well knowing how different an old tar's account of the same scenes would be. But with all due discount on the Abbate Sallusti's account, and with all allowance made for his poetical genius, which seems to run riot in describing the horrors of the "vasty deep," there can be no doubt that the voyage to America, narrated in these volumes, was stormy and perilous beyond the average. Scarcely had the vessel quitted Genoa, when the equinoctial gales seem to have attacked it in all their fury, and raised a tempest which lasted for several days. Of all the sufferers among those fresh sailors, "Mastai" appears always as the most severely afflicted; so that twice, when his companions were driven by their fears from their berths, and casting themselves on their knees before a representation of our Blessed Lady, there vowed to offer up the adorable sacrifice in thanksgiving, if freed from that danger, he was totally unable to leave his bed; † and when at last all seemed lost, and he was compelled to creep forth, he was reduced to such a state of weakness as only to be able to remain on the floor, where he was violently dashed from one side to the other of the cabin. ‡ We perhaps should not have troubled our readers with these details, although there is an interest in picking up early anecdotes of illustrious persons, referring to their history before they were great, were they not connected

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\* Vol. iv. p. 144.

† Vol. i. pp. 117—120.

‡ Page 121.

with an incident somewhat more remarkable in the life of our Pontiff.

These storms drove the captain of the vessel to seek shelter in the port of Palma, the capital of Majorca. Now Spain had not yet recognized the rights of the South American republics to the nomination of bishops, and looked with jealousy on every direct intercourse between them and the Holy See. The vessel was first treated as if suspected of plague ; then all its papers were demanded, including those of the Mission, and at length the Vicar Apostolic was ordered to go ashore. He demurred ; threats were held out that the rudder would be unshipped, and if that did not suffice, the brig scuttled, to enforce obedience. The bishop of course yielded, and with "Mastai" alone, embarked in a small boat, and was rowed through the yet agitated waters of the gulf. On landing, the two were arrested, and shut up in the prison of the lazaretto. It is fortunate for us that in our annalist love was stronger than fear, otherwise we should have had no record of the strange scenes which followed. Thus he writes : "Upon hearing this dismal news, I instantly got into the same boat, and having traversed the gulf, with equal danger, went to join them in the same prison."\* Next morning, he tells us, they were roused by the ringing of a huge bunch of keys, and the creaking of rusty bolts, and brought forth to be examined. But the author must describe the tribunal which summoned before it the future Pope. "The grand Sanhedrim, or new prætorium of Pilate, was set up at the very gates of the Lazaretto, and in it sat, with shaggy hair on end, and beetling brow, the alcalde of the city. He, as acting magistrate, presided at the assize, and he, with an imposing and majestic air, worthy of Pilate himself, put the questions. He had at his side two more austere ministers, who struck terror by their fierce aspect, and their terrific looks ; and a consumptive, cadaverous notary, who, with the air of a pharisee, noted down the questions and answers. When all had taken their posts, they placed in the midst of that synagogue of malignants a small wooden stool, on which they placed, first the bishop, then each of us, by himself to be examined."† Affairs took a rather serious turn. The

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\* Page 129.

† Page 130.

"governor of the island,"—not Barataria—seemed determined to maintain what he had begun, in spite of the mediation of the bishop Gonzales-Vallejo, who showed real zeal, good sense, and kindness throughout the matter, and of the energetic remonstrances of the consular authorities. For a certain number of the council wished to send off the papal commissioners at once to Ceuta, and so make short work of it. At length, after four days' severe imprisonment, they were allowed to re-embark. The concluding words of the narrative have something almost of augury in them. "I cut short, in a moment, a letter which I was inditing to Mgr. Lambruschini, archbishop of Genoa, and giving it to the Sardinian consul half written, together with the despatch for the court of Rome, I thanked the Lord, with sincere heart, for having been pleased to draw us out from prison, even as he did His first Vicar, and Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter; I took up my little bundle, and cheerfully following the bishop and Mastai, went with them out of prison."\*

We wonder whether any of the actors in this singular occurrence yet remain, to remember how they treated their future spiritual chief. If so, they must have, we should think, some feelings of compunction, for not having given him a more hospitable reception, due to every one in distress, still more to persons bearing such a character as the papal commissioners. But we are sure that if they ever had occasion to entreat pardon for their error, a pleasant smile, if not a hearty laugh, and certainly a more hearty blessing, would be their reply.

But to return: the entire voyage was tempestuous; and it was off Cape Horn that the storm, alluded to in the joint biography before us, took place. The vessel was severely shaken; "the Canonico Mastai," writes our Italian chronicler, "while we were all sitting round the cabin, saying the rosary, was dashed, by a sudden stroke of a sea, completely from one side of the ship to the other, and we considered it a special mercy that he did not strike against Father Arce, who was opposite to him." But this was nothing. While at table they were alarmed by a cry of—"Quick! launch the jolly-boat!" Our historian ran on deck, saw the helm hard up, the sails dropped, and the

vessel standing still. At the stern he thought he perceived the points of rocks protruding from the water. These turned out to be a dog-kennel, a hen-coop, and other articles thrown out to a poor sailor, who, while taking soundings had fallen off the bows, and was already left far behind. Then followed a scene of inexpressible confusion, each one in the cabin mistaking the cause of the alarm, except one; for while one thought they were on shore, and others that they were attacked by corsairs, “the Canonico Mastai, seeing from the cabin window the poor wretch carried away by the current, cried aloud: *Dio mio! Dio mio!* whereupon Senor Cienfuegos,” (who was thinking of an onslaught of pirates,) “understood him to say: *tio mio! tio mio!* that is, (in Spanish,) *my uncle!* and fancied that the corsairs had wounded some relation of his among the crew.” It would have been too bad if such a ludicrous scene had ended seriously. Three sailors boldly dashed into the tempestuous waves in a small boat, rowed back three miles, and found the poor fellow, after he had been an hour in the water, and had contrived to strip himself, just sinking. They brought him alive, but much exhausted, on board.\* Having ourselves a vivid recollection of a scene most similar in all but its happy termination, we easily sympathize in the vivid description of the Italian narrator.

We cannot, for a moment, doubt that these passages in the life of the Sovereign Pontiff, this exposure to the petty, but real miseries of ordinary men’s lives, so different from the monotonous, quiet, *respectable* mode of living which forms the ordinary lot of persons destined for high ecclesiastical offices, or raised to them from the cloister, has had its influence in the formation of his after character. The being buffeted by elemental storms, in the very straightforward, natural way described by Sallustj, in a small sailing vessel, the short commons of which form one of the most comical topics of the historian, the passing through the hardships of an American expedition, obliged to shift for himself in most undignified modes, must have prepared him to “rough it” also in a moral sense, and have freed him from those conventional feelings, and those artificial wants, which few near a throne, whatever it be, without

acquiring. Etiquette, formalities, the trammels of state, the pride of rank, and the small pretensions of acquired dignity, had no opportunity of cramping, still less of moulding, the character, at that period of life at which it receives its principal conformation. We doubt if, in all the pontifical annals, another Pope occurs, who, before his elevation had twice crossed the line, and had gone through the ceremony of paying homage to the tarry Neptune, who on such occasions claims it. But Providence, we are sure, made use of these unusual occurrences in the life of its pre-chosen instrument, as a preparative for the peculiar circumstances of the present pontificate, and of those qualities which were necessary in him who had to wield its sceptre. This view is taken, and beautifully expressed by the able Balmes, in the pamphlet before us. After giving a sketch of the voyage to America, he thus proceeds:

"There is certainly in nature's grand scenes, an influence which expands and nerves the soul; and when these are united to the contemplation of different races, varied in civilization and manners, the mind acquires a largeness of sentiment most favourable to the development of the understanding and the heart, widening the sphere of thought, and ennobling the affections. On this account it is pleasing above all things, to see the youthful missionary, destined to occupy the Chair of St. Peter, traverse the vast ocean, admire the magnificent rivers and superb chains of mountains of America; travel through those forests and plains where a rich and fertile soil, left to itself, displays with ostentatious luxury its inborn treasures, by the abundance, variety, and beauty of its productions, animate and inanimate; run risks among savages, sleep in wretched hovels, or on the open plain, and pass the night beneath that brilliant canopy which astonishes the traveller in the southern hemisphere. Providence, which destined the young Mastai Ferretti to reign over a people, and to govern the universal Church, led him by the hand, to visit various nations, and to contemplate the marvels of nature."—p. xi.

Of the occupations of Canonico Mastai in Chili, we know little; as an ecclesiastical mission the expedition proved a failure. There was jealousy and bad faith on the part of the Chilian government, and want of tact, and bad management, we fear, on the part of the head of the mission, now no more. But this we know, that the subject of our present memoir gained for himself the esteem, friendship, and warm affections of many, if not all. His election to the supreme pontificate was hailed in South

America with raptures of joy, as though a native had been chosen ; and the cathedral Chapter of Santiago, to whom the Pope sent a present of a rich chalice, in their letter of thanks requested, as a further token, His Holiness's bust, to replace in the chapter-house, in remembrance of his former residence among them. This has just passed through this country on its way to America.

The voyage to Europe was a complete contrast to the one to America. The ocean seemed to make amends for its former rudeness ; or the evil spirits opposed no obstacles to the retreat of a mission, which had done, in spite of enmities and cold discouragements, no small amount of local good. After ten months' residence in Chili, the archbishop and his companions embarked at Valparaiso, on the 30th of October, 1824 ; on the 4th of December, landed at Montevideo ; re-embarked on the 18th of February, 1825, after confirming, ordaining, and performing other important functions : went on shore at Gibraltar on the 6th of May, set sail again on the 25th, and on the 5th of June landed in safety at Genoa. From the coast of America to Gibraltar, the prelate and his two companions were able daily to celebrate the Divine Mysteries, and strange to say, the functions of Holy Week, or at least the beautiful service of Good Friday, and the entire Holy Saturday office, including the ringing of the previously tongue-tied bells, were performed on board the ship.\*

"But," continues our historian, after having related various misfortunes, "what terrified us more than all, was the sudden illness of Canonico Mastai. During Holy Week he began to feel slightly indisposed, but paid little attention to it. After some time an acrid eruption came out in his neck.....It attacked his face, and brought on a species of apoplectic stroke, which distorted the mouth, and deprived it of all sensibility. He remained several

\* To relish the following passage one must know the Italian character well : " Si celebrava giornalmente da tutti il Santo Sacrificio della Messa ; e nella Settimana santa, potemmo anche fare lo scoprimento, e l'adorazione della Croce, e sciogliere le campane, colla previa funzione del Sabato Santo. Quindi per compimento della festa fu ucciso un pingue majale, e coi piatti che ce ne preparava il nostro cuoco, unitamenti ad altri cibi, e ai generosi vini Europei, passammo quei santi giorni di Resurrezione nell' allegria del Signore."—p. 201.

days in this miserable state, which we all feared might end fatally ; but, by the divine mercy, after many days of such poor care as could be given him on board a vessel on the wide ocean, we had the desired consolation of seeing him perfectly restored.”—p. 203.

After his return to Rome, Monsignor Mastai Ferretti (created a prelate by Pope Leo XII.,) resumed his career of ecclesiastical and charitable duties, until that holy Pontiff, who, as we have seen, had highly esteemed him before his departure for America, named him Archbishop of Spoleto, his own native city. This was on the 21st of May, 1827. He continued in this see till Gregory XIII. named him to that of Imola, Dec. 17th, 1832.

Both these positions must have materially influenced his views and his future measures. Of these bishoprics the first stood on the borders between the discontented provinces of the papal dominions, and what might be called the more loyal portion of the states. It was on the line from Spoleto to Rieti, that the insurgents of 1831 exhausted their force ; it seemed as though the waves there met too high a coast, which turned them back, or as if an invisible boundary line marked the sacred territory which girded the holy City. At that time, two bishops, bearing the same name, near relations and dear friends, ruled spiritually over those two cities. It was owing to their personal efforts that the tide of insurrectionary war rolled back from their gates. But the difference of the two characters is strongly evidenced by the difference of their modes of proceedings. Cardinal Gabriele Ferretti—he who afterwards was nuncio at Naples while the cholera there raged, who, the whole day, visited the poorest sick, and attended them spiritually, and when he found one without sufficient bed-clothes, flung on the pallet and left there his gold-trimmed purple cloak ;—he who electrified the immense congregation assembled at prayers and benediction in Sta Chiara, to avert the plague, by offering himself, in an outburst of charity and devotion, as a victim to Divine justice, that the city might be spared : he who lately took the helm of the state when all seemed troubled and menacing, was received in triumph when he presented himself at the gates of Rome, and joined a procession on foot, when it was said (to alarm the people) that there was a mine laid to blow it into the air—this Monsignor, now Cardinal Ferretti, was bishop of Rieti : a man whose heart is as the flint

where it has to meet danger, and is as tender as a woman's where charity is concerned. Against his city of Rieti came the armed force of the insurgents, several thousands strong. The courageous bishop armed the citizens, disposed them to the best advantage, gave the wisest directions, encouraged them to vigorous defence, and then took his post at the foot of the altar, praying, during the engagement, to the God of battles, but consulted, when need was, by those who presided over more active measures of war. The result proved successful, the day was won : and the Bishop of Rieti was the hero of Italy. It was not long after the occurrence, that being his guest, we walked together over the scene of his victory : but we received our invitation from him at Spoleto.\*

Towards the gates of this city two thousand insurgents marched, we believe, after that discomfiture. They breathed fury and vengeance, threatened to set fire to the town, and to murder the clergy. The bishop was, as our readers have been informed, Mastai Ferretti. He was advised to fly, as particularly obnoxious to the rebels, who were in fact under no control, and were little better than a horde of banditti. But not only did he refuse, hireling-like, to abandon his flock because the wolf was coming, but he replied that no doubt the poor creatures who were advancing, were in distress and needed relief. He accordingly went forth to meet them, told them who he was, and spoke to them kindly. They laid down their arms ; he assisted them with food and money, and they returned home.

The second bishopric held by the Pope was in the very heart of Romagna, in the centre of discontent and disaffection. Whatever real cause there might be for these feelings he certainly had the best opportunity of seeing and knowing. As the early part of his career served to make him acquainted with sorrow and wretchedness under two of its forms, poverty and sin—as he there learnt the amount of domestic misery, and of moral corruption which lurks in every state, however crusted over with seeming prosperity, so did his position during the years immediately pre-

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\* Cardinal Ferretti belonged in youth to the same school as the present Pope. Educated at the same time in the Roman College, he dedicated a thesis in theology to Pope Pius VII. who personally attended it. He afterwards particularly devoted himself to preaching of retreats and missions to the poor, till he was named Bishop of Rieti.

ceding his pontificate, tend, while adding to his former knowledge, to bring him more immediately into contact with public abuses, with political disturbance, with the restlessness of men's minds, and the disturbance of their social convictions, which made the whole of the preceding pontificate a perpetual wrestling and struggling between suppressed feelings of discontent, and secret plans of revolution on the one hand, and an irritated government on the other. Wherever a system of conspiracy is being carried on, wherever through the agency of secret societies, not rampant and open-mouthed clubs, like those of Paris or of present Rome, but dark, hidden mysterious fraternities, like the secret tribunals of the middle ages, there is a constant upheaving effort to overthrow a government, it seems almost natural for that government to have recourse to secret and disguised instruments, for discovering and counteracting the evil. Happy that ruler who has the courage, like the present Pope, to drag the lurking mischief into daylight, and have to deal with it above ground: for after all, though more frightful, a volcano is better than an earthquake. But it is difficult, when the struggle has once begun, to change its character; it is not even often in the power of one party to do it, nor can it be well done by mutual compact. Mines and countermines are going on together; those who are every moment going to spring the first, and so overthrow, as they hope, the walls of the city, are not likely to desist on any assurance of the other side, that they will cease operations; and it cannot easily be expected that the beleaguered will diminish their exertions, in hope that the enemy will give up his underground operations. It is hard, nay it is unjust, to cast censure upon the late papal government, supposing it possessed of the instinct of self-preservation, for the system into which it was driven. The lowest kind of justice that could be done to it, would be to divide the blame. Never was an opportunity given to it to try the course of generous concession or open confidence. A rebellion had broken out before the Pope had been elected; it bespoke a war, not against the individual, or measures, but at once against the principle of pontifical dominion. The news of the revolt reached Rome on the day of the Pope's coronation. It was in concert with a rising at Modena, and in Lombardy. There was no remonstrance, no petition sent in to the new Sovereign; there was no pause made, no truce

offered, for the consideration of grievances ; but while the government of Gregory XVI. was scarcely formed, still less known, the war was pushed almost to the gates of Rome, and a party in that city itself rose in concert with its promoters, endeavoured to disarm the guard, kept the capital in a state of alarm, and filled the quiet and the religious part of the population with disgust and abhorrence. Yet in every account that we read of the policy of the late pontificate, no heed is given to these circumstances ; it is forgotten that the predecessor of Pius IX. commenced his reign over a kingdom, one half of which was in arms, and the other half overrun and undermined by the agents of secret societies, or even by the active operation of those guilds of iniquity. Was there one generous act, one trustful advance, one declaration of honest principle on their side to inspire or encourage liberal dealings with them, or a confidence in the uprightness, or real patriotism of their views ? Nay, we will go further and ask, was there one man leading, or connected with, the revolutionary movement of 1831, whose name gave the slightest guarantee, that the rights of religion would be respected, or its very essentials thought worth preserving ? It may be different with the same men now. But that is nothing to us : we speak unhesitatingly of a former period.

But, notwithstanding all this, Gregory XVI. did put forth appeals to his rebellious subjects, as gentle, as affectionate, as forgiving, and as encouraging, as it was possible to write. They proceeded from his own pen—he would not trust another heart to speak his feelings ; for he was a paternal and a tender-hearted prince. He offered to correct abuses, he listened willingly to the suggestions of other powers ; he did, in fact, introduce many reforms, and took the first steps towards introducing a system of representative government in the provinces. But, in the meantime, how was he treated ? His peaceful remonstrances and fatherly invitations were disregarded, and he had no alternative but war. Austria gave assistance, and the revolt came to a close. The leading actors fled, and formed the great body of refugees, whom the amnesty of Pius has restored to their families ; and the system of covert warfare, by means of secret societies, of periodical plots and unceasing disquietudes, continued. On the other side, distrust and eternal misgivings prevailed ; and that evil, from which Great Britain alone is exempt, was

perpetuated—the existence and agency of a political police. In England, indeed, we understand by the name police, the protectors of life and property; on the continent, in constitutional and semi-constitutional, quite as much as in despotic, governments, the functions of this department relate much more to the safety of the state. Its secret services are far the most important, and the best requited. Unfortunately, they are not most congenial to honourable and open-hearted men; and too often they fall into the hands of low-minded, or desperate, or selfish individuals, whom it is a misery and a curse to have connected with any government.

But it may be said, why did not the late Pope at once act in a decided, generous manner, reject Austrian interference, throw himself on the better feelings of his subjects, proclaim an amnesty for the past, and liberal measures for the future? We might say much on this topic; but we feel that the keen knife of experience cuts here at once through the Gordian knot of any tangled reasoning. The very men who met Gregory's offers of pardon and concession at the point of the sword, after fifteen years of sobering age and subduing exile, were recalled to their homes by the spontaneous clemency of Pius; and after having blessed his name aloud till it became a name of benediction throughout Europe, after having declared themselves unable in their eloquent tongue to find words that could describe his goodness or express their gratitude, after having solemnly each one "promised, on his word of honour, not to abuse in any manner, or at any time, that act of sovereign clemency, and engaged himself to fulfil all the duties of a good and loyal subject;"\* after having received marks of honour and affection from him, after having seen him ready to grant every reasonable desire, and to lead the way in all feasible improvements,—these very men have proved themselves disloyal even to *him*—faithless, treacherous; have violated their engagements, have tried to strip him of his well-earned popularity, have striven to circumscribe and clip that power, the first manifestation of which was benevolence to themselves; have forced his consent to rash experiments, have striven to compel him, by clamour, to drive him into war, and have

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\* Liancourt, vol. i. p. 249.

almost proceeded to coerce his sacred person. If we have been so far misled by an over-favourable estimate of human nature, as to have believed it impossible for men so treated to have acted as they have done, and thus to have regretted that the experiment of pardon was not earlier tried, we must now acknowledge in humiliation that there may have been a deeper insight into human nature, or a sharper look into possible futurity than we possessed, which enabled others to discern what lurked in depths of ingratitude, far beyond our ken. If Gregory XVI. believed that probable which we now find to be actual, we can hardly be surprised that he did not begin his reign with an amnesty.

But to return: whoever was the author, or whatever was the cause, it is clear that such a state of conflict between the Government and the people, such a war of principles as endured for years, could not fail to bring with it much true suffering, much real misery. Many noble families mourned for exiles, victims generally of their own imprudence; and the state of irritation and bad humour, which systematic opposition to the ruling powers engendered, cramped all industry and energy, and split towns and even families into parties or almost factions. All this was galling, grieving, ruinous to happiness. And in this form it must have presented itself to the mind and heart of the bishop of Imola, living as he did in contact with it. To him it must have been afflicting to witness so much public calamity, and so much consequent domestic wretchedness. He was no politician; he was no theorist; but he was a lover of his kind, of his flock, of his children, and he could not fail to sympathize with their woes. Never for a moment was he suspected of going along with the liberal party, or of being a "reformer." Gregory XVI. esteemed him as highly as his predecessors had done, and created him a Cardinal, but reserved him *in petto*, in the year 1839, and named him in the course of the following year. The unanimity with which he was elected Pope is proof how little he was considered a party man.\*

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\* The account given, in the English biography, of the Pope's kindness to the nuns of Angers is, we believe, correct. We have heard, on good authority, an interesting anecdote of the Pope, while Bishop of Imola. An atrocious sacrilege was committed by the

We hold this to be a most material point in examining the Pontiff's conduct since his accession. There could not be a more incorrect view of his character and acts than that which has been popularly taken; that which represents him as a man taking possession of the pontifical chair with what are called "liberal views," and with constitutional theories ready in his head. His whole life had been a thoroughly ecclesiastical, and for many years, an episcopal one. He had not anticipated the papal dignity, and he had no time to "cram" for it. He assumed his post with the preparation which an upright mind, a matured judgment, a delicate conscience, sincere piety, and a most thoroughly excellent heart can give a man. He came to it determined (we speak of him as a civil ruler) to remove all causes of suffering to his people, and to remedy every abuse, for the knowing and feeling of which his previous career had so eminently fitted him. We believe that his own heart said to him in that hour what the Prefect Probus said to St. Ambrose, yet a layman, when he named him a civil magistrate: "Vade, age, non ut judex, sed ut episcopus."

The time is, we suppose, pretty well past when a constitution was a Procrustian bed on which every nation must be fitted. A few years ago every consular agent went abroad with a plan of government in his pocket, to thrust on the suckling republic, which he was sent to rock. Fit, or no fit, it was the christening present of England, and it must go on. It might give a fatal chill, or a mortal cramp, or kicking convulsions; it was of no avail; on it must be kept. The tyrant presidents, and the cut-throat liberators of South America, the civil wars and cruel disorders of that emancipated continent, Greece, and its worse than Turkish demoralization and anarchy, and a generation of mankind fast passing away amidst spoliations, civil wars, and disorganization of commerce, society, and government in both the kingdoms of the Peninsula, have by this

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robbery of a tabernacle. The Bishop mounted the pulpit, and, after a feeling discourse on the crime, declared that he would not sleep in his episcopal residence till it had been expiated, and the Lord of Glory had been restored to His House. He proceeded to a hired lodging, where he lived, till the robber, struck with compunction, came to him, and entreated forgiveness, and revealed the place where the S. Hosts were to be found.

time disenchanted us of our love of theoretical government, imposed without the slightest regard to the principles of adaptation. Hence Sir Harry Smith did *not* give the Caffres, this time, two chambers, a responsible ministry, and trial by jury. And we have actually left the Celestial Empire without the terrene advantages of a liberal income-tax and a national debt. The theory now so much the fashion, that every form of government is essentially unjust which does not give the people the power to make its own laws, and to tax itself, is a libel, to say the least, upon nearly six thousand years of man's cycle of existence, during which time neither the instincts of the savage state, nor the glimmerings of barbarism, nor the blaze of civilization, has led to the adoption of any one definite form. The scale has varied, to every imaginable degree, from the wildest democracy to the most stringent despotism. And yet men seem to have been happy, and certainly they have been prosperous, which is quite a different thing, under every possible form. That Pius IX. contemplated the granting of a constitutional government when he ascended the papal throne, few will imagine. He began at once by that noble amnesty, which gave evidence of his great principle—the determination to diminish, and if possible to remove, suffering. He then proceeded to reform abuses ; and we have no doubt that he had made up his mind to the necessity of introducing great organic changes in the administration both of justice and of finance. For instance, it cannot have escaped him, that in consequence of the practice of the States, of employing persons supposed to be ecclesiastics, in offices regarding merely secular affairs, a double evil ensued ; the younger branches of noble families were driven either to fester in idleness, discontent, and vice, in a stagnant society which they only helped to corrupt, or to assume the ecclesiastical habit without receiving orders, and often disgracing it by their lives. There was no useful career of honest ambition open to them ; and it is probable that the Pope, who must have long seen this evil, may have intended to remove it, by secularizing some of the great offices of state. Generous measures he no doubt intended, but *liberal* ones we do not believe he contemplated ; nor can we think that any one, at that time, could have done so. A good ruler is like a skilful physician ; while he administers remedies for active disorder, he watches the direction which nature

takes in the healing process, and endeavours to second, not to force her. If the strength grows more rapidly than the previous depression warranted him to expect, he will give more rapidly a more nutritious diet; but Hippocrates himself could not plan beforehand what course he would day by day pursue. Now, in like manner, suppose the state to have been disjointed, deranged, and in complete disorder, at the Pope's accession; he must have started with the determination of setting all to rights, and many reforms and changes, necessary for that purpose, no doubt received acceptance in his mind; but it must have been out of his own power even to calculate the growing cravings, and perhaps the increasing fitness for what are called liberal institutions, which the first reforms and improvements might produce. It was impossible to say by anticipation, this concession shall be made, but one that goes beyond shall not. Conscience and duty being secure, and the exigencies being reasonable, it is hard to draw a line whereat to stop.

Let us suppose that no disturbing causes had arisen from without. The Pope's course of improvement would have been gradual: each other state of Italy would have moved with him *pari passu*, in the work of reform. One great measure which he contemplated for the general good, was the union of Italian states in a common league, for peaceful purposes,—a commercial, a postal, and a financial union,—which, aided by railways, the great pacifiers of our days, would have mutually benefited all the states. But in this plan there was no idea of Mazzini's Italianism, nor of Gioberti's Primacy. Austria in Lombardy would have been considered as a legitimate Italian power, and the smaller principalities would have received full recognition of their rights, nay, would have possessed additional guarantees for them. There would have been agitation, no doubt, from more ardent spirits; from the liberals, who in exile had been watching the wheel-work of other states, and thought that it was like iron machinery, that could be set up everywhere. But the naturally sensible and staid character of the Italian people, especially the Romans, and the smallness of their ardour for a liberty which they cannot understand, would have afforded at once a secure subsoil for loyalty and conservatism to keep their roots in, and a soft bed which would have effectually deadened the assault of reckless liberalism. If all the

great powers of Italy had pulled harmoniously together, they would have weathered the storm.

Unfortunately two events took place which baffled every calculation. The most keen-eyed statesman could no more have foreseen, and prepared against the French revolution, than, as Napoleon observed, the most consummate general could have calculated on the burning of Moscow by the Russians. Just when the dynasty of Louis Philippe seemed the most securely seated on its throne, it was overthrown, and a new republic rose in Europe. The effect of such a blow on Italy is well known; it aroused dormant passions, inflamed slumbering hopes, and threw into the scales on one side, the weight of a mighty nation. Hence the revolt of Lombardy; hence the Italian war. The other event which threw all out of its equilibrium, and sent the car, of which the steeds could scarcely be reined in, dashing madly down the hill, was the sudden concession, made apparently half in mockery, half in spite, by the king of Naples, of a complete constitution to the people, perhaps of all others the least fitted for it. The *arrière pensée* with which this was done has since appeared. But its immediate effect was to precipitate measures most detrimentally throughout Italy, and instead of allowing changes to be gradual, and letting free institutions be the ripe fruit of time and consolidated growth, it forced on an artificial, premature, and unwholesome growth, which makes every step now taken to be merely experimental, and unsupported by a previously well-laid basis.

There have been two charges made against the conduct of the present Pope, in his temporal government, (for we are looking at this alone,) which are in a manner contradictory. The one which his most violent enemies in this country urge is, that he has all along been driven by a lurking\* ambition to become the head political of Italy. The other has been more kindly advanced, that he has been weak in making concessions beyond what he had ever intended, or even thought of. The more recent events of Italy have amply confuted both these charges. Had the Pope chosen to put himself at the head of the Italian party, and urged on public opinion towards federalism, under the cry of "Italy for the Italians," he might, at this moment have been, not merely as popular as ever with his own subjects, but the recognized chief of the Italian confederation; nor is it improbable that considerable accessions

would have been made to his territories. But faithful to what he deemed, and we think most justly, a more sacred duty, he refused to declare a war which became him not ; he withheld the strongest appeals, and the most ominous intimations, and remained neuter. Ambition is the last imputation which can now be cast upon his character, even if the accusation were not refuted by the entire tenor of his life.\*

It appears to us singular, that at the moment we are writing on this subject, news should have reached us that General Durando and his Roman troops have been compelled to surrender, and re-cross the Po, on condition of not bearing arms for three months against Austria. This general declared that the Pope had sanctioned their campaign, and was openly contradicted. There could be no blessing upon his unblessed banner, and he and his followers have been singled out for defeat. They can no longer act in opposition to their prince's wishes.

But to return : it is clear that the Pope, by his unambitious firmness, has preserved himself in his proper and dignified place. If not merely rumours, but appearances be true, he is able to mediate, and will most probably be the arbitrator, to adjust claims between Italy and Germany. Had he become a party to the war he never could have taken this position.

As to the charge of weakness, what we have said will suffice for it. Had we space left, we would lay before our readers a detailed account of the events which succeeded the celebrated Allocution of April 29th. We doubt whether sufficient time has elapsed before stirring up the half-quenched embers of that fiery hour. But we have before us the true statement of what occurred in those days, almost hour by hour ; and we feel sure, that were the proceedings known, as they then took place, and were the strong and energetic language which he used in its proper place proclaimed, there would, on the one hand, be excited strong indignation, in at least every Catholic breast, against those who have so unworthily treated the kindest

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\* We have no wish to judge in the great question of the war, nor concerning the conduct of the King of Sardinia. Those who wish to see these matters fully and ably discussed, must read Mr. Bowyer's defence in the pamphlet second on our list.

and most clement of sovereigns, and, on the other, admiration raised of his most becoming, dignified, and determined mode of dealing with such men.

On the present uncertain position of things in Rome we cannot pronounce a judgment. We have already said, that it is an experimental state. All is now in the crucible ; and whether gold or lead (we hope not steel) will come out, defies the foresight of any seer. "Double, double, toil, and trouble," are certainly in the caldron ; and we have no great confidence in the wizards who are stirring up the decoction. Somehow or other we do place much in the Roman people. Though they have of late taken to strange fashions, and appear abroad bearded like pards, we do hope that the good taste and good sense of which they have often given proof, will again triumph over the fitful and baneful influence of a few hotheaded leaders. Already the Trasteverini have proclaimed as their motto, "Religione e libertà ; Libertà con religione." This, we trust, will ere long be the watchword round which all Rome and all the Pontifical States will rally. If this be the case, we have no doubt but that the Pope will soon see the end of his anxieties and troubles, and find himself at the head of a contented and united people.

One thing more we do most sincerely hope,—that the Romans will forget all nonsense about Romulus and Remus, and all the Brutuses ; and give up the she-wolf, with all the sickly classicalities of Arcadia, and the puerilities of academical mythology. They have got to learn (many of them at least) that they have little more to do with pagan Rome than have the Tartars. The "Rome of the Popes" is their birth-place, and the heroes of the Church are their best forefathers. To think that they can, with impunity, throw away eighteen centuries of christian glory, to build the honour of the present age upon the stale reputation of the heathen warriors and poets of ancient Rome, would be as absurd as if they really should think of erecting the hall of meeting for their new parliament on the broken columns and shaky walls of the Colisseum. Pagan Rome is no longer theirs ; it belongs to the schoolboys—to those who get impositions for not remembering who Mummius was, or how many divisions there were in an *As*. The heads of Roman youth are apt to get crammed with the foolish idea, that they are something to the Fabii and the Horatii, and that they have some call or other to rein-

state or continue their glory. The arts and the literature of Rome have been allowed too freely to take this vain and aimless direction. Stupid and indecent mythologies entice its artists, while Overbeck's—the German's—paintings sweetly smile holy reproaches on their wasted talents. Every old nook and hole, in which an ancient bat may have esconced itself, is heedfully explored; while, beneath ground is a sacred city, almost abandoned to the interest of strangers, or to the unaided zeal of a Marchi; and every hill is crowned with religious monuments, that shame by their durability the ruined temples of heathenism. It is not on the Capitol, with its sacred birds, (be they not ominous!) that the inspirations of the new chambers must be sought; but on the Vatican, at the tomb of him who is the Founder and Father of modern and christian Rome—of the first of that line of princes, whose countenance has been for centuries the sun of Rome. For when averted or removed, what has ever ensued but misery, poverty, and threatened dissolution? To try the experiment once more would be the height of madness. St. Peter's chains have rivetted a bond between his line and the eternal city, which no Mazzini will ever break. Rome is the Eternal City, only because its princes have an eternal charter from an unfailing authority. These are gates stronger than those of any worldly city, which cannot prevail against the Rock. Let the new constitution mingle its foundations with those which already repose on it, and it will be secure: let it seek a separate site, and it will get—not upon sand—but upon a quicksand. Let the Cross between the Cross-Keys be the device of the Senate,—both to show under what sanction it sits, and to represent the symbol of its holy Pontiff in the series of Popes:

#### CRUX DE CRUCE.\*

As for ourselves, we gladly accept the omen of this description. The Cross is indeed the emblem of pain, of trial, of tribulation, and of sorrow. As such it must come. But the cross which springs from the Cross is ever bright, glorious, and majestic. It was of gold upon the banner and the crown of Constantine; it was of light when it

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\* In Malachy's Prophecy of the Popes.

promised him victory in the heavens ; it will be of lightning when it reappears as the sign of the Son of Man. Our holy and dear Pontiff is now carrying his cross—the heavy Cross of Calvary ; may it soon bear fruit, and produce for him the second cross—the Cross of Light !

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ART. X.—*A History of the Holy Eastern Church.—The Patriarchate of Alexandria.* By the Rev. JOHN MASON NEALE, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. London : Masters, 1847.

A RCHBISHOP Abbot's celebrated letter to Cyril Lucaris, was addressed to "His most holy Lord and Brother, Cyril, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, and *Œcumical Judge.*" Mr. Neale has slightly improved upon this style and title, and dedicates his book "*to His Holiness Artemius, by Divine Mercy, Pope and Patriarch of Alexandria, Libya, Pentapolis, and all the preaching of St. Mark, and *Œcumical Judge.**" The name of "*His Holiness Pope Artemius,*" will probably sound strange in the ears of most of our readers ; the dedication itself may possibly appear a little affected and fanciful ; but although Mr. Neale's former publications, especially his "*Hierologus,*" would lead us to suspect that he is somewhat of a formalist in the externals of the ecclesiastical system, yet we are inclined to believe that this dedication is somewhat more than a form, and has an object beyond the mere effect which its novelty might be expected to produce. It is intended, we presume, as a pledge of the intercommunion of the Anglican and Alexandrian Churches, or at least, on Mr. Neale's part, as a manifestation of that fundamental theory of the Church party to which he belongs, that "*the Anglican Church has never rejected the communion of the Western, and still less of the Eastern Church.*"

There was a time when an Anglican clergyman who should venture to speak civilly of "*His Holiness Pope Artemius,*" much less to dedicate a book to him in respectful terms, would have run a serious risk of a citation

to the Court of Arches, if he escaped the more probable fate of incarceration in Bedlam. It is true that during the Patriarchate of the Greco-Calvinistic Cyril Lucaris, strong hopes were entertained of a union, at least in essentials, with the eastern Christians, and of the formation of a general confederation of all the enemies of Rome. But from the moment of the unequivocal reprobation of the western innovations, pronounced in the Council of Constantinople, and elicited by the daring attempt of Cyril, the idea had been abandoned as hopeless. The enemies of Rome in the West felt that the alliance of those eastern Churches which sympathized with them in this hostility, could only be purchased by the sacrifice of almost every principle on which they themselves differed from Rome, with the exception of the Papal Supremacy ; the oriental Christians ceased to be taken into account at all, except by a few extreme high-church men, in the consideration of the questions debated between the rival Churches of the West ; or if their communion was thought of at all, it was merely in the light of an anomalous association of opposing principles—as a compound of superannuated popery and protestantism in its nonage—a modification of popery without the pope, and of protestantism without the bible—maintaining, and indeed exaggerating, the worst corruption of the first without its vigour or enlightenment, and mimicking the self-reliance of the second without its courage or consistency.

It is true that there have always been some among the members of the Church of England,\* who looked with a more charitable and reverent eye upon those remnants of the great Churches of the East, which still maintain themselves among the barbarism by which they are surrounded. But since the middle of the seventeenth century—since that general identification of the East and West in all the leading doctrines which form the subject of modern controversy, to which the efforts of Cyril Lucaris to inoculate the East with Calvinism gave occasion, the popular view of eastern Christianity has, even in the Church of England, been in substance what we have described.

It can hardly be necessary, however, to say that in the new Church theories now popular in England, the Churches

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\* See Palmer's 'Treatise on the Church,' t. i. p. 150.

of the East occupy an important and prominent position. It would carry us beyond our present purpose, nevertheless, to enter into the consideration of these theories. We shall, perhaps, have another opportunity of examining the consistency of Mr. Neale's particular principles on this subject; but for the present our main concern with him is in his capacity of historian of the Eastern Church; nor should we have alluded to these general questions at all, unless for the purpose of enabling the reader to judge of the feeling and the spirit in which his history is composed. Mr. Neale not only avows that he writes in a spirit of respect, and even reverence, for the Oriental Church, but declares his opinion that "the historian should write, not as a member of the Roman, not as a member of the English Church, but as far as may be with oriental views, and even perhaps prepossessions." How far he has acted up to this theory in the composition of his history, we shall have occasion to see hereafter.

There can be no second opinion as to the importance of the subject which Mr. Neale has undertaken to illustrate. In English literature we have absolutely nothing on the subject. The scanty and imperfect outline of eastern affairs which is to be found in the Church historians and other ecclesiastical writers of England, does not deserve the name of history at all. The modern ecclesiastical writers of the continent are almost equally unsatisfactory; even the Germans, prolific as is their literature, afford but little information on the branch of the subject to which Mr. Neale's present volumes are devoted. F. Theiner, in his learned and accurate work,\* confines himself almost exclusively to the Russian and Russo-Greek Churches, and indeed chiefly to the modern history of both; and the work of Schmitt,† notwithstanding the pretension of its title, is rather an account of the present condition and constitution of the Church in Greece and in Russia than a history of either Church. Here, therefore, as in most other subjects of ecclesiastical interest, we are thrown back upon the labours of the great men of the past generation, whom, until lately, it was the fashion to decry: to

\* Die neueste Zustände der Kathol. Kirche, beiden Ritus in Polen und Russland. Augsburg, 1841.

† Kritische Geschichte der neu-griechischen und der Russischen Kirche. Mainz, 1840.

the Dominican Le Quien for the general history of the Patriarchate of Alexandria: to the Jesuit Sollerius, or the Abbé Renandot, for the succession of the Jacobite Patriarchs. Mr. Neale has drawn freely upon these and various other sources, especially in the later period of the history. For the earlier centuries, and indeed as far as the occupation of Alexandria by the Saracens, his volumes contain little that is new. His account of the Arian, the Nestorian, the Eutychian, and the Monothelite controversies, though learned in some particulars, is, in general, but a meagre abstract of the larger historians; and he has condensed it so much, and confined it so strictly to a mere detail of facts, that we fear it will hardly be found to possess much popular interest. But the history of the Alexandrian Patriarchate under the Saracen domination, though, from the defective nature of the materials, it can hardly be considered as forming a continuous and complete narrative, will be gratefully received as a substantial and important contribution to a subject which is comparatively unknown. When it is recollect ed that, with the exception of the scattered, and for the most part unfriendly and contemptuous, notices of the ecclesiastical affairs of the East, during this period, which are to be gleaned among the miscellaneous learning of Gibbon's extraordinary work, there is literally nothing in the English language from which we could gather even the elements of its history, it will be easy to estimate the value of a minute and careful compilation from the best authorities, drawn up in a spirit so reverential, and, in many respects so impartial, as that which breathes through the pages of Mr. Neale.

The later period of the history, especially the seventeenth century, is still more interesting, and its materials still more new. Mr. Neale's account of Cyril Lucaris, and of his abortive project for the inoculation of the East with Calvinism, is in many respects extremely valuable. He has not only collected and combined all the published materials for his biography, but he has had the good fortune to obtain from the archives of Geneva, several unpublished letters of considerable interest. We are far from coinciding in some of his statements and views regarding this important period; but we gladly acknowledge the value of the new materials for its illustration which his industry has brought together. The controversy, too, which followed

this attempt of Cyril, is detailed with considerable minuteness; but below this period, and especially from the time of the patriarch of Cosmas (1730), with which the catalogue of Le Quien terminates, the history is little more than a mere succession of names, for which the author is indebted to "His late Holiness, Hierotheus, Catholic Patriarch of Alexandria."

There is one defect in Mr. Neale's book which cannot fail to prove a serious drawback on its usefulness, as well as on the interest with which it will be read. His original plan had included a general introduction, in which he meant to comprise many details of explanation regarding the sacred geography, the present condition, the usages and discipline, and, in general, the various peculiarities of the ecclesiastical constitution of the Alexandrian Patriarchate, for which it is impossible to find a convenient place in a regular work upon its history. In the progress of the author's task, however, the materials having grown beyond his expectation, he found it necessary to abandon the idea of prefixing this introduction to the present work, which already filled two goodly octavo volumes; and he resolved to reserve it for publication as a separate and independent publication. The consequence has been, that the history, in its present form, is obscure and unsatisfactory in many particulars on which the introduction would have afforded, and was intended to afford, abundant and easy explanation. And as it would seem that the change of plan was not adopted until after the work had passed entirely, or in great part through the press, there is no attempt to supply by notes, or in any other way, the explanations which are so indispensably necessary.

In the absence of such explanation on the part of the author, it may be necessary for us to remind the reader that the ancient Patriarchate of Alexandria comprised within its jurisdiction, all that portion of the Roman empire which was comprehended in the civil Diocese of Egypt, consisting of six provinces, viz. Upper Libya, Lower Libya, or Pentapolis, the Thebaid, Egypt, Arcadia, or Heptapolis, and Augustamnica, which had originally formed part of the province of Egypt. According to the primitive constitutions, and before the commencement of that long series of encroachments by which the patriarchs of Constantinople, supported by the imperial authority, and favoured by a variety of concurring advantages, established

a claim of precedence, Alexandria, the see of St. Mark, was regarded as the second in the Church, and only inferior in rank to that of Rome. It comprised within its ecclesiastical rule one hundred and eight bishops within the provinces above enumerated, and, in later times, its jurisdiction extended thence into Abyssinia. How melancholy the contrast between the ancient Church and its fallen and oppressed successor! With the exception of the province of Africa; where even the name of Christianity has been obliterated, the Church has never seen a revolution so signal and so complete, the entire christian world does not present a spectacle so melancholy, as the modern patriarchate of Alexandria, shorn of all the glories which it won in the early days of Christianity. The great body of this once christian people, sunk in ignorance and infidelity—the small remnant which has escaped this consummation of apostacy, for the most part involved in a subtle, obstinate, and seductive heresy—and all, with but a few exceptions, separated from the communion of that Church to which the Alexandria of old ever looked with special fondness as its own peculiar parent, before which the patriarch Dionysius was arraigned as a criminal, and Athanasius appeared as a claimant for justice and redress;—it may be said with terrible truth of the fallen Church of Athanasius, that the curse of barrenness has descended upon her. The once flourishing Churches which owned her rule have fallen away one by one from her side. In the time of Le Quien, (early in the last century,) the Melchite patriarch, out of the hundred and eight bishops who acknowledged the jurisdiction of his predecessors, could number but four—Lybia, or Ethiopia, Memphis, Pelusium or Damietta, and Rosetta; since his time even these have disappeared, and now the “School of the Prophets,” she to whom the whole East looked of old for strength and orthodoxy,—she who “illuminated the entire world with her light,” is herself all but a forgotten outcast—bereft of even this shadow of former fertility,—without a hierarchy, without a people, without a living voice,—a very Niobe of Churches,

“ Childless and crownless in her voiceless woe !”

The few Christians who remain in the Patriarchate of Alexandria are divided into two principal sections—those who call themselves Orthodox or Catholic, and maintain the

faith of the Two Natures in Christ, as propounded against Eutyches in the Council of Chalcedon ; and those (called Jacobites, from Jacobus Barradeus, one of their first founders) who inherit the Monophysite heresy of Dioscorus, and claim descent through him from the apostolic founder of the Church. There is besides a third communion, which Mr. Neale regards as schismatical, and of which he takes hardly any notice—of those who are united with the Holy See, and recognise the primacy of the Pope, as well as the twofold procession of the Second Person of the adorable Trinity. As it is not unlikely, however, that he has held over this and similar questions for separate consideration in the Introduction, we shall take another opportunity of returning to this subject, and of examining what must be regarded as one of the most important and most practically interesting views of the relations which subsist between the several branches of the Church.

For the present, therefore, it will be sufficient to explain that, under the name of the Catholic communion in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, are comprehended those christians who, though differing from Rome on the questions of the Procession of the Holy Ghost and the Roman supremacy, have remained uninfected by the Monophysite heresy, and still maintain the authority of the creed of Chalcedon. It will be recollect that, after the condemnation of Eutychianism in that assembly, his turbulent and unscrupulous supporter, Dioscorus, had influence and credit enough at home to fix upon that council the imputation of the opposite error of Nestorianism, and to involve a large body of the clergy and people of his patriarchate in the opposition to its authority. The schism, begun in ignorance, was perpetuated in obstinacy. The violent and oppressive measures by which the Greek emperors sought to enforce the decree of Chalcedon, had the effect of exasperating party feeling, and of rendering it inveterate ; patriarchs and bishops, in violation of the letter of the ancient canonical usages of the Church, were forced upon them at the dictation of the authorities at Constantinople ; the 'Catholics' were stigmatized as the slaves of the court, and branded with the odious name of *Melchites* or *Royalists* ; and, in the progress of the contest, so completely had the spirit of sectarianism overcome or extinguished the feeling of patriotism or nationality, that, at the time of the Saracen invasion, the schismatics did not hesitate, in their

animosity towards the Catholic, which was also the imperial party, to give up their cities and places of strength to the invaders. The favour which they thus secured with the conquerors, had the effect of placing them for a time in the position of the dominant church, and has been the means of perpetuating to the present day, not only the heresy which they profess, but the contests and dissensions between the members of the two rival communions. Mr. Neale has endeavoured to trace the history of both separately. His work, in many respects, displays great learning and research, although, from the imperfect nature of his materials, he has not always been able to render the narrative complete or continuous; but from a passage, however, in one of the concluding chapters, (vol. ii. p. 474.) we conclude that he has reserved for the introduction his observations on the present comparative condition of the two churches in the Alexandrian patriarchate; and perhaps the deficiency, which is now observable, may thus be remedied.

It is no part of our present plan, as we have already intimated, to enter into an examination of the church principles on which the history of Alexandria is written, or of the theory of Church unity on which its views of the affairs of the East are based. All this will be sufficiently understood by those who are familiar with the leading principles of the movement party in the Anglican Church, among whom Mr. Neale used to occupy a prominent place. We had intended to premise a short summary of the most prominent facts in the history, as detailed by Mr. Neale. But, on consideration, we have thought it more expedient to omit this summary. Its earlier periods would contain little which is not familiar to the reader of general ecclesiastical history; and, for the latter portion, it will easily be understood that a series of annals so meagre and imperfect as those which comprise the Mahometan rule, could hardly prove susceptible of farther condensation, at least with any chance of interesting the student. We have thought it therefore at once more interesting and more instructive to confine ourselves to a few leading points, selected according to their importance, or their comparative novelty.

We must begin by reminding the reader of Mr. Neale's very extraordinary avowal, that this history cannot be written except by one who entertains "Oriental views, feelings, and even, perhaps, prepossessions." It may possibly be that in this he does not mean all that his words imply.

If his object be simply to express, in a very strong way, the necessity of the historian's feeling a lively interest in the subject which he has selected, and in every thing which bears directly or indirectly on its illustration, it is impossible not to agree in the justice of the observation. But unquestionably the words imply a great deal more, and if they really meant one half of what they imply, they would go to destroy the truthfulness of history altogether. Prepossessions of any kind are fatal to impartiality; and we need hardly add, that there is no subject in which this has been exhibited with more melancholy evidence, than that of Church history and its kindred sciences.

Prepossession in favour of one side of a question, is sure, if the question happen to have two sides, to involve prepossession against the other; nor should it be matter of surprise if the prepossession in favour of the East, thus honestly avowed by Mr. Neale, develope itself unconsciously in the form of antagonism to the claims of Rome. Such prejudices as these, strange as it may appear, are perfectly compatible with a high degree of fancied impartiality; indeed, the very frankness with which they are avowed, evinces a conviction on the part of the writer, that he may yield himself to their influence without any violation of moral duty; and hence we can very well understand how it is that Mr. Neale gives himself credit for an excess of candour, at the very time that his preconceived theory of the independence of the Alexandrian Patriarchate deprives him of all power of reasoning fairly upon facts, and completely unfits him to recognize even those evidences of the supreme authority of Rome, which are afforded by the very events which he himself records. Nothing, for example, can be less objectionable than the manner in which he relates the accusation preferred against St. Dionysius, Patriarch of Alexandria, before his namesake St. Dionysius of Rome, A. D. 259.

" Some who were entirely opposed to the doctrine of Sabellius, saw as much danger in that of Dionysius; and their zeal caused them to forget their charity. Without writing to their own patriarch, without considering that he might be able to explain, or willing to retract that which they deemed heretical in his statements, they laid a formal complaint before S. Dionysius of Rome, who had succeeded S. Sixtus in A. D. 259. The heads of their charge were two;—that the Bishop of Alexandria asserted the Son to be a creature, and refused the word and the doctrine of Consub-

stantiality. A council, whether already assembled for some other cause, or convoked by the Pope to decide on this, condemned without hesitation the doctrine contained in, or deduced from, the extracts submitted to them. The Bishop of Rome wrote in their name, as well as in his own, to his namesake of Alexandria, informing him both of the charges made against him, and of the decision to which the council of Rome had come."—Vol. i. p. 72.

Every circumstance here—the party accused, viz. the legitimate and unquestionable patriarch of Alexandria—the accusers, orthodox catholics of his own patriarchate—the reference of the cause to a different patriarchate—the nature of this reference, which Mr. Neale describes as "a formal complaint," and St. Athanasius \* as an accusation (*κατειρήκασιν*)—its originating with the parties themselves, and without any citation or invitation on the part of Rome—the condemnation unhesitatingly pronounced:—all these circumstances appear very plainly to imply a right on the part of the subjects of the Alexandrian patriarch, to refer causes from their own patriarchate, and even where the patriarch himself is a party, to the adjudication of the Bishop of Rome, as well as a right on his part to adjudicate in such causes. They are all detailed by St. Athanasius without a single word of censure, or a single observation which would lead one to suppose that he saw anything irregular or uncanonical in such recognition of the supreme jurisdiction of Rome. And yet in all this Mr. Neale can see nothing except that "the Bishop of Alexandria found himself put, as it were, upon his trial, *with Rome for his accuser*, and the whole Church for his judge!" We shall have occasion to keep this in mind during the course of our examination.

It would detain us too long to enter into Mr. Neale's history of the celebrated case of St. Athanasius; but we cannot suppress the conviction that here again Mr. Neale's "prepossessions" have disqualified him for an impartial verdict; that he was afraid to look the facts of this remarkable affair fairly and unshrinkingly in the face, and to draw from them the consequences which they inevitably involve. Consistently with his preconceived theory, he cannot recognize in the Roman Pontiff, as such, any jurisdiction in this, or the similar case of Marcellus of Ancyra,

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\* De Sententia S. Dionysii. Opera I, p. 252.

subjects of a different patriarchate deposed from their office by the bishops of their own church. Hence, although for this period of this history, “the ordinary historians, Eusebius, Sozomen, Socrates, are his chief authority,”\* he takes no notice, nevertheless, of the account of the transaction given by Socrates, that “Julius, Bishop of the Roman city, because the *Roman Church possessed a privilege beyond all others*, sent letters into the East, in virtue of which *they were restored to their sees*, and those who had rashly deposed them were severely rebuked.”† He shuts his eyes equally as to the view taken of it by Sozomen, who not only expressly affirms that “he (Julius) reinstated each of them in his own church,” but attributes this interference to the fact that “*by reason of the dignity of his see, the care of all churches appertained to him.*”‡ and he perseveringly represents the proceeding as the act of the synod called by Julius, and not his own act, in the face, not only of these historians — themselves orientals and nowise favourable to Rome—but also of the united Fathers of the council of Sardica, who describe it as “*the judgment (κρίσις) of their brother and fellow bishop, Julius.*”§ The strange forgetfulness of these remarkable declarations—the omission of Julius’s letter to the Eusebians ||—the disregard of the practical commentaries upon this letter by Socrates, and Sozomen, and Epiphanius ¶—these are things which indeed can only be explained on the hypothesis of strong “prepossessions” against Rome.

But we must not allow ourselves to be led away into these controversies, which belong rather to the general history of the Church, than to that of the Alexandrian Patriarchate in particular; and indeed we have already

\* Pref. p. xii.

† Socratis Histor. II, 11, p. 233. [Collective Edit. of Historians, Basil, 1587.]

‡ Sozomen, III. 7. Ibid, p. 444.

§ Harduin Acta Concil, I. 656.

|| He alludes to this letter in general terms (p. 181) as “asserting the privileges of his see;” but we hear nothing of what these privileges are. Pope Pius IX. could scarcely speak more strongly. See Coustant’s *Epistolæ Rom. Pont.* I. col. 386.

¶ Cited by Coustant, col. 386.

too long detained the reader from Mr. Neale's own work. We shall proceed therefore, without further delay, to that portion of the history which is peculiarly Oriental. It is chiefly comprised in the second volume, which commences immediately after the condemnation of Eutyches in Chalcedon. The deposition of Dioscorus was the signal of revolt.

"At the conclusion of the Council, Dioscorus was banished to Gangra, in Paphlagonia: and four of the bishops whom he had brought with him to Chalcedon, sailed to Alexandria, with the Emperor's mandate for the election of another Patriarch. They found that the decision of the Council was received with the greatest indignation in Egypt: that the people were resolute against receiving another Patriarch during the life-time of Dioscorus; and that their own motions were watched with great dislike and suspicion. At length, Proterius, Arch-Priest of the Church of Alexandria, was elected to fill the vacant throne: the people being the more willing to receive him, as having been left by Dioscorus in charge of the Church. But many still continued to consider Dioscorus as their rightful Patriarch: a sedition arose: the heretics attacked and routed the magistrates and their troops: besieged them in what had formerly been the temple of Serapis, whither they had escaped for refuge, and burnt them alive in it. A body of soldiers, sent by Marcian to quell the tumult, who reached Alexandria in the extraordinarily short time of six days, though successful in restoring order to the city, behaved so insolently, as to alienate still more completely the minds of the inhabitants from their rightful Patriarch: and during the whole of his Episcopate, Proterius could never consider himself in safety without a guard of soldiers.

"The schism, thus begun, continues, as is well known, to the present day: the followers of Dioscorus far outnumbered the Catholics of Egypt. The former are generally known by the name of Jacobites; the latter, by that of Melchites. To enter into the origin of these appellations, and into the general history of the sect, will tend to explain the future progress of our history.

"It may well be believed that Dioscorus, in his exile at Gangra, ceased not to spread his heresy by all the means in his power. But he only survived the Council two years and a few months: and we find S. Leo, in a letter bearing date December 6, 454, expressing his hope that, with the death of the heresiarch, the heresy would die. Such, however, was not the case. The murderer Barsumas, who had been condemned at Chalcedon, returned into Syria, and there propagated his heresy: his disciple Samuel carried it into Armenia: it took deep root in Alexandria and Ethiopia: but its greatest propagator was Jacobus

Baradæus, or Zanzalus, Bishop of Edessa, who flourished a century later than Dioscorus. This man possessed considerable talents and unwearied energy, and from him the series of Monophysite Patriarchs of the East may be said to have had its rise. From him also the name of Jacobite was assumed : though writers of that sect affirm it to have had its origin from James, the LORD's brother.

"The appellation of Melchites, or followers of the King, was fixed on the Catholics as a term of reproach by their opponents : by way of implying that their reception of the Council of Chalcedon was merely in compliment to the Emperor Marcian. The term, however, was never objected to by the orthodox : and by their own writers is employed to designate the Catholics even before the time of the Fourth OEcumenical Council. It caused them much trouble under the Mahomedan tyranny : the Jacobites rendered the Caliphs suspicious of the Melchites, as friendly to the Eastern Emperors : and this constant habit of dependance on Constantinople has not, it must be confessed, been without disastrous consequences to the Egyptian Catholics. Not only did it cause them voluntarily to resign their claim to be the Second Church, out of complaisance to the Emperors : but it has gradually introduced among them the rites and ceremonies of Constantinople, and destroyed all those national peculiarities, which the Jacobites retain, and with the loss of which they taunt their opponents, and stigmatize them as foreigners and intruders.

"No heresy has ever been divided into more sects than the Monophysite. But two grand divisions include the whole. Pure Eutychianism was the heresy of Barsumas and of his disciple Samuel : Monophysitism, that of Dioscorus and his followers. The former asserted that the Divinity was the sole nature in CHRIST: whence it followed that His Body was not Consubstantial to our own, but a mere phantasma ; and this was the extreme tenet of the Phantasiasts. The latter hold that, as body and soul make one man, so the Divinity and Humanity make up one compound Nature in CHRIST. Egypt was always Monophysite ; Armenia, always Eutychian ; and the Armenian Church symbolized its heresy by forbidding the till then universal practice of mingling water with wine in the Chalice. But Syria fluctuated between the two forms of heresy ; and after at first receiving that of Barsumas, was, chiefly by the efforts of Severus of Antioch, and Jacobus Baradæus himself, drawn into that of the Monophysites. The Jacobites are willing to anathematize Eutyches and his adherents. The Liturgy which goes by the name of Dioscorus, expressly denies this heresy. The priest, immediately before the consecration, is ordered to say :—'Who, when He beheld our race ruined, and spoiled by the spiritual lion, sent the Only Begotten God for its salvation : Who, Incarnate by the HOLY GHOST, and born of the

Virgin Mary, and that by a carnal, and not phantastical nativity, became in verity the Son of Man.' ”

“ Of the names of the unhappy sects into which Monophysitism has subdivided itself, we shall hereafter be compelled to speak more at length. The usual names of the extreme sections were Eutychianists, from their author : Phantasiasts and Docetæ, from their attributing to CHRIST only an apparent Humanity ;—those of the more moderate faction, Dioscorians ; Severians, from Severus, the celebrated Patriarch of Antioch ; Timotheans, from Timothy the Cat ; Theodosians, from Theodosius of Alexandria.”—Vol. ii. pp. 5-8.

The Jacobite heresy, however, is not confined to the Patriarchate of Alexandria. It extends to that of Antioch also ; and a sect of the Armenian church professes the Eutychian doctrines, though this sect is not in communion with the Antiochian or Alexandrian Jacobites.

The schism commenced under the patriarchate of St. Proterius by the notorious Timotheus Ælurus, (Timothy the Cat,) continued through all the controversies of this distracted period—the Monothelite controversy, that upon the Henoticon, and even the Iconoclast. The internal dissensions of the Alexandrians were but little modified by the general controversies which disturbed the Church, nor did they abate in their fury even when both the contending parties fell alike under the Mahometan yoke. The possession of the see of Alexandria alternated between the parties for a time, until eventually each communion maintained a distinct and independent succession.

Mr. Neale’s account of the mode of electing the Patriarchs observed among the Jacobites is extremely interesting. It is condensed from Renaudot’s treatise, *De Patriarchâ Alexandrino*. The place of election was sometimes Alexandria, sometimes Cairo ; and about the eleventh century, a custom arose of holding the election in these cities alternately. The electoral body comprised the Prelates of the patriarchate, the clergy and principal laity of Cairo and of Alexandria, and especially the priests of the church of St. Mark in the latter city, in whom, by the original usage, the election was exclusively vested. They had the right of voting first in order, and the right of proposing the candidate rested with the clergy and the laity, the bishops, however, enjoying the liberty of protest. After the establishment of the Mahometan rule, a license from the Emir or the Sultan was required as a first preliminary.

The most remarkable peculiarity, however, was the manner of voting in the election.

"It was necessary that the suffrages should be unanimous ; and where there was a difference of opinion, the Bishops endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, that the matter should be discussed in an amicable manner : and any necessary length of time was allowed, for the purpose of arriving at a unanimous decision. There may be said to have been three parties influencing the result —the Prelates, the Alexandrians, and the Cairites. The Priests and laics voted together ; the Bishops formed a separate body. But when an election was incapable of being decided in the ordinary method, recourse was had, in a solemn manner, to casting lots. In the first place, a hundred Monks were selected, of such as appeared fittest for the Patriarchate. From these, by plurality of voices, fifty were chosen ; from these, twenty-five ; from these, ten ; and from these again, three. It might happen, that a sudden outburst of feeling directed itself in favour of one of the three ; and in this case the thing was considered as providentially arranged ; but if this did not occur, then the matter was committed to the lot. This casting of lots was known by the name of Heikelia, or Heikeliet, a derivative from the word Heikel, which signifies the Holy of Holies, and even the altar itself ; because it was at the Altar that the matter was entrusted to the Hand of God. The name of each of the candidates was written on a piece of parchment, and the three placed in an urn, a fourth being added, inscribed with the Name of JESUS CHRIST THE GOOD SHEPHERD : and the urn itself was placed under the altar. Mass was then celebrated at the same altar, sometimes once only, sometimes on three days : and prayers offered in the same church day and night. At the termination of these offices of devotion, a young child was directed to take one of the pieces of parchment from the urn ; and if it bore the name of any of the three candidates, the party so designated was at once proclaimed Patriarch, and none dared to question the validity of his election. But if it happened that the schedule chosen bore the Saviour's Name, it was concluded that none of the three persons nominated were acceptable to God : and the whole process was repeated, until the lot pointed out some other candidate.

"There were many requisites necessary to render it allowable to aspire to the dignity of Patriarch. It was necessary that the candidate should himself be free, and born of parents that were also free ; that his father had been the only, or at least the first husband of his mother ; that he should be sound in members, of good health, and at least of the age of fifty ; should strictly have observed continence ; should not even have been married, though by compulsion, and only in name ; should never have shed the blood of man or beast ; should either be a native of Egypt, or

familiarly acquainted with the tongue ; should be sufficiently well learned ; of good character ; not a Bishop ; should not be elevated by the favour of the Emir ; and should be of undoubted orthodoxy. On two of these conditions it seems necessary to say a few words.

" That which enjoins that the Patriarch should be the child of his mother's first marriage, is thus to be explained. The Eastern Church not only condemns fourth marriages as absolutely unlawful, but considers both second and third marriages as in some degree blameable : third marriages indeed have been, in certain cases, prohibited. The benediction of the bride and bridegroom, which is, by the Eastern Church, called their coronation, because crowns are placed on their heads, does not take place when either of the parties have been previously married, neither are they, or rather were they, admitted to Communion for a certain time subsequently —generally, in case of a bigamist, two, in case of a trigamist, five years. Hence a distinction was drawn between the son of a *crowned* and of an *uncrowned* mother : and as it was thought fit to present the most pure only to be the servants of the ALMIGHTY, the latter were excluded from all ranks of the hierarchy, and much more from the dignity of Patriarch. The bigamy of the father did not, however, exclude the son even from that post.

" The learning required in the Patriarch is chiefly to be understood of a thorough knowledge both of the Arabic and Coptic tongues. The Coptic, the vernacular language at the time of the Mahometan invasion, gradually gave way to the Arabic, which was introduced by the conquerors ; but the Jacobites tenaciously clung, for the most part, to the former. In the Thebaid, and the remoter provinces, where the number of christians was large in comparison with that of Mussulmans, Coptic long flourished ; but in lower Egypt, especially at Alexandria and Cairo, it was speedily replaced by Arabic. In all cases, however, it was retained for the Divine offices, and thus became the Ecclesiastical language : and hence the necessity that the Patriarch should be well acquainted with it.

" The practice of raising to the Patriarchate none but those who were Monks was gradually introduced, but at last passed into a settled rule ; and at the present time the privilege is still further restricted to the monasteries, which we have mentioned in our Introduction. We shall have occasion, in the sequel of this history, to notice several instances in which the above-mentioned conditions were violated or relaxed.

" When the election was over, the people gave their assent, as in other places, by exclaiming either in Greek, or in their own language, *He is worthy*. The Bishop elect was then, as he still is, fettered, in a poor imitation of the golden days of the Church, when as in the case of Demetrius, the twelfth Patriarch, those designed for the Episcopate were so conscious of its fearful respon-

sibility, that it was sometimes necessary to employ force in their consecration.

"The Patriarch elect was then received, brought forward, and the senior Bishop spoke a few words in his praise. The deed of election—in Arabic, *Tazkiet*; in Greek, *Psephisma*—was next prepared: it ran in the name of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, the Christians of Alexandria, and of the whole of Egypt. And this form seems to have been preserved, even after the place of election was always at Cairo. The instrument first dwelt at length on the praises of the deceased Patriarch, the public grief, the regular assembly for a new election, the inquiry into the character of the person proposed, his virtues, and his choice. This document was signed by the Bishops who were present, in order of their consecration; the senior Bishop, who had the title *Akbar*, or *Mokaddem*, affixing his name first. Nor did the Metropolitan of Damietta, when that dignity was constituted about the twelfth century, claim the prerogative of precedence. The formula of subscription, in the Coptic language, was thus: 'I, M., Bishop of the city N., that loveth CHRIST, consent to this *Psephisma*.' After the Bishops, three Priests and three deacons of Alexandria subscribed, who represented the whole of the Alexandrian Clergy. Next in order, the Archimandrite of the monastery of S. Macarius attached his name; and he was followed by several of the principal laity, as well of Alexandria as of Cairo.

"If the party elected were an Arch-priest, or *Comus*, or a Hegumen, he might immediately, on the next Sunday, be consecrated Patriarch. But if a simple Monk were chosen, it was considered necessary for him to pass the inferior orders. On the first day he was made Deacon; on the second, Priest; on the third, Arch-Priest; and so, on the following Sunday, he was constituted Patriarch. Before, however, this took place, the Bishop elect was taken before the Emir, that his *Sigel*, or deed of confirmation, might be secured. The principal Prelates and most eminent among the laity accompanied him: and, in times of peace, the procession was conducted with great pomp; the Priests went first, with tapers, crosses, censers, and the Books of the Gospel: the Deacons followed: then came the Bishops, surrounding the Patriarch elect, who was mounted on an ass, as well to imitate the humility of the entering of our SAVIOUR into Jerusalem, as because, by the Mahometan laws, Christians were forbidden to use horses. The procession was closed by a promiscuous assemblage of Christian laity. The same order was observed in returning, except that a guard of honour accompanied the Christians, not less by way of assuring protection, than of conferring dignity."—pp. 101-104.

The fourth and fifth books of the history comprise the period from the commencement of the Mahometan dynasty to the first establishment of the Portuguese in the East,

which exercised a considerable influence upon the affairs of the Church. It would be painful, as well as tedious, to attempt any analysis of these dreary annals—a long series of dissension and animosity within, and of humiliation and oppression without. Notwithstanding an occasional gleam of interest, there are but few pages in this melancholy history on which the mind can rest without pain. But among the numberless tales of slavery and oppression, which form the staple of these records, it is gratifying to meet a scene like the following. The Patriarch Cyril [A. D. 1086.] had a dispute with some of his suffragans, in the progress of which the bishops proceeded to the extraordinary step of presenting a memorial to the Vizir, calling upon him to examine and condemn the conduct of the Patriarch. The Vizir received the appeal, and called a synod of bishops, including the accused Patriarch himself.

"The Synod assembled in a country-house of the Vizir's near Misra. The Vizir opened it with an harangue, in which he severely rebuked the Prelates for having neglected the honour which, as he was informed, was due from them to their Patriarch. It was impossible for him, he said, unacquainted with their customs, and ignorant of their laws, to judge in the case before him, unless he had some written documents to direct and to confirm his decision. He therefore requested both the accuser and accused to prepare from their Canons and other ecclesiastical pieces, such a compendium as they thought most likely to enable him to pronounce a correct judgment, and to do that justice to both parties which he wished. The Synod thus dismissed, Cyril and his partisans drew up their authorities, and the same course was pursued by his opponents ; and the documents thus prepared were put into the hands of the Vizir. After a delay of three weeks, in which he had punished with death his head gardener for contemptuous conduct towards the Patriarch, the Vizir again summoned the Bishops before him. He had not, he said, read the collections of Canons which they had put in his hands, nor did he mean to read them : his duty was plain, and so was theirs. He could do nothing else but exhort them to unity and peace, as worshippers of the same God, as professors of the same religion. He had heard complaints of the inordinate love of money exhibited by some then before him : he cautioned them against such avarice : the proper use which a Bishop should make of money was not to pamper his appetite nor to minister to his luxuries, but, as CHRIST Himself had commanded, to give alms to the poor : the Canons which they had brought forward were doubtless good, but it was better to practise than to quote them ; the lives of some to whom he spoke fell far below the mark which they prescribed : charity, good faith, and brotherly

kindness, were virtues which he could not too strongly recommend, nor they too strenuously follow. Finally, that he might not be accused of preaching that which he did not practise, he gave directions to one of his officers to inquire into the particular affairs of each Prelate, and to give him a written document assuring him of immunity and protection."—Vol. ii. pp. 226-7

In terrible contrast with this interesting scene, we are tempted to place the following picture of the servitude and degradation to which the christians of both communions were commonly subjected by their Mahometan rulers :

" We may here make a few remarks on the low state to which all these occurrences prove the Church of Alexandria to have been reduced. The danger of acting on the Canons, when to obey them might be to offend the Emir or the Caliph, opened the door to a long train of abuses : but in nothing more than in the administration of Penitence. The dispensing power of the Patriarchs was often stretched to its utmost limits, and sometimes exceeded them : and there was no tribunal before which they could be arraigned, and no earthly superior whom they could fear. A general synod of Egyptian Bishops might have done much : but these assemblies were, not unnaturally, regarded with feelings of suspicion and dislike by the Mahometans, and seldom took place, except when a convocation of at least twelve Prelates was necessary for the election of a new Patriarch. If ever a Synod was allowed to meet, it was one scene of confusion and disgrace : the minority appealed to the heathen Prince, and made up in brute force what was wanting in justice or in persuasiveness. Excommunication was used as an instrument for the revenge of private wrongs : the celestial power of binding and loosing was prostituted to the subservience of human passions, or the attainment of the objects of earthly ambition. To meet the relaxation of discipline, it was usual for the Bishops, as we shall see, to draw up certain heads or Canons of Reformation, to which they compelled the Patriarch elect to swear assent, before consecration. But this step was of little use : and thus, in the Jacobite Communion, discipline fell lower and lower, the Patriarchs became more and more careless of their charge, the appeal to the heathen tribunal more and more common, and Absolution little more than a dead letter, till, as we shall have occasion to relate, a Patriarch was judged by his own suffragans, and the evil in some degree remedied."—Vol. ii. pp. 166-167.

In the contest which led to the great schism of the East and West, Alexandria, long reduced to a subordinate rank, had but little interest, and took but a minor part.

The particulars of this event, which belong almost exclusively to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, can hardly be said to come within the scope of Mr. Neale's history; and hence we are the more surprised to find him, in the few observations which he devotes to the affair of Photius, unhesitatingly adopt the most unjust, though long popular, view of Pope John's conduct, which we had believed to be now universally rejected. In relating the reinstatement of Photius in the patriarchal chair after the death of Ignatius, he observes, (ii. p. 167) that "even Rome, with a vacillation most unusual to her, sent her legate to assist in the reinstatement of the intruder; and John VIII. then proclaimed, either that he himself was now mistaken, or that his predecessor, Adrian II., had decided unjustly with the former Synod of Constantinople." If we had no record of these proceedings but the acts of Photius's own council, and no evidence of the sentiments of Pope John beyond the fraudulent and mutilated translation of his letter published in the council by this daring man, the charges made against him of weakness and vacillation would be fully substantiated. But, fortunately for John's memory, the original letters are still preserved, and supply at once a complete vindication of the Pontiff, and a most damning proof of the all but incredible duplicity and falsehood of the intruder.\*

The fortunes of the Church in the Patriarchate of Alexandria were but little affected by the revolutions which befel the Greek Empire of Constantinople; nor, indeed, can even the Crusades, though closely connected with Alexandrian history, be said to have had much influence upon its internal ecclesiastical affairs, at least in the relation under which we are now considering them. Perhaps the most interesting event in the internal history of the Alexandrian Church during the mediaeval period, is the great controversy on the subject of confession, which arose towards the close of the twelfth century. Mr. Neale's account of it is well worth transcribing.

"We have already had occasion to observe that the Penitential Canons had, in consequence of the complete subjection of the Jaco-

\* It would be impossible for us to enter into the question here. It is one of the most daring and flagitious instances of forgery upon record, and is fully exposed by the Abbé Jager in his *Vie de Photius*, pp. 204, and foll.

bite Church to the Infidels, greatly fallen into disuse. The most heinous offenders were received without penance: apostates, on professing a wish to return, seem to have been, in many instances, at once admitted to full Communion: and discipline was well nigh at an end. Corrupted in practice, the Penitential Canons soon became corrupted in theory: until at length the power of binding and of loosing was, if not denied, at least slighted and neglected.

"We have, in our Introduction, related the various steps by which a belief was introduced into the Coptic Church, that the burning of the Incense at the commencement of the Liturgy was, in some mysterious manner, connected with the remission of sins which the people then privately confessed. Gradually the rite was considered to convey Sacramental Absolution: and by a natural deduction from false premises, confession in a private house before a lighted censer, was elevated to the same dignity: and the office of the Priest was disused as superfluous. This practice was probably at first confined to the more ignorant Copts; gradually it seems to have extended itself to others, and finally was authorized by John V. Ebnassal gives a reason for the suppression of confession, in which there probably was much truth. The character of the Priests, he says, was so notoriously bad, that more harm than good arose from the ancient practice: and he illustrates his meaning in a manner, that, if taken literally, is heretical. Confession, says he, is spiritual medicine. Now, as temporal medicine, to be of use, must be administered by a wise and good physician, so must spiritual also.

"This absurd novelty was not unopposed. Mark, the son of Kunbar, an ecclesiastic of remarkable powers, who had been ordained Priest by the Bishop of Damietta, preached earnestly and popularly the necessity of Priestly absolution. The innovators immediately attacked his private character. He had been married, they said: but, anxious to obtain the Priesthood, had persuaded his wife to remarry some other person, professedly herself single. John was, of course, only too happy to avail himself of this tale for the purpose of excommunicating Mark.

"The excommunicated Priest showed, by his deeds, his contempt of the censure: he began publicly to expound Holy Scripture, and his expositions attracted, by their learning and eloquence, a large and attentive auditory. He dwelt especially on the absolute necessity of Auricular Confession, and Sacerdotal Absolution: the latter he affirmed to be essential to the Remission of Sin. He exposed the folly of imagining that Confession in the presence of a burning censer, a practice entirely unknown to all antiquity, could be of more avail than secret confession under any other circumstances, or with any other adjuncts. The consequence was, that multitudes flocked to confess to him, and he gave, in spite of his excommunication, penance and absolution.

"The contrast is singular, if we compare this popular movement in favour of Confession, and the popular outburst in the German Reformation against it. Indeed, the spectacle of the abandonment of this practice by the Prelates, while it was insisted on by the Faithful, of the Church, is probably unparalleled in Ecclesiastical History."—Vol. ii. 262-363.

The details of the controversy are too prolix for insertion, but it terminated in the revival of the practice.

"At present, we need only observe, that its necessity is fully recognised by the Coptic Church, though negligently performed, and too often omitted. It is believed, however, that in the case of single persons, the state of minority (and therefore of presumed baptismal innocence) continues till the age of twenty-five; and that therefore, till then, confession is not needed. Consequently, Deacons below that age communicate without confession. But as, in case of marriage, minority is then supposed to terminate, confession is required before the celebration of that rite.

"But the real definite mind of the Ethiopic Church seems never to have been fully expressed on the subject: its Priests are not agreed in stating its dogmas: and probably no statement could be made on the matter which would not find oppugners in that Communion. Nor, in a country where so much ignorance prevails, need we wonder that even so important a doctrine as that of Confession has never been up to this time canonically elucidated."—Vol. ii. p. 266.

We must hasten through the history of the remaining period, as well under the Mahometan rule, as after the establishment of the Portuguese in the East, and the introduction of Latin missionaries under their influence, in order to come to the most interesting portion of Mr. Neale's volumes, his history of Cyril Lucari. He has succeeded in bringing together a considerable quantity of valuable materials which had escaped the research of previous biographers; and although the sketch of Cyril's character, and of the latter period of his life, presents more decided indications of a partisan spirit, and a greater leaning to the anti-Roman side than any other portion of Mr. Neale's volumes, nevertheless, in a doctrinal point of view, and as an illustration of the faith of the Oriental Church on almost all the questions debated between Catholics and Protestants in the West, it cannot but be regarded as extremely important. As the length to which this article has already run, precludes the possibility of our entering into any controversy on Mr. Neale's statements, we must

confine ourselves to a brief summary of the life of Cyril, and of his attempts to surprise the Eastern Church into an act of fraternization with the Western reformers.

This extraordinary man was born in Candia, in the year 1572. He was connected by blood with Meletius Piga, a distinguished ecclesiastic, and eventually Patriarch of Alexandria. Like most of his countrymen in those days, he was driven by the dearth of educational establishments at home to betake himself to the schools of the West. In his twelfth year he commenced his studies at Venice, whence he afterwards removed to the university of Padua; and on the completion of the ordinary course of studies there, under the tuition of Maximus Margunius, afterwards Bishop of Cythera, he resolved to visit the most famous universities of Europe before his return to the East, with the special purpose, it would seem, of making himself acquainted with the character and doctrinal constitution of the reformed communities of the West. Of the history of these wanderings but little is known, except that they comprised Geneva, Holland, and, it would also appear, England; and that to the influence which they exercised upon his mind is to be attributed the origin, if not the full development, of those Calvinistic principles which he afterwards endeavoured to engraft upon the oriental system.

On his return to Alexandria he was raised to the priesthood, and in a short time afterwards to the office of archimandrite (or abbot) by his relative and patron, Meletius Piga, whom he accompanied to Constantinople about the year 1595. After a residence of about twelve months in this city, he was sent into Lithuania for the purpose of opposing the union of that Church with the See of Rome, which the king, Sigismund III., was labouring to effect. Mr. Neale's account of Cyril's share in these negotiations is far from satisfactory. It is impossible to doubt that, even at this early period, Cyril had given all his affection to the reformed doctrines, and that he entered more warmly into the project of a union with the Lutherans proposed in the Synod of Wilna, than Mr. Neale is disposed to imagine. The only evidence that he was not a reformer at heart, even before his return from his European wanderings, is of a purely negative character.

On the death of Miletius Piga he was, after some opposition, elected to the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and

from this event, (1602,) till his removal to Constantinople, in 1612, in order to take charge of the affairs of that Church, on the deposition of the patriarch Neophytus, but little is known of the particulars of his life ; but from this period his protestant leanings became but too apparent. The Dutch minister at the Ottoman court, M. Von Haga, a zealous Calvinist, and an early friend of Cyril, entered warmly into all his plans, and lent all his influence to their furtherance. By his advice Cyril commenced a correspondence with Uytenbogaert, the Calvinist minister at the Hague, which exhibits very clearly the germs of those views which he afterwards fully developed in his celebrated Confession of Faith, and which a letter to Mark Antony de Dominis, (now for the first time published,) proves him to have entertained for many years before he made public profession of them. Disappointed in his hope of being elected Patriarch of Constantinople in 1612, he was obliged, from fear of his successful rival Timothy, formerly bishop of Patras, to retire into Wallachia, whence, after a considerable time, he returned to Egypt ; and it is to this period that his celebrated correspondence with archbishop Abbot belongs ; a correspondence, however, less interesting in a doctrinal point of view than might be expected from the relative position of the parties.

During the same period commenced his intercourse with M. David le Leu de Wilhem, a Dutch Calvinist of rank, who was then travelling in Egypt. Mr. Neale has given several extracts from their correspondence, which was interrupted by the breaking out of the plague at Cairo. The following is not very creditable to Cyril.

“ This was in the early part of the spring of 1619 : and we do not see that self-devotion in Cyril which we might have hoped, in the account which he gives us of his behaviour during the continuance of this tremendous judgment.

“ ‘ They reckon,’ he says, ‘ up to this day, that four hundred thousand have died ; and yet the corners, I might almost say the whole streets, of this vast city are yet full, and it does not seem as if one were wanting. I remained shut up with great danger in my house, and let down from my windows the answers which I had to make to my Christians respecting the dead : and by the Grace of God am safe up to this time.’ ”—Vol. ii. p. 403.

Soon afterwards the see of Constantinople again became vacant by the death of Timothy, Cyril’s former rival.

The government of the see, during its vacancy, devolved upon Cyril, and in November, 1621, he was himself elected Patriarch, "from which time," adds Mr. Neale, "he scarcely knew an hour's peace. He soon began to identify himself openly with the Calvinist heresy, in concert with the Dutch and English ministers at Constantinople. It would carry us far beyond our allotted limits to pursue the fortunes of this remarkable man through all their subsequent vicissitudes—his exiles and recalls, his depositions and reinstatements, the intrigues and counter-intrigues of which he was alternately the accomplice or the victim. Mr. Neale has unhesitatingly adopted the views of the anti-Roman writers, and has given the Jesuits\* credit, in their contest with Cyril, for a degree of depth and inventiveness in intrigue, which may well satisfy their worst antagonists. There is abundant material in his own narrative for a refutation of many of the worst of his insinuations, even were it not all liable to the *prima facie* charge of improbability, on the sole ground of its resting, for the most part, on the authority of the hostile party. But we must be content with stating briefly, that after the publication of his Confession of Faith, in 1633, the opposition which he encountered from the members of his own church became so open and so violent, that measures were taken to procure his deposition. In the helplessly enslaved condition of the Greek Church, such things were of every-day occurrence. Cyril's deposition was effected without difficulty, through the corruption of the Turkish court; and after an abortive attempt on the part of Cyril Contari, bishop of Beræa, to purchase the succession, Anastasius Pattelari, bishop of Thessalonica, at the price of sixty thousand dollars, was appointed in his place. Cyril, however, was, after a short time, restored by the sultan on payment of the still larger price of seventy thousand dollars, and retained possession till the following year, when he was again deposed, to make room for Cyril Contari, the unsuccessful claimant already referred to. During his banishment to Chios, he wrote to M. Leger, the Dutch pastor at Pera, the following letter, which Mr. Neale may

\* They had obtained permission to establish a college in Constantinople about the beginning of this century, and had been preaching with considerable success before the arrival of Cyril.

well call “ profane,” and which we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing.

“ Most Reverend M. Leger, my most dear brother in CHRIST,—

“ Arrived here at Scio, I have found rest, being delivered from the hands of my enemies, as Your Reverence will understand from our most excellent Ambassador, to whom I gave a particular account of everything. Praised be the Divine Providence that He cares for His own, and does not leave them to the end. Many gentlemen of this country, and learned persons, visit me in my lodging, and we dispute, moreover, in a tolerable way. Yesterday, speaking of the Mediator, I learned a fine doctrine of Dr. Coressi’s, who said to me that it is quite true that there is one Mediator, JESUS CHRIST ; but then, said he, there are other lesser ones who intercede. Thus said Coressi. M. Leger, on my conscience I say with truth, that Coressi and the rest of his adherents are so ignorant, that their arguments and disputationes make sensible men sick, and the Jesuits are their dupes ; and I am astonished that they do not perceive how void of sense and judgment they are. With all this, the ignorant vulgar think a great deal of Coressi, not for his learning, but because he is a good companion. I found out this in three days after I had been in Scio ; and I wish to communicate it to Your Reverence, that you might know with what sort of a person you dispute about that high subject of Transubstantiation, which makes JESUS CHRIST out of a piece of bread or wafer.

“ For the rest, Signor Dr. Leger, His Excellency will easily explain to you my condition, both what and how it is. I conclude by sending my respects, and pray the LORD to vouchsafe you every good thing.”

“ Chios, 4, 14 April, 1635.”—Vol. ii. p. 442.

As soon as Cyril of Beræa was in possession of the see, he proceeded to assemble a synod, in which he anathematized Lucari as a Lutheran, and “ openly declared his submission to the see of Rome, and his intention of sending Cyril Lucari a prisoner to the Pope.” But his power was of short duration ; the patriarch’s friends again obtained the upper hand ; Cyril of Beræa was deposed, and his rival restored to the patriarchate, in August, 1636. The respite, however, was a short one. More fatal measures were still in store for him ; his enemies, on a charge of treasonable designs, obtained from the sultan a warrant for his death, in June, 1638.

“ The courier arrived at Constantinople on the twenty-seventh of June ; and Musa Pasha, the governor of the city, prepared to carry them into execution. But, fearing that the execution of Cyril in

the heart of Constantinople might raise a tumult, the janissaries whom he dispatched were instructed to say, that they were sent to carry the Patriarch on board ship, it being the Sultan's pleasure that he should be sent into exile. Cyril at once submitted ; he went that evening on board a boat, expecting to be conveyed to St. Stephano, a small town near Constantinople, where a vessel was said to be waiting for him. But no sooner were they out of sight of land, than, perceiving what their real intention was, he knelt down and prayed earnestly. When he had ceased, after some abuse and a few blows, they put the bowstring about his neck, and having done their work, threw his body into the sea. It was picked up by some fishermen, and returned to his friends, by whom it was buried decently. But the malice of his enemies did not end with his life : they complained to the governor of the city, by whose orders the corpse was disinterred, and again thrown into the sea. Washed on shore by the billows, it was buried in one of the islands in the bay of Nicomedia."—Vol. ii. p. 454.

Thus, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his patriarchate, died this remarkable man, after a long series of almost unexampled vicissitudes. It is exceedingly difficult to form a just estimate of such a character as his. Placed from the very commencement of his career in a position at variance, as well with the natural feelings and bias of his mind, as with the doctrinal views which he had been led to embrace in secret, his whole public life was a solemn falsehood. He lived for the public and not for himself. The true elements of his character can only be gathered from the secret correspondences and negotiations in which he was perpetually engaged, and in which alone he gave free scope to his real sentiments ; and the records of these negotiations which have been preserved are too scanty, and display too little of the individual man to form the basis of a satisfactory judgment. Mr. Neale, though he does not scruple to regard him as a heretic, deals far more tenderly with his memory than we should have thought possible in an orthodox high-churchman. The secret, perhaps, is, that Cyril, whatever may have been his heresies, was at all events an inveterate anti-Roman ; however false his principles of Church authority, he was at least a stern defender of the "branch-church" theory ; he would willingly have plunged his Church into all the doctrinal confusion, and uncertainty, and contradiction, which has fallen upon the Anglican Church, rather than consent, on any terms, to a union with Rome. Perhaps, too, as Mr. Neale reviewed his

conduct, some parallel with existing things unconsciously presented itself to his mind, and disarmed the rigour of the judgment which his orthodoxy would have suggested. We cannot venture to explain the apparent inconsistency ; but this we know full well, that any unhappy dissenter, still more any misguided low-churchman, who might have come under Mr. Neale's theological censorship, with the same amount of Calvinism, Puritanism, and indeed, absolute Latitudinarianism upon his head, that is disclosed, even by the published letters of Cyril, would have met with a very different, and much less merciful, measure of justice at his hands.

Mr. Neale seeks to palliate Cyril's heresy on the ground that there had not been any opinion expressed in the Greek Church before his time, on the questions at issue between the rival Churches of the West. This may be literally true, in the sense that, since the Reformation, no synod had been formally convened to decide upon them. But the doctrine of the Greek Church was as fixed and certain—what is more, it was as well known to Cyril, as if its opinions had been recorded in the decrees of a council. Mr. Neale need hardly be reminded of the repeated declarations of the councils which were called forth by this daring attempt of Cyril. We shall transcribe from his own pages a few of the anathemas of the council of Constantinople, held in 1638, only a few months after the death of Cyril.

“ ‘To Cyril teaching in his eighth article, obscurely indeed and craftily, and believing that the Saints are not our Mediators and Intercessors with God : (they quote the passage) as subverting many oracles of the HOLY GHOST :—Anathema. For God saith, ‘I will protect this city for the sake of David My Servant.’ And the Holy Children in the furnace, ‘give us not utterly over for the sake of Abraham Thy Beloved, and Isaac Thy Servant, and Israel Thy Saint.’ And Peter saith, ‘Moreover I will endeavour, after my decease, that ye may be able to have these things continually in remembrance.’ But how could he endeavour after his decease, except by interceding and praying to God ?’ They conclude by quoting the second Council of Nicæa.

“ ‘To Cyril, who teaches and believes that man is not endued with free-will, as is clear from his fourteenth Article ; but that every man has the power of sinning, but not the power of doing good : as the destroyer of Gospels and Prophets, (where it is written, ‘If ye choose and will hear Me :’ ‘Draw near to Him, and be enlight-

ened ; ‘ He that *will* come after Me : ’ ‘ Come unto Me all : —add also the frequent exhortations to do good ; ) Anathema.’

“ ‘ To Cyril, who teaches and believes that there are not seven Sacraments,’—they name them,—‘ according to the disposition of CHRIST, the tradition of the Apostles, and the customs of the Church, but falsely asserting that only two were by CHRIST in His Gospel handed down to us, that is to say, Baptism and the Eucharist, as may be seen in his fifteenth Article ;—Anathema.’

“ ‘ To Cyril, who teaches and believes that the Bread offered at the Altar, and also the Wine, is not changed, by the Blessing of the Priest, and Descent of the HOLY GHOST, into the Real Body and Blood of CHRIST ; (they quote his seventeenth Article ;) Anathema.’ They support this by S. John vii. 53, 56. S. Matt. xvi. 27, 28. 1 Cor. xii. 23, 45 : and by the Canons of the seventh Ecumenical Synod.

“ ‘ To Cyril, who teaches and believes, though secretly, in his eighteenth Article, that those who have fallen asleep in piety and penitence, are not, after death, assisted by the alms of their relations, and the prayers of the Church, as the denier of the happy rest of the just, the absolute perdition of the wicked, and the future judgment and retribution in the last and terrible day ; which is most opposite to the Holy Scripture, and the teaching of all Divines ;—Anathema.’

“ ‘ To Cyril a new Iconoclast, and the worst of all ;—Anathema.’ The two succeeding anathemas are merely an amplification of the last : and the two last a recapitulation and enforcement of the whole.

“ Whatever may be thought of many of these anathemas, and of the unfair spirit which all exhibit to Cyril, this is, doubtless, a very important Council : and certainly may be called a general Synod of the Greek Church, receiving, as it does, additional authority from its subsequent confirmation by the Council of Jerusalem.

“ It is signed by three Patriarchs : Cyril of Constantinople ; Metrophanes of Alexandria ; Theophanes of Jerusalem. The Church of Antioch, it would seem, was at this time in some confusion, from the Latinising tendencies of Euthymius II. which may be the reason that he did not subscribe to the above anathemas. Joasaph, Patriarch of Moscow, was much averse from all contentions : and probably was glad to remain quiet.

“ In addition, it is signed by twenty-four Archbishops and Bishops, three of whom were afterwards Patriarchs of Constantinople : namely, Parthenius the elder, then of Adrianople : Parthenius the younger, then of Joannine ; Joannicius of Heraclea : two were Patriarchs of Alexandria ; namely, Joannicius of Beræa, and Joachim of Cos. And lastly, it is subscribed by twenty-one dignitaries of the great church of Constantinople ; of whom one, Nicholas Clarontzanes, was afterwards Patriarch of Alexandria. Thus then, these anathemas are pronounced by nine, who, either then or afterwards, were Patriarchs : a greater number, probably, than ever subscribed to any other Synod.

"It is necessary to notice this fact, because the Calvinists, irritated at the failure of the hopes which they had conceived from Cyril Lucar, are loud in their assertions that this Council is by no means an exponent of the mind of the Greek Church, and furious in their outcry against the principal Prelates who composed it. It is true, that we cannot think highly of many of them ; it is also true, that the testimony of Cyril of Beræa goes for nothing, because he was notorious for his Latinising principles : but the other Bishops and Ecclesiastics are unexceptionable testimonies against Calvinism, the rather, that one of them, Parthenius, was suspected of it."—Vol. ii. pp. 459, 461.

If it could for a moment be supposed, that on a subject in which all their prejudices and prepossessions would have led them to adopt the anti-Roman views, so numerous an assembly would, without hesitation, and without division, have confirmed so decidedly and so explicitly the judgment of the Roman Church in every point under dispute, unless these were the received and unquestioned doctrines of the Greek Church which they represented, all possibility of further doubt is removed by the proceedings of the numerous councils which followed in the same course. Another synod held at Constantinople, in 1641, renewed the decisions of that referred to above, and even formally embodied the so-called Latin doctrine of Transubstantiation in the article on the Eucharist, under the name *μεταστάσις*. A still more numerous council, held at Jassy, in 1642, repeated the same declarations. Its acts were signed by the patriarch Parthenius, and twenty other bishops, besides a very numerous body of the inferior clergy. And the whole question was set at rest for ever by the synod of Bethlehem, in 1672, which renewed the definition of *μεταστάσις*, and, what is perhaps of equal practical importance, formally declared the canonicity of the disputed deutero-canonical books of Scripture.

After the death of Cyril Lucari, and the termination of the controversies to which his apostacy gave occasion, the annals of the Eastern Church have but little interest; and, indeed, Mr. Neale has comprised within a very few pages all the facts which he was enabled to collect. There are many interesting questions, however, which suggest themselves at almost every point of the history, and especially the supposed parallelisms of the Anglican and the Oriental system, on which high-church writers place so much reliance. We cannot but suppose that some portion, at

least, of the promised Introduction, will be devoted to these important questions, and, therefore, we shall defer all further observations on the subject till we shall have an opportunity of examining the expected volume.

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## NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*The Life of St. Alphonso Maria de Liguori, Bishop of St. Agatha of the Goths.* Vol. i. Richardson and Son, London, Dublin, and Derby, 1848.

THE volume now before us, although the fifth of the “Lives of the Canonized Saints,” contains but the first part of the Life of St. Alphonso, and carries the history only as far as the close of the year 1748. We shall therefore reserve our notice of the life itself till the publication of the concluding volume. For the present we shall find abundant occupation in the admirable Essay on Beatification and Canonization, which is prefixed to the life of St. Liguori.

The volumes of the series which have already been published may, we presume, be regarded as an example of the entire. They represent exactly the spirit in which all the rest are conceived, and the principles upon which they are drawn-up. There is no attempt in them to adapt the narrative to what had hitherto been believed to be the peculiar circumstances in which Catholicity is placed in this country; no idea of avoiding those topics or statements which are admitted to be inoffensive and even edifying to Catholics, but which are likely to wound the prejudices of “those who are without;” neither is there that perpetual sensitiveness which ordinarily distinguished English writers upon such subjects, and that tendency to apologize and explain away every thing which departed from the received standard of inoffensive orthodoxy. The principle, in a word, which has been followed, is to select from among the various lives of each saint in use among continental Catholics, that which appeared to be most popular, as well as most authentic, and to present it to the English reader, Protestant as well as Catholic, without alteration, without modification, and without apology.

The project, no doubt, has disadvantages as well as advantages ; and as the latter are almost sure to receive the most prominent, if not the greatest share, of attention, it has been freely criticized, so far as it has yet developed itself. Of the volumes already published, the Life of St. Philip Neri has come in for the largest share of animadversion, but, of course, the same principles, in different degrees, will apply in almost every instance. The Essay on Beatification appears to be intended to meet the exceptions thus taken to the principles which pervade the series. It is not, as might at first sight be supposed, a formal, and as it were, a technical treatise upon the process of Canonization, and the principles by which it is directed. It is rather a popular essay on the true principles of the science of Hagiology, illustrated by constant reference to the actual process which the Church has followed in the judicial enquiries and investigations by which, as human instruments of research, she arrives at the facts upon which her judgment is made to rest. It is written in a most temperate, calm, and scholarlike tone, and while it places the authority of the decisions of the Church on such subjects, upon that basis which only Catholics can fully and cordially appreciate, the arguments by which it seeks to enforce these views are such as cannot fail to influence every reader, no matter how low the principles on which he judges, and how completely he may reduce the investigation to a mere matter of scholarship and criticism. We have read this essay with exceeding pleasure, and we do not hesitate to place it, as a specimen of masterly criticism, in the same rank with Mr. Newman's *Essay on Ecclesiastical Miracles*, prefixed to the translation of Fleury.

We shall not attempt to offer any thing in the shape of an analysis of this able essay. It will, perhaps, be more interesting, and it will certainly be more fair to the authors of these interesting lives, to allow them an opportunity of explaining their own views on those characteristics of the Lives to which exception has chiefly been taken ; viz., the freedom with which they expatiate upon the miraculous powers of the Saints, and on what may be called their eccentricities and peculiarities.

"In opening the Lives of these men there are two things especially which strike us. First, the constant, and in some instances, as in that of St. Joseph of Cupertino, almost unconscious exercise of miraculous powers, the occurrence of raptures, visions, bodily transformations, power over demons, the intermingling of the visible and

invisible worlds, the reading of the secrets of the heart, the gift of bilocation, as it is called, and the like : these seem to surround the servant of God like an atmosphere, so that we have at first some little difficulty in getting at his common character. He seems to belong to a different order from ourselves ; we have by an effort to strip him of his miraculous powers and gifts *gratis data*, in order to discern between the admirable and the imitable. These marvels are to some quite unedifying, nay, almost shocking and startle them ; in others, as in St. Francis of Sales already quoted, they breed a more intense love of God, a much livelier apprehension of the mysteries of the faith, a generous contempt of the world and its little politics, a holy indifference to calumny and wrong, and a more efficacious desire to nerve themselves up for penance and the hard practices of interior mortification and the stony ascents of Christian perfection. Whether the fault is in the marvels for *giving* people disedification, or people are in fault for *taking* disedification from them, anyhow there the marvels are ; and we are now only dealing with facts as we find them.

"The second thing we observe in the Lives of these servants of God, is a most extensive class of actions, totally opposed to the *common* rules of human prudence, and even repugnant to the prejudices of flesh and blood, as savouring of childishness, or indiscretion, or a want of sobriety or moderation, or as simply capricious. We may take as example St. Francis Borgia, allowing his face to be spit upon all night ; St. Peter Martyr letting himself be imprisoned and remain for three years under a scandalous charge of impurity, which he might have dispelled by a word ; St. John of God feigning himself mad ; St. Philip Neri playing the fool, as men would call it, in front of Chiesa Nuova, or reading light books to give foreigners a low opinion of him ; Saints Marina and Theodora disguising themselves as men, and afterwards allowing children to be fathered on them without discovering the imposture ; Brother Juniper, the Franciscan, permitting himself to be taken to the gibbet as a murderer, and only delivered by a singular intervention of Providence. These are specimens of the kind of actions alluded to, and instances might be almost infinitely multiplied. Now it must be borne in mind that we are not apologizing for these actions, still less holding them up as imitable ; the latter proceeding would be indiscreet, the former impudent ; we are only noting the fact, that they occur abundantly, and so far as we have seen, in *every* Life of the servants of God whose causes have come before the Congregation of Rites. It is simply to the undeniable and significant fact that we desire to call attention at present.

"Furthermore, it must be remembered, that these extraordinary actions, seemingly so opposed to the dictates of prudence, are by no means easily or lightly admitted by the Sacred Congregation in the causes of beatification and canonization. To refer them to a special instinct of the Holy Ghost, is not a mere invention of idle-

ness or a refuge of uncritical credulity. On the contrary, they are submitted to a most rigid examination ; causes are often delayed because of them, and a discussion takes place on the practice of the cardinal virtue of prudence as exhibited by the servant of God whose cause is under consideration. Thus, when Canon Zanotti, misled by the spurious acts of St. Proculus, the patron of Bologna, referred his alleged homicide of Marinus to a special instinct of the Holy Ghost, Benedict XIV., in showing the spuriousness of the acts, speaks very strongly of the duty of trying every other method of explanation, before the known sanctity of a Saint induces us to refer any of his extraordinary actions to a special instinct of the Holy Ghost."—p. 26—29.

And again,—

"We read in the Lives of the Saints of plans and actions which offend many even pious readers : they disapprove of them in themselves, they disapprove still more of their being held up either to the admiration or imitation of the faithful. Now if when the Saints themselves were alive, redolent with the odour of their sanctity, the vividness of their bright example and the solemn authentication of their frequent miracles fresh upon them and around them—if at that time there was almost a general disapprobation of their plans and modes of action, as in the case of St. Alphonso Liguori, when he founded his Congregation, if, as again St. Alphonso was, they were left persisting in a kind of proud-looking isolation, if even popes and bishops were against them, and they gave way only to the pressure of actual command, if the pious were scandalized, and the holy Inquisition interfered, if calumny seemed for the while truth, and truth hypocrisy, if these wonderful men also went so far as to consider this opposition and offence the best proof they could have that their work was the will of God, as St. Philip Neri and our good bishop Challoner are said often to have refused to join in a work because it was not opposed by good kind of men, if all this took place where they were personally concerned, must not something of the same sort be always expected towards their Lives, especially if those Lives be faithful and minute ? And will not this easily account for the diversity of opinion and the somewhat offended temper of objection which Saints' Lives have generally elicited ? What the unkindly world and the remaining worldliness in the ordinary faithful, found so uncongenial in the living Saints, will still be uncongenial in their Lives ; although of course, in the case of Catholics, the intervention of the Church and the honours she has decreed to the Saint, will soften and diminish this, and will naturally make criticism less positive and more modest.

" Yet after all the fact remains: these are just the cases in which there *has been* this intervention of the Church ; it is exactly these

men and men like them whom the Church has singled out with her unerring instinct for canonization ; men who have had to confront this opposition, jealousy, thwarting, and suspicion of the good, and who have passed through the terrific ordeal of this heart-breaking persecution ; and this fact, without pushing it even as far as we might, will be found most difficult of explanation on any hypothesis of adversaries, and yet most imperiously requires one at their hands."—Vol. i. 39, 40.

It would be idle to add a word to this clear and honest explanation. Let the Lives be judged by these principles ; and we shall have little fear of the judgment which will be passed. On that part of the process followed in the enquiry, which regards the virtues of the saint, we must venture upon a still longer extract.

" In the causes of cardinals special attention is paid to their obedience, frugality, residence, care of their titular Church, sincerity and boldness in counselling the pope, and cheerful submission when he has decreed contrary to their advice. Thus Baronius, when cardinal, lived as plainly as when he was a simple Oratorian ; and the same may be said of the frugality and modesty of the Venerable Bellarmine and the B. Tommasi. Cardinal Bessarion affords an illustrious example of freedom in counselling the pope, and every one will remember the well-known courage of St. Pius V. when he was cardinal. But it was actually a matter to be considered by the Congregation whether the Venerable Cardinal Ximenes had not offended by excess from his having once said, perhaps in joke, that the pope ought to have a '*bit of a frightening'* now and then. The conduct of cardinals in their legations is also a subject of most jealous scrutiny when their causes come before the Congregation.

" An equally minute inquiry is instituted into the manner in which bishops have discharged their episcopal duties. An eminent spiritual writer has remarked, that the elevation to the episcopate has in most instances been found to be the cause of relaxed strictness and mortification ; this therefore is inquired into. But one example will be enough to show to what details the scrutiny descends. The zeal of the apostles in giving confirmation as soon as they heard of the conversion of Samaria, is looked upon as laying a kind of precept upon bishops ; and it is inquired whether the servant of God has been distinguished by a zeal for that sacrament of which he is the ordinary minister, and special mention is made of this in the bull of St. Turibius's canonization, and it is also related of St. Wilfrid by Eddi Stephanus, his biographer. The conferring of orders, the granting of faculties to confessors, the care of ecclesiastical seminaries, the government of nuns, reverence to the Holy See, conduct towards secular princes and noblemen,

giving of patronage, expenditure of revenues, all these are jealously examined. For example, in the cause of the Venerable Cardinal Ximenes the promoter of the faith objected, that through his exertions several of his relations had married into high families, and that he had given them ample dowries ; and in the cause of the Venerable Card. Bellarmine it was objected, that he had given pensions to poor relations.

“ Thus it is in the cause of religious from their vocation to their death, even to the making of their wills, if they had been elevated to the episcopate, and had had a dispensation to make a will, as in the case of the B. Alexander Sauli, the Barnabite ; thus also is it with kings, noblemen, and laymen of whatever rank, from him who wore the crown of the holy Roman empire down to the Loreto-going beggar, Benedict Joseph. This may be seen from the Acts of St. Wenceslaus of Bohemia, Henry the emperor, Edward of England, Leopold of Austria, Louis of France, Amadeus III. of Savoy, Casimir of Poland, and the good St. Elzear of Subrano. The justice and moderation of their wars form no slight difficulty in causes of this latter kind. Thus it is also with virgins, widows, and married persons. In all cases the inquiry is most rigid and minute. Even the circumstances of the death-bed are always jealously examined, as if it were the touchstone of final perseverance. Sudden deaths may sometimes impede the advancement of a cause, as rendering the proof of final perseverance incomplete ; then indirect and proximate evidence is carefully looked for, as in the case of St. Andrew Avellino and the B. Colette ; or miracles immediately afterwards, as in the case of B. Jordan, the general of the Dominicans. Scacchus tells us that the words with which the dying servants of God recommend their soul to Him must be weighed. When Benedict XIV. was promoter of the faith, he objected to the words a servant of God had used on his death-bed about utter trust in God, seeming to exclude the notion of good works and to contravene the decisions of Trent. In like manner objection was taken to Cardinal Paul Buralis of Arezzo having administered the Viaticum to himself with his own hand, when It was brought him—a singularity contrary to the custom of the modern Church. But Cardinal de Lugo shows that the consent of the priest who brought the Blessed Sacrament excludes all fault in the matter. St. Dominic mentioned things to his own praise on his death-bed, whereas St. John of the Cross would not allow such things to be named in his presence. St. Martin and St. Thomas of Villanova were willing their lives should be prolonged for the good of others ; St. Philip Neri and St. Francis of Sales quite rejected the idea. St. Francesca Romana was noted for having a death-bed without temptations, whereas other saints have died overclouded, as it were, with a shadow of God’s judgments, while St. Romuald, St. John of God, St. Cassian of Narni, died without witness of man. F. Consolini the Oratorian, like Card. Bellarmine,

seems to have prayed that he might not have the use of his reason on his death-bed, that he might thus avoid being treated like a saint and receiving visits of honour from distinguished personages. This was indeed the dictate of humility, but it also implies a confidence and spirit of abandonment which it makes one quite tremble to think of. To read the account of St. Andrew Avellino's death-bed, who would have supposed that from the loss of speech to explain his temptations, it should actually have presented difficulties to the Congregation of Rites? A Saint himself, St. Alphonso Liguori, thus relates it: 'They say of St. Andrew Avellino that at the time of his death there came ten thousand demons to tempt him. During his agony he had so fierce a conflict with hell that all his good religious who were by trembled with fear. They saw the Saint's agitated face all swollen, that it became quite black; his limbs quivered, and beat one against another as in the palsy; floods of tears flowed from his eyes; his head shook violently; all signs of the horrible battle in which he was engaged. Every one wept with compassion, redoubled their prayers for him, and yet trembled with fear to see that even a Saint should have to die thus. They consoled themselves however in seeing that the Saint often threw his eyes round, as if looking for some one to help him, and fixed them on a devout picture of our Lady, and they remembered that he had often said in his lifetime, that Mary would have to be his refuge in the hour of death. At length it pleased God that the conflict should end in the glorious victory of his servant: the quivering of his body ceased, the swelling of his face went down and its natural colour returned; they saw him fix his eyes tranquilly upon the picture, and making a reverent inclination to it, as though Mary, as was believed, appeared to him at the moment, and he intended to thank her for her aid, he breathed out his soul gently into our Lady's arms with a smile of Paradise upon his face. At the very moment a Capuchiness, also lying in her agony, turned to the nuns by her bed, and said, 'Say a Hail Mary, for at this moment a Saint has died.'\* Yet it was about this death-bed that the cool judgment and safe acuteness of the Congregation found room for doubt and hesitation; what confidence may we not have in processes which carry with them the weight of such an approbation?"—page 52—57.

Well, therefore, may Mr. Faber conclude from these and the other details of the process.

"Indeed, putting out of view all idea of divine assistance, and looking at the matter simply as a question of evidence, it is hardly possible to conceive any process for sifting human testimony more complete, more ingenious, or more rigid than the one scrupulously adhered to by the Congregation of Rites in this respect. Much

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\* *Glorie di Maria*, i. 94, 95.

depends on the decision, and there is no necessity for coming to a decision at all ; these two things are continually before the eyes of the judges, and render the ordeal one of almost incredible strictness. No one can study the great work of Benedict XIV. on Canonization, or peruse the decrees of Urban VIII. and Clement XI. without feeling the utmost confidence in any narrative of facts, however supernatural, which comes out of the trial confirmed and approved upon the whole : and we are now merely speaking of it as a question of human testimony which has come out undestroyed from the long, intricate, and jealous cross-questioning of a most ingeniously contrived system of cavil and objection. A fact only requires the appearance of being supernatural to awaken against it every suspicion ; every method of surprise and detection is at once in array against it ; it is allowed no mercy, no advantage of a doubt, and any thing rather than the benefit of clergy. All this really gives to Lives of Saints drawn from the processes a trustworthiness which scarcely any other historical or biographical works can possess ; and enables them to claim from the reader at the very least a *general* confidence which he can hardly give to any other narrative of facts in the world. Let any one look at the way in which miracles are dealt with in the Congregation, their accurate division into three classes, the necessity of what is called *instantaneity* in order to distinguish a miracle from a *gratia*, the length of time required to prove the absence of relapse, which was thirteen years in the case of a nun cured of epilepsy by the Blessed Hyacinta Marescotti, and is extremely long in hydrophobia and some other complaints, the interrogatories, the requisites in witnesses, the presence of the first physicians of Italy and their opinions in writing, and sundry other precautions. Many a candid Protestant would be surprised, if he only took the trouble to peruse a few of the processes of the Congregation in matters of beatification and canonization."—page 63, 64.

We wish we could find room for a few extracts from his observations on the nature and authoritativeness of the decrees of the Church in the beatification and canonization of Saints. It is written with great learning and accuracy, and is well worthy of an attentive perusal.

We must content ourselves, however, with the following significant and practical observations, in the justice and hopefulness of which we fully concur.

" Many years ago the late Mr. Southey mentioned to the writer of this Essay, that when he had safely housed his fine copy of the Bolandists in his library, he set to work to read it through. This feat he accomplished by putting a card at the top of a column, and drawing it rather rapidly down, his quick eye following the receding card, and if it lighted on any word that was a sign-post to some-

thing of interest, he looked into the passage ; if not, he sped on ; and he said that the result of the whole voluminous collection was only the matter for All for Love and the Pilgrimage to Compostella, a very attenuated duodecimo brochure of sparsely printed verse ! Every one who knew Mr. Southey's studious habits will easily take this for a conversational exaggeration ; yet it serves to illustrate the different value we set on things according to our positions. The object of this Essay is to put a very different price upon the Lives and Legends of the Saints ; such a value as one would put, who, with faith in St. Philip's method had used the narration of Saints' Lives as a weapon of missionary warfare, and had seen, not the breathless interest only, or the ready tear of peasant crowds, but the abiding influence for good, the heightened love of God, and the more persevering pursuit of virtue. If it is a problem to some, who have to deal with converts of the lower orders, how to destroy in them the lingering sympathies with dissent, and the sectarian humours only superficially catholicized, and to give them the tone and feeling of children of the Church, let missionaries try the recitation of the Lives of Saints, after the fashion of the Oratory, in lieu of sermons, not too frequently, but as the feasts furnish occasions : Let them relate the acts of St. Cecilia, St. Agnes, St. Martina, and those early Saints, whose blood made Rome, our holy city, the Jerusalem of Catholics, or let them tell the stories of some of our own principal Saints, such as St. Winefride, St. Ebba of Coldingham, St. Wilfrid, and St. Edmund of Canterbury, so as to give them sympathies with their own native land as it was beneath the sweet and blessed yoke of faith ; and by the grace of God and the good offices of the Saints, they will see how quickly a catholic mind will be formed in their people, and how successfully the debasing alloy of old Protestant ideas will be drawn off from them. If we have succeeded in drawing out as strongly as we might have done, how *imitation* is the grand, if not the sole aim, of the Church in canonization, we may add that it does not at all appear how that end can be adequately answered except through Lives of Saints. The recitation of the divine office is confined to clergy and religious, and even if it were not so, the beautifully and admirably compressed lections are more suited to quicken the memory than to inform it. It certainly does seem as though the Church would fail in accomplishing the object of canonization, were it not for that huge body of literature which we call hagiology."—pp. 137—139.

We may add in conclusion, that the Editors announce, as preparing for publication, a translation of Benedict XIV. *On Heroic Virtue*, one of the most valuable portions, at least in a practical point of view, of his great work *De Beatificatione*.

II.—*History of the Bank of England; its Times and Traditions.* By JOHN FRANCIS. 2 vols. Third Edition. London: Willoughby and Co., 22, Warwick Lane, 1848.

WE have been acquainted, since its first appearance before the public, with the merits of this work, which we are happy to perceive has now reached a third edition. We had felt, before we were aware that Mr. Francis had devoted himself to the task, the necessity for such a book; because without it we could discover no clue to those wondrous events in our annals, in which will be found involved the wealth or the poverty, the prosperity or the adversity of myriads of individuals. It is strange that the wealthiest country in the world should be, until the last few years, without a history of that establishment with which the oldest or the youngest amongst us identifies the solid and material wealth—the tangible and actual currency of the country. It is well, perhaps, that a task so important should have been deferred until it fell into the hands of Mr. Francis—a gentleman who has not only a profound and practical knowledge on the subject of which he treats, but who looks at it with the eye of a man of the world. Whilst giving all the details that the most laborious political economist could desire, the author contrives at the same time to let pass no fact connected with his subject which may serve to awaken interest in the men or the events of the Bank of England. Had Mr. Francis confined himself to a mere dry narrative of facts, his book would be useful; but as he has done something more—as he describes events clearly, and pourtrays characters boldly and truly, he justly merits the name of an historian, forcing his readers to think, and compelling them to arrive at just conclusions.

Mr. Francis, in his two volumes, shows these several points clearly: how our banking system has arisen—how we came to have a national bank—how that bank has been guided and conducted during the most eventful periods—and, lastly, how its internal affairs are arranged. Upon all these points, and each of them requires a careful study, nothing was either very clearly or distinctly known by the great body of the public. There seemed to be nothing more to be told of them, except what might be gleaned from the stray, broken, and unsatisfactory allusions to be found in Smith, or Sinclair, or M'Culloch.

No one seemed to dream that the Bank had a history of its own ; that amid its heaps of gold, and piles of silver, and packages of notes, there might not be heroes and villains as in the wildest old fortress that topples on the rock over the swift-flowing waters of the Rhine. Mr. Francis has shown that there is a romance in the history of the Bank of England, as there is a romance in every true history ; and in so treating his subject, he has given a book that is valuable to the old, and will be found, strange as this may sound, charming to the young, winning them to the acquisition of knowledge, and imparting that knowledge in the plainest, simplest, and most agreeable style. The industry in collecting details is equalled by the skill with which they are arranged ; and the result is a work which must secure a place in every statistical library, because a book that merits not merely perusal, but constant reference.

III.—*The Anima Divota, or Devout Soul.* Newly translated from the Italian of the Very Rev. J. B. PAGANI, Provincial of the Order of Charity in England. Permissu Superiorum. London : Thomas Richardson and Son, 1848.

NOTHING can be more elegant and fluent than the English of this translation, which has received the sanction of the author. Of the merits of the work itself it would be now superfluous to say anything,—it is universally known and appreciated ; and we rejoice in the appearance of this cheap and excellent edition.

IV.—*Via Dolorosa ; bring the Catholic Devotion of the Stations, Prepared as a Special Office for the Use of English People, with Reference to the Sins, the Responsibilities, and the Portents of these Times.* Translated and arranged by the Author of “From Oxford to Rome,” “Rest in the Church,” &c. London : Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848.

THIS work is from the pen of a lady, of whom, for her own sake, we had hoped to have heard no more for some time to come. Chiefly known to the public by the pretentious vacillation of her religious opinions, by the absence of all truth in her attack upon Catholics who had so recently received her as a fellow member of the Church, and of all sincerity in her subsequent retraction of that in-

sult—(which, by the way, she would seem in her title-page to re-adopt)—it might have been supposed she would have found enough to do for the present to fix her religious faith, and perform her devotions in private. She has, however, thought otherwise. Filled with alarm, respecting “Sins, responsibilities, and portents,” and boasting herself (with a Germanized sublimity, too indefinite for our taste) to be “instructed to listen for the whispers of another world, within the clamour of the questions of the day,” she has taken upon her to recommend the organization of small confraternities—a sort of “moral police,” as she tells us—to whom she “suggests” the use of this devotion which she has prepared for them, and whereby they are to “defend our England.” It is a compilation from Catholic prayer-books, from the English liturgy, from “our good Bishop Wilson,” and other Protestant writers, and from various books of poetry, arranged after the lady’s own fashion. Those who have access to the sources from which she has drawn all that is worth having in the book, will not consider the extracts the more valuable from this circumstance.

V.—*English Misrule and Irish Misdeeds.* Four Letters from Ireland, addressed to an English Member of Parliament. By AUBREY DE VERE. Second Edition. London : John Murray, 1848.

THIS is indeed a statement of Ireland’s grievances which an Englishman must read with deep pain, and of which an Irishman need not feel ashamed ; keen, polished, and severe in style, without a word of false or vulgar invective, the arguments are unanswerable — the facts, alas ! too true. We must be excused from entering at all upon the painful subject, further than to express our hope and prayer that, laying aside recrimination, right-minded men of both countries may unite with head and heart and hand to repair the sin and mischief of the past.

VI.—*The Oratory of the Faithful Soul ; or, Devotions to the Most Holy Sacrament, and to our Blessed Lady.* Translated from the works of the Venerable Abbot BLOSIVS, by ROBERT ASTON COFFIN, Priest of the Oratory. London : Richardson and Son, 1848.

THESE devotions to our Blessed Saviour are divided into two series, each of which consists of a prayer or address for the morning and evening of every day in the

week. In the first series He is addressed in the Blessed Sacrament, and the chief incidents of His life and passion commemorated, with suitable ejaculations of love, self-exhortation, and prayer. They are highly devotional; but we were more struck with the second series, in which no plan of devotion is followed, but rather an out-pouring of fervent love, so intense and so elevated, as carries the reader away with it. The devotion to our Blessed Lady is upon the same plan as the first series, commemorating successively her chief claims upon our love. The Reverend translator highly and justly praises the manner in which, throughout these effusions of unspeakable love and veneration, the true Catholic distinction is preserved betwixt the feeling for the Mother and the Son. These admirable devotions have already appeared in Mr. Ambrose Phillipps's "Catholic Manual," but we are rejoiced to see them in this cheaper and more accessible form.

VII.—1. *The Ecclesiastical Choir-Book: a Selection of Motetts, Hymns, and Masses, from the great Masters of the Sixteenth Century; with an Organ Accompaniment.* Folio. London: Burns, 1848.

2.—*A Few Words on Church Music, in reference to Plain Chant and Ecclesiastical Harmony.* London: Burns, 1848.

THOSE who recollect our unvarying profession of faith on the subject of Church Music, from our very first number to the present day, will hardly need to be told that we regard this noble collection as an inestimable accession to our stock of ecclesiastical music. While we have ever, on the one hand, maintained the duty of employing the Gregorian Chant as the staple of our choral worship, and, on the other, reprobated, in the strongest terms, the use, no matter how modified, of light or theatrical modern music, we have, nevertheless, at all times contended for an admixture of that best and purest style of harmonized music, which, while it relieves the severity, and, as it were, covers the nakedness, of the Gregorian Chant, yet preserves all, or nearly all, its solemn character and the deep, though it may be joyous, religious feeling which is inseparable from true ecclesiastical harmony.

Most of the objections to the use of harmonized music in churches, arises from the injudicious selection of the pieces which are introduced. The truth is, that, until recently, musicians, in many cases, had but little opportunity of

selection. The character of the music ordinarily within reach in this country, is, as a general rule, such as we should never desire to hear within the walls of a church; and, unless the singers exercised a discretion of which but very few indeed can be regarded as capable, the choice could hardly fail to be an unhappy one.

Between the two extremes there is a medium which requires but to be known in order to be appreciated.

"Much," says the author of the excellent pamphlet, which is second on our list, "as we may wish for a return to a graver and better style of musical service, any extreme re-action is to be deprecated. If we seem to need reform as much as the church did in the time of Pope Marcellus (according to the common story,) we at least can have no difficulty in finding proper music to substitute for that which we wish to displace;—we have that, in fact, which the church, after maturely considering the whole subject, then permitted her children to use. The majestic and truly religious style which Palestrina and his contemporaries brought to such perfection, still remains to us as fresh and living as when it first burst upon the delighted ears of one who exclaimed, in a rapture of religious joy, 'This is like the harmony which the apostle John heard in the heavenly Jerusalem, and of which another John Palestrina gives us a foretaste in the Jerusalem of our Pilgrimage!' We have, in the writings of these musicians, and especially of the wonderful man of whom the above was spoken, an ample store of harmonized compositions, which supply us with everything that can be desired for the worthy celebration of the divine offices of the church. Other ecclesiastical musicians may arise, new styles of music even may be invented, which shall also commend themselves, by their fitness, for the church's use; but until the world sees a better, we may well content ourselves with the style of the sublime productions of the great masters of the sixteenth century. We may depend upon it, it is one which will never pall upon our ears. The more we hear and practise it, the more enamoured of it (if I may use the word) shall we become. The style of Palestrina and Vittoria furnishes us with the true ideal of harmonized music for the sanctuary, and to it we must unquestionably give the first place; and the more composers write in this style, the better fitted will their productions be for the use of the Church."

Mr. Burns's collection consists exclusively of the works of the great composers alluded to in this passage, and of their contemporaries and imitators, Nanino, Anerio, Di Lasso Marenzio, and Morales. Among these the pieces of Palestrina are by far the most numerous, those of Vittoria are next in point of number, and Di Lasso Maren-

zio, Morales, and Anerio are represented each by a single specimen. The volume contains nearly three hundred closely printed pages of music, and is executed with great taste, accuracy, and elegance. We trust that it will meet, among our convents, colleges, and principal churches, as well as in private musical circles, that encouragement which so enterprising an attempt well deserves.

VIII.—*Lectures on the General Evidences of Catholicity.* By M. J. SPALDING, D.D. Louisville : Webb, 1848.

DR. SPALDING's name needs no introduction at our hands. His reputation as an able and learned controversialist is well established, even at this side of the Atlantic, and we welcome, as a valuable accession to our popular controversial literature, the Lectures which are now before us. They are of a purely popular character; as will, indeed, at once be understood from the fact of their having, with the exception of two, been delivered in the cathedral of Louisville, to a mixed congregation. But the circumstance of their being drawn up in a popular style is, perhaps, in the present circumstances of this country, one of their best recommendations. They address themselves to the mass of enquirers, without distinction of church or party; and the recent movement in the Anglican church has so exclusively fixed the attention of our controversialists upon the High-church theories and principles, that we are glad to find a writer, even on the American continent, resume the controversy once again upon principles accommodated to every class of enquirers.

The plan of these excellent Lectures may be briefly explained to be an application to Catholicity, in particular, of the various evidences by which the truth of general Christianity is demonstrated. They are thirteen in number, and are arranged according to the order of the evidences. We would refer especially to the ninth, as a specimen of the vigour and eloquence, as well as learning, which distinguish them all; and to the concluding lecture as a beautiful example of clear and solid reasoning, as well as of bold and comprehensive views, and orderly and lucid arrangement of the subject. We trust that we may anticipate an early reprint of these Lectures for circulation in these countries.

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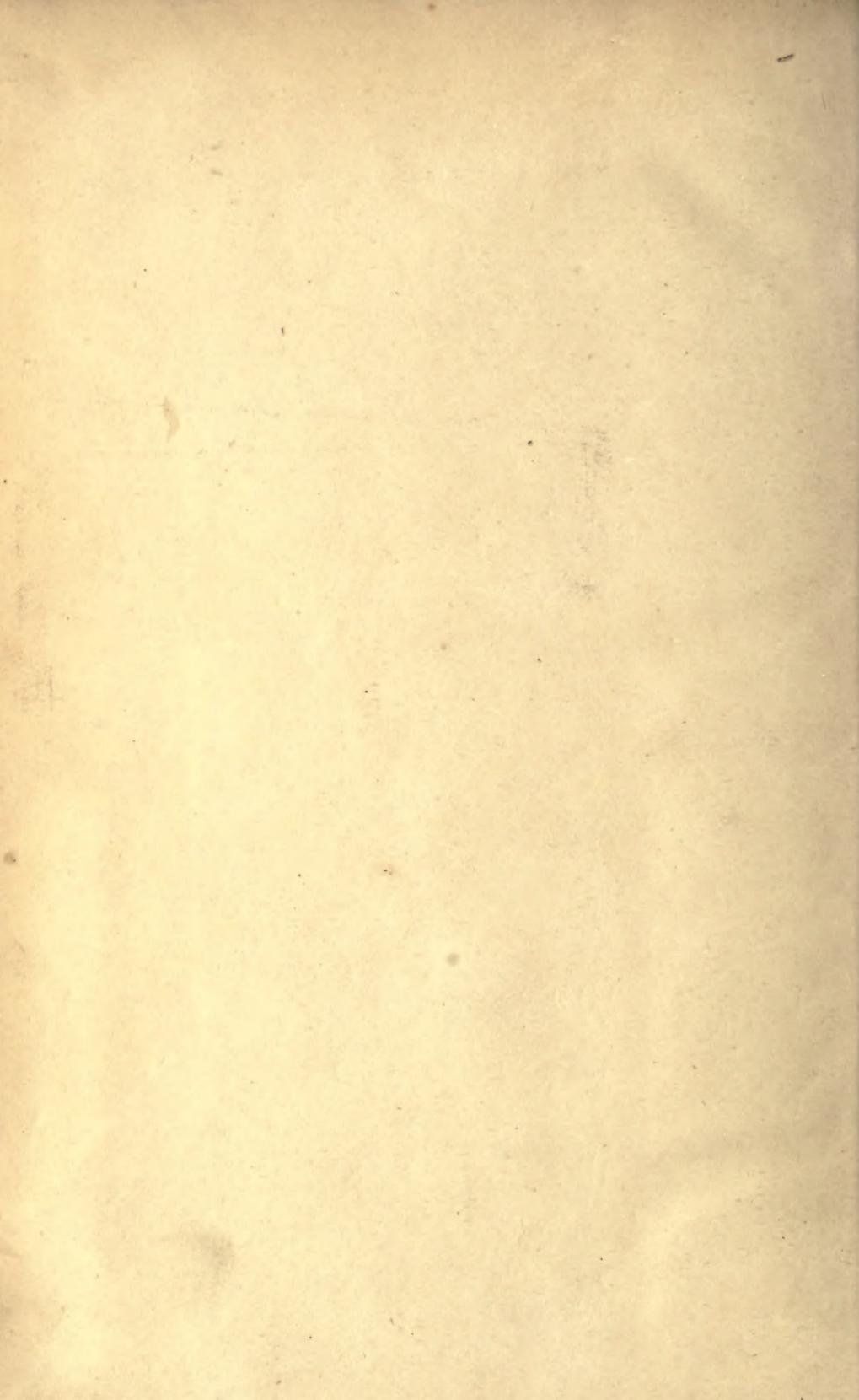
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Does Not Circulate

AP 4 .D8 SMC

The Dublin review.

vol.24

AIP-2395 (awab)

